A New Map of the WHOLE WORLD with the Trade winds

According to ye latest and most Exact Observations By H. Moll Geographer

In this Maps is inserted A View of ye General & Coasting Trade-Winds, Monsoons or ye Shifting Trade-winds Note that ye Arrows among ye Lines shew ye Course of those General & Coasting Winds. and ye Arrows in ye void Spaces shew ye Course of ye Shifting Trade-winds, and ye Abbreviation Sept. &c. Shew ye Times of ye Year when such Winds Blow.

The Signs of the Zodiack, The First 6 are Northern, the other Southern Signs

♈ Aries . March	♌ Leo . July	♐ Sagittarius . November
♉ Taurus . April	♍ Virgo . August	♑ Capricornus . Decemb.
♊ Gemini . May	♎ Libra . September	♒ Aquarius . January
♋ Cancer . June	♏ Scorpio . October	♓ Pisces . February

Printed for Tho.r Bowles Print and Map Seller next ye Chapter House in St.o Pauls Church yard; and John Bowles Print and Map Seller at the Black Horse in Cornhill London.

MODERN HISTORY:

OR, THE

PRESENT STATE

OF

ALL NATIONS.

DESCRIBING

Their reſpective Situations, Perſons, Habits, Buildings, Manners, Laws and Cuſtoms, Religion and Policy, Arts and Sciences, Trades, Manufactures and Husbandry, Plants, Animals and Minerals.

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By Mr. *SALMON.*

Illuſtrated with CUTS and MAPS accurately drawn according to the Geographical Part of this Work,

By *HERMAN MOLL.*

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4 JUL. 1908
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VOL. I.

LONDON:

Printed for Meſſ^rs. BETTESWORTH and HITCH in *Pater-noſter-Row*; J. CLARKE under the *Royal Exchange* in *Cornhill*; S. BIRT in *Ave Mary Lane*; THO. WOTTON over againſt St. *Dunſtan's* Church, and J. SHUCKBURGH next the *Inner Temple* Gate, both in *Fleetſtreet*; and T. OSBORNE in *Gray's-Inn*. M.DCC.XXXIX.

TO

THE MOST NOBLE

JOHN Duke of *Montagu*,

Marquis of MONTHERMER, &c.

MY LORD,

YOUR Grace poſſibly may be ſurprized at a Dedication from a Perſon who is a perfect Stranger to You, and conſequently very ill qualified to ſet Your Actions in a proper Light. And indeed, my grand Inducement for making this Addreſs was to exhibit to the World one celebrated Inſtance of true Publick Spirit in a *Britiſh* Nobleman, exemplified in that memorable Attempt Your Grace made to plant St. *Lucia* *, the moſt valuable of the *Caribbee* Iſlands, and reſcue it out of the Jaws of *France*, and this at the Expence of Forty Thouſand Pounds and upwards.

NEVER was a Deſign better concerted or executed than this was on the Part of Your Grace, and the Agents you employed: You had the Authority and Concurrence of the Adminiſtration to ſupport the Enterprize. One Man of War ordered to attend the Fleet You fitted out, and thoſe ſtationed in the *Weſt-Indies*, commanded to protect Your Colonies, and aſſiſt in eſtabliſhing them on that Iſland: And had all the Men of War there done their Duty, it would not have been in the Power of the *French* to have prevented Your planting it; but they ſcandalouſly abandoned their Poſt and his Majeſty's Service, and ſuffered the *French* to land a great Body of Troops on the Iſland, which compelled the Planters to leave it: Whereupon they returned to *England*, and the vaſt Expences Your Grace had been at were entirely loſt.

* See the narrative of the expedition to St. Lucia in the continuation of Modern Hiſtory, at the end of Vol. III.

IT is to be preſumed, that thoſe Commanders of the Men of War were or will be one Day called to Account for their Cowardice or Treachery in deſerting the Enterprize, and that Satisfaction either has been or will be demanded of the haughty *Gaul*, for this Inſult and Invaſion of the *Britiſh* Territories: The *Spaniards* indeed have made Prizes of our Ships in time of Peace, but the *French* take our very Country from us, which can never be borne long by the heroick Princes of the Houſe of *Hanover*. They will, no doubt, at a proper time, if peaceable Negotiations fail, exert that Spirit ſo conſpicuous in their brave Anceſtors, and make both *France* and *Spain* ſenſible of their Reſentment, and of the Force of *Britiſh* Fleets and Armies when conducted by Princes jealous of the Honour and Intereſt of *Britain*.

MY Lord, as one of my principal Views in enquiring into the State of other Nations, was to diſcover and promote the true Intereſt of our own, and ſhew the Rocks we have formerly ſplit upon; it is with regret I obſerve how the Spice Iſlands were indolently loſt in the laſt Age, and the *Britiſh* Sugar Iſlands ruined in this: Both of them once inexhauſtible Funds of Wealth to this Kingdom; but whatever may be the Conſequence of theſe Loſſes, it muſt be acknowledged, Your Lordſhip has made a noble Effort to preſerve the Latter, and ſhewn us the Way to reſtore that Superiority we once maintained in the *Caribbee* Iſlands. And I'm confident, Your Grace will be amply rewarded one Day by Your bountiful Sovereign, for the glorious Attempt you made to plant the Iſlands of St. *Lucia* and St. *Vincent*, which none more paſſionately deſires to congratulate Your Grace upon than,

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhip's Moſt Obedient

Humble Servant,

THO. SALMON.

Cambridge,
March 25. 1739.

THE PREFACE

TO THE QUARTO EDITION.

FAVOURED by indulgent providence with fifteen years continued health, and with frequent opportunities of acquainting my ſelf with the ſituation and circumſtances of the various inhabitants of the earth, I have at length finiſhed my enquiries into *The Preſent State of all Nations*, and diſpoſed the materials I have collected in ſuch a manner as I preſume will give every one, who deſires to know the ſtate of the world, a tolerable idea of moſt of the kingdoms and people I have deſcribed.

It muſt be confeſſed however, that there ſtill remains great part of the globe undiſcovered, and other parts which we have a very imperfect knowledge of, ſuch as the inland parts of Africa and America, the north-eaſt of Aſia, and the north-weſt of America: Of theſe I have choſen to ſay little, rather than amuſe mankind with the uncertain gueſſes and fabulous relations of idle voyage-writers, who obſerving the weakneſs of the generality of readers, and their guſt for every thing that carries an air of novelty and wonder, entertain them principally with the whimſies of their own brains.

There have indeed been ſome valuable voyages publiſhed ſince I entered on this work; and others have fallen into my hands that I had overlooked, from which I have extracted what I found for my purpoſe, and added to this edition in quarto. I have alſo continued the hiſtory of the reſpective countries deſcribed down to the preſent time, excluſive of the ſtate of England, which is a diſtinct work comprehended in thirteen volumes, octavo. The two firſt whereof contain a particular deſcription of this kingdom, and its modern inhabitants, with an examination of the characters given of the Engliſh by foreigners.

The remaining eleven volumes contain the hiſtory of England, from the invaſion of the Romans down to the end of the reign of Queen ANNE, with an examination of our Engliſh hiſtorians from CÆSAR to RAPIN; I have treated of England by itſelf, and more largely than of any other kingdom, as it is our native country, which every man ought to be beſt acquainted with; and becauſe there are more facts, perhaps, conteſted, and falſe inferences drawn from thoſe that are agreed, than in the hiſtory of any other country, occaſioned chiefly by our diviſions at the Reformation, and afterwards by our civil wars, when different opinions concerning eccleſiaſtical and civil government were made uſe of by ambitious and deſigning men to throw us into confuſion.

But to return to *The Preſent State of Foreign Nations*, as I had reaſon to believe from my own reading and perſonal obſervations on diſtant countries, (before I entered upon this work) that there was very little to be depended on in thoſe numerous volumes, which are ſtuffed with relations of giants, monſters, canibals, and necromancers, I am now fully convinced that they were entirely obliged to the invention, credulity, or ſuperſtition of the rela-

tors for their exiſtence; I am alſo confirmed in the opinion, that all men are naturally inclined to acts of humanity and benevolence, and that it is only prejudice and an unhappy education, which induce them to commit acts of cruelty and injuſtice, and treat ſtrangers with inhumanity. There is ſcarce an inſtance to be produced, where the natives of either Indies have behaved themſelves rudely or barbarouſly to foreigners, unleſs they were firſt aſſaulted, or had reaſon to apprehend danger from their new gueſts. The title of barbarians therefore may with much more propriety be applied to thoſe Europeans, who have invaded, plundered, and maſſacred the natives of Aſia and America, rather than to thoſe people they have repreſented as ſavages; if we have a better religion, and excel them in arts and ſciences, our adventurers for the moſt part come infinitely ſhort of them in their morals: if the Indians have wrong and abſurd notions of the Deity, our people frequently act as if they had ſtill worſe, and oftner confirm the Indians in their ſuperſtition by their profligate lives, than give them an opinion of the excellency of our religion, by that exemplary temperance, juſtice, and benevolence it requires: And I cannot but obſerve that the Romiſh Miſſionaries have much the advantage of the Proteſtants in many reſpects; they are not only more numerous, more zealous, and better verſed in arts which recommend them, particularly in phyſick and mathematicks, but they have a greater regard to their conduct and morals, living much more abſtemiouſly and regularly than ours generally do: And accordingly, we find our rivals in America making much greater conqueſts among the Indians by their Miſſionaries, than by their arms, which one would think ſhould be ſome inducement to Proteſtant powers to be at the charge of Miſſionaries to convert the Indians, if it were but upon ſecular motives. It is much to be lamented, that the government of England have never been at the charge of ſending a ſingle Miſſionary abroad, and thoſe who are ſent by the ſociety for propagation of the Goſpel, are employed for the moſt part in performing divine offices amongſt our own people, many of whom are become heathens for want of clergymen amongſt them, while whole Tribes of Indians which reſided within our bounds have been induced to abandon the country, and go over to the French or Spaniſh colonies, where the Romiſh prieſts ſpare no pains to make them Catholicks, and conſequently enemies to the Engliſh name.

I ſhall take up no more of my reader's time, than is neceſſary to acquaint him, how I obtained my information of the ſtate of every nation. And in the firſt place, I collected all the books of voyages and travels I could meet with, and having examined their credibility, and particularly how far they were conſiſtent with themſelves, and with one another, I drew up the preſent ſtate of each country from thence: but theſe being moſt of them defective in many inſtances, and few of them coming down to the preſent time, I attended ſuch Governors, Conſuls, and Merchants as had reſided abroad, or ſuch as were natives of the reſpective countries, and ſeemed well verſed in their ſeveral conſtitutions; and from theſe I obtained ſuch farther information as was neceſſary to complete the work: even in thoſe countries I had viſited perſonally, I was not contented with relating my own experience and obſervations, but compared notes with other travellers, in order to obtain a more perfect account of their preſent ſtate, and added their remarks to my own.

And upon a ſurvey of the whole, I preſume, this eſſay towards an *Univerſal Modern Hiſtory*, will be found as correct and ſatisfactory as can be expected in a work ſo vaſtly extenſive, and conſiſting of ſuch a variety of matter; and am inclined to believe *The Epitome of the antient Hiſtory of every Nation* comprehended in it, will be found equally uſeful and entertaining.

THE

THE

PREFACE

TO THE

Former EDITION in OCTAVO.

THIS nation poſſibly never made a greater figure than in the reign of the glorious Queen ELIZABETH, which is aſcribed principally to the genius of the people of that age for maritime affairs, new diſcoveries, and a zeal to extend their commerce through every part of the habitable world.

Nature, as has been often obſerved, ſeems to have pointed out the proper employment of the natives of this iſland in her ſituation; and they may reſt aſſured, that while they are jealous of their dominion at ſea, and improve their foreign commerce, they will always be in a capacity of balancing the powers of Europe.

And as a juſt regard for navigation and commerce, and maintaining our empire at ſea, is what once rendered us ſo conſiderable among the neighbouring nations; the ſame conduct, the ſame application, if renewed, will infallibly produce the ſame effects it has done in the days of our anceſtors.

But whither is that enterprizing genius, that publick ſpirit fled, for which we were once ſo famous!

Private intereſt, inglorious ſloth and eaſe, and a fond care of our worthleſs ſelves are now deemed marks of the moſt conſummate wiſdom; and the man would be accounted frantick who ſhould hazard his perſon or his fortune abroad in the advancement of trade, or gaining new acquiſitions to the Britiſh empire.

Some late falſe ſteps, it is true, among the trading world, has given a colour for this caution, particularly the management of the South-Sea ſcheme: for as the beſt things abuſed have ever the worſt effects, ſo it happened here. Never was a better laid deſign than that of the late Earl of Oxford's for extending our diſcoveries, and improving our commerce, and at the ſame time eaſing the nation of a heavy debt of ten millions, under which we had long groaned; ſo obvious, ſo certain were the advantages which would have accrued to the nation by this ſcheme (if the primitive deſign had been purſued) that all the world were ready to come into it: and yet this very hopeful propoſal, falling afterwards into the hands of deſigning men, determined to found their own private fortunes on the ruin of their country, produced a ſcene of ſo much miſery and confuſion, ſo ſwift a revolution in the eſtates and fortunes of the ſubject, as are not to be parallelled even in times of the moſt deſtructive wars.

The gentlemen who had the direction of this affair had ſo infatuated the people, and turned their views entirely another way, that no man from that time would ſet himſelf to improve his fortunes in the ordinary courſe, but leaving their reſpective profeſſions, every man hoped to jump into an eſtate by ſome ſpecious project, lotteries, ſtockjobbing, and other deſtructive methods, which our forefathers never heard of; ſo that not only our foreign commerce, but our home trade was reduced to the loweſt ebb; and how they have flouriſhed ever ſince, the trading part of the nation are beſt able to judge.

This unhappy management of the South-Sea ſcheme, wherein ſuch multitudes were cheated of their fortunes under a pretence of advancing commerce, had rendred all attempts of that kind abortive for the future, if the Legiſlature had not taken that matter into conſideration, and expreſt their reſentment at the parricide; for until ſome puniſhment adequate to the crime ſhould be inflicted on the wretched authors of our misfortunes, ſuch as might deter others from the like practices, the people would certainly be very cautious how they became adventurers again.

To proceed, the ſame mean ſelfiſh ſpirit, ſo conſpicuous in the late directors, has ſpread itſelf far and wide; the Governors of our plantations and factories abroad we find ſo tainted with it, ſo ſet upon amaſſing vaſt heaps of treaſure, and raiſing their little names out of their original obſcurity, that ſome of them have dared to attempt it at the expence of the beſt ſettlements this nation has abroad. Towns full of rich merchants, equal almoſt to thoſe of London, have they depopulated; and compelled

the

the wealthy inhabitants to remove, by laying them under ſuch exactions and reſtraints, and monopolizing every profitable branch of trade into their own rapacious hands, as has rendered it impoſſible for any beſides themſelves to gain a ſubſiſtence: nay, they have abuſed and defrauded their principals who advanced them to theſe poſts; well knowing that ten thouſand pounds well applied among their directors at home, will atone for any crimes they can be guilty of abroad: and this is one reaſon that ſome companies are exceeding poor, tho' all their managers and officers are rich.

But ſure it was not always thus, nor is it univerſally ſo at this day; ſome living inſtances we have of gentlemen employed in diſtant commands and foreign commerce, who have been an honour to the nation, and brought great advantages to their country in general, as well as to their employers in particular.

Such was a late Governor of fort St. George, who having ſpent great part of his life in diſtant voyages and the improvement of foreign trade, accepted that important government, and brought the trade of that place, and of the ſeveral towns and factories under his command on the coaſt of Chormandel and the iſland of Sumatra into ſuch a flouriſhing condition as amazed all other European Nations. He ſo enlarged and ſtrengthened the fortifications of the ſeveral towns under his government, that the Engliſh company then made a noble figure in India; particularly he built a wall of brick ſeventeen foot thick, and near two miles in circumference about the town of Maderas, regularly fortified with baſtions and outworks, and mounted with a numerous artillery: and, notwithſtanding ſo vaſt an expence, the Eaſt-India company received greater returns during his adminiſtration, than ever they experienced before or ſince.

Their towns and factories alſo were then full of wealthy inhabitants, who enjoying all the liberties and advantages of commerce they could wiſh, carried on a trade from one port in the Indies to another; and having acquired handſome fortunes, when old age required a ceſſation from buſineſs, brought home the wealth they had gained to their native country; ſo that hither the riches of India as naturally flow'd as rivers fall into the ocean from whence they firſt derived their ſource.

To proceed, tho' few places are more populous than the towns under the government of fort St. George, no tumults, murders or outrages were heard of in their ſtreets; no complaints of exactions or oppreſſions, but a profound peace and ſecurity reigned in every place; and all degrees of men diſcovered a pleaſed, contented aſpect. And ſo ſenſible were the Engliſh Eaſt-India company of the flouriſhing condition of their factories, that when this gentleman's government expired, they inſiſted on his accepting of it for another five years, as their intereſt, their gratitude, and the honour of their country prompted them to do.

Nor was the concern of this generous Engliſh Governor confined to his own nation only, but extended to every people who ſtood in need of his aſſiſtance, of which the Danes are a ſingle inſtance; for when the King of Tanjore at the inſtigation of the Dutch, as was generally underſtood, had laid ſiege to Trincombar, one of the ſtrongeſt places on the coaſt of Chormandel, and brought down their works to the very walls of the town, by the aſſiſtance of Dutch ingineers, ſo that the place was upon the point of being taken, then did the Governor of fort St. George ſend a ſeaſonable detachment to their aſſiſtance, who threw themſelves into the place; and by the briſk ſallies they made upon the Indians, ſoon compelled them to raiſe the ſiege.

I ſtill ſee the Governor methinks coming upon the parade, and haranguing theſe troops in their reſpective languages before they embarked, in ſuch terms, as induced the ſoldiers to expreſs the utmoſt contempt of the danger they were entring upon, and ſeemed to foretel the ſucceſs they afterwards obtained.

Give me leave to add, that the whole nation was ſo ſenſible of the merit and ſervices of this great man, that after his return to England, the government of Jamaica, the beſt in the diſpoſal of the Crown, except Ireland, was conferred upon him, tho' his advanced age prevented his taking that diſtant command upon him.

And now after ſo exact a deſcription of the perſon, it muſt be perfectly unneceſſary to acquaint the world, I have my eye fixed on the honourable Mr. PITT, to whom this firſt volume had been dedicated, as being incomparably the beſt judge of the Preſent State of India. Having a genius ſo well turned to advance the trade and intereſt of his country, and having ſo long reſided there in the moſt conſiderable employments: but I was conſcious the Governor's modeſty would not permit me to do him juſtice in a Dedication, and therefore choſe to prefix a Preface to the Work, wherein I might be at liberty to exhibit this pattern of a true Engliſh Governor, to all that ſhall ſucceed to any foreign poſt: that emulating his virtues, they may derive thoſe advantages to the Britiſh nation, which a due adminiſtration in thoſe commands will infallibly produce.

Cambray-Houſe,
St. Thomas's day.
1724.

THE

THE ORDER

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In THIRTEEN VOLUMES in OCTAVO,

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TO THE

Acceſſion of King GEORGE I. to the Throne.

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WITH

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By Mr. SALMON,

AUTHOR of this WORK.

N. B. This Hiſtory comes down lower than any Hiſtory of ENGLAND extant; and is the more uniform, having been begun and finiſhed by the ſame Hand.

Printed for THOMAS WOTTON at the Queen's Head and Three Daggers over againſt St. *Dunſtan*'s Church, J. SHUCKBURGH next the *Inner-Temple* Gate, both in *Fleetſtreet*; and T. OSBORNE in *Gray's-Inn*.

THE INTRODUCTION TO THE OCTAVO EDITION.

SINCE the world is no longer to be amuſed with the fabulous relations of travellers and hiſtorians, any more than with the dreams of ſuperſtition and enthuſiaſm; an attempt to diſtinguiſh truth from fiction, and to diſcover the certainty of thoſe accounts we have received of diſtant nations, it is preſumed, will not be unacceptable in this diſcerning age. Relations monſtrous and unnatural may pleaſe the weak and indolent; but truth and nature only can ſatisfy the wiſe: my deſign therefore is to examine the ſeveral volumes of voyages and travels that have been publiſhed, and to compare them together, in order, if poſſible, to ſift out the truth; and having ſeen ſeveral parts of the world my ſelf, and been converſant with many of the people of whom I write, and made it my buſineſs to inform my ſelf from other intelligent travellers of the ſtate of the reſpective countries they have paſſed through, I ſhall not, I hope, be deemed altogether unqualified for ſuch an undertaking.

It is our indolent and careleſs manner of reading voyages and travels without reflection or examination, that has invited many to impoſe upon our underſtandings, and repreſent other nations as different from us in their temper and turn of their minds, as they are diſtant from us in ſituation; when human nature will really be found much the ſame over the whole face of the globe. Education and cuſtom indeed will make conſiderable impreſſions, but after ſome allowances for theſe, it may be eaſily diſcerned, we are all deſcendants of one common parent, and all of us endowed with like appetites and paſſions: that we have none of us any thing ſavage or cruel in our natures, but man muſt be inſtructed, before he can arrive at inhumanity; and perhaps nothing has contributed more to make the world barbarous, than the looking upon every diſtant nation as ſuch.

I ſhall endeavour therefore to repreſent mankind, as really they are, and to remove thoſe early prejudices we are taught to entertain againſt one another: and could I be ſo happy to contribute to the reſtoring that benevolence of temper, that candor and compaſſion, which are implanted in us by nature, and ſeldom leave us till pains is taken to deface them, I ſhould go through the laborious task I have undertaken with infinite pleaſure and ſatisfaction.

I ſhall begin with the kingdoms in the eaſt, and travel weſtward with the ſun; and becauſe the work may be of univerſal benefit, and ſerviceable as well to the trading part of mankind, as to men of quality and learning, I ſhall couch every thing in a plain familiar ſtyle and method, and publiſh a pamphlet monthly, till the whole is completed, under the following heads or chapters;

I. The ſituation and extent of the reſpective kingdoms and ſtates; the ſeveral provinces each is divided into, with the principal rivers, canals, lakes, and ſprings, that water them.

II. The towns, fortifications, palaces, publick buildings, houſes, and furniture.

III. The genius, temper, ſtature, complexion, ſhape, and habits of the reſpective people; with their entertainments, diet, diverſions, feſtivals, viſits, and ceremonies, roads, poſts, manner of travelling and carriages.

IV. Their manufactures, trade, ſhipping, and navigation.

V. Husbandry, tillage, and nature of the ſoil, plants, animals, and minerals.

VI. Learning, honours, liberal and mechanick arts, language, characters, hiſtory, and chronology.

VII. The Prince's court, revenues, forces, prerogative and ſucceſſion; courts of juſtice, magiſtrates, laws, cuſtoms and puniſhments, coin, weights, and meaſures.

VIII. Religion, temples, and ſuperſtition.

IX. Marriages, women, wives, children, and ſlaves.

X. Funeral rites, mourning, tombs, *&c.*

Give me leave to add, that nothing of this nature has been yet attempted: the Atlas Geographus has barely collected and compiled many different accounts which contradict one another, without endeavouring to reconcile them, or animadverting upon the improbability of the relations we meet with. Moll gives us, indeed, the geography of the reſpective countries, but we find only ſuch ſhort hints or abſtracts of their manners, and cuſtoms, and the other articles above ſpecified, as may be expected from a dictionary. The collections of travels by CHURCHILL and HARRIS are very injudiciouſly compiled, and ſtuffed with many fabulous and trifling hiſtories, which will very little improve or even divert the reader; neither are there any obſervations made on the multitude of monſtrous and incredible relations that are to be found in them; and what one part affirms, the other often contradicts, inſomuch that when the reader has given himſelf the trouble of reading half a dozen folio's, he remains ſtill doubtful what to conclude in the moſt conſiderable articles.

Whoever therefore ſhall contribute towards the clearing the ſeveral relations we have received of the rubbiſh with which they are uſually ſtuffed, and be able to give a more diſtinct and rational account of the conſtitutions, laws, and cuſtoms of foreign nations, than has been hitherto done, and enquire into the real intereſts and maxims by which their reſpective courts are governed, will not probably be thought unprofitably employed; give me leave here to congratulate the preſent age upon the juſtneſs of their taſte, which gave the firſt hint to this undertaking; tho' the encouragement his Majeſty has lately given to the ſtudy of Modern Hiſtory has farther confirmed me in the uſefulneſs of a work of this nature, which I had prepared materials for ſome time before his Majeſty diſcovered his gracious intentions; and I cannot but applaud my good fortune that I ſhould happen to be engaged in an attempt ſince eſpouſed and recommended from the throne.

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whale-fi[illegible]
the endeavou[illegible].

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ASIA

By

H. Moll Geographer.

EASTERN OCEAN or PARTS UNKNOWN

Degrees East from London

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140

Nova Zembla

Samoieda

Archangel

Arctick Circle

Unknown Coast

Company's Land

Staats I.

Jesso Land

Rabbin I.

Salmon Bay

C. Eroen

Vries

Sea of Corea

Corea

Tartary

Japon

Bungo

Tonsa I.

Formosa I.

Dimens Str.

South I.

Pagan Islands

Ladrone Islands

Gigante

Mahon

Guam

Bashee I.

C. del Engano

Formosa

Canton

Chinchen

Nankin

China

Pekin

Chusan

Nimpo

Kiam R.

Tibet

Mogul

Bay of Bengal

Ceylon

Siam

Cambaya

Surat

Bombay

Arabian Sea

Mecca

Medina

Red Sea

Nubia

Abyssinia

Africa

Part of Nubia

Ethiopia

Magadoxa

Zanguebar

Persia

Ispahan

Bassora

Arabia

Barbary

Mediterranean Sea

Black Sea

Caspian Sea

Tartary

Russia

Siberia

Moscovy

Muscovy

Poland

Germany

France

Spain

Italy

Rome

Venice

Constantinople

Turkey

Greece

Tripoli

Tunis

Bugie

Candia

Cyprus

Baica

Tropick of Cancer

Equinoctial Line

Sumatra I.

Borneo

Celebes

Java

Timor

Papos

New Guinea

Islands

Indian Ocean

New Holland

Diemens Land

Carpentaria

Comoro Islands

C. Ambra

Madagascar

I. Mauritius

I. Masarenhas

B. de Chagus

Calmes

I. de Almiranta

Maldives

Sea of Sunda

Straits of Sunda

Str. of Malacca

Str. of Babelmandel

Str. of Manilla

Philippina Isl.

Mindoro

Manilla

Leyte

Samar

Mindanao I.

Celebes

Sea of China

Gulf of China

Kolagol I.

Onguni Palai

Selinginskoi

Irkutskoi

Jenisea R.

Lena R.

Obi R.

Irtis R.

Volga R.

Don R.

Danube R.

Vistula R.

Oder R.

Elbe R.

Rhine R.

Seine R.

Loire R.

Ebro R.

Tagus R.

Nile R.

Euphrates R.

Tigris R.

Indus R.

Ganges R.

Red R.

Zaire R.

Zambeze R.

Niger R.

Senegal R.

Gambia R.

Rio Grande

Rio de Plata

Amazon R.

Orinoco R.

Mississippi R.

Hudson's Bay

Baffin's Bay

Davis's Straits

Greenland

Iceland

England

Scotland

Ireland

Sweden

Denmark

Norway

Baltick Sea

Gulf of Finland

Gulf of Bothnia

Gulf of Venice

Gulf of Lyons

Gulf of Genoa

Gulf of Persia

Gulf of Cambaya

Gulf of Bengal

Gulf of Siam

Gulf of Tonquin

Gulf of Corea

Gulf of Anian

Gulf of Mexico

Gulf of Florida

Gulf of Guinea

Gulf of Arabia

Gulf of Aden

Gulf of Sidra

Gulf of Gabes

Gulf of Venice

Gulf of Lyons

Gulf of Genoa

Gulf of Persia

Gulf of Cambaya

Gulf of Bengal

Gulf of Siam

Gulf of Tonquin

Gulf of Corea

Gulf of Anian

Gulf of Mexico

Gulf of Florida

Gulf of Guinea

Gulf of Arabia

Gulf of Aden

Gulf of Sidra

Gulf of Gabes

The Empire of CHINA and Island of IAPAN. Agreable to Modern History.

By H. Moll Geographer.

60 120 180 240 300 360 420 English Miles

PART of MUSCOVITE DAURIEN TARTARY. MONGULS

EASTERN or CHINESIAN TARTARY

Parts Unknown

LAND of IESSO

Company's Land

Str. of the Vries

SEA OF COREA

THE GREAT SOUTH SEA

INDIA

Tugur R. Amazar R. Zurgin R. Sia R. Plotbus Nertzinsk Argun R. Albazin Karskoi Ingoda R. Argun R. Aigou Gamon R. Yamour R. Aigou Tessoy Ter. C. Patience St. James Bay Robben I. Salmon Bay Acques Silver mines Peak of Anthony Genthouri Tocapitz C. Eroen High Land C. Tessoy Matzimay Ysan

Irgun Dalai Naun R. Mergen Naun Xingal R. Merghen Songoro R. Kuran R. Onsire R. Oula NIUCH Burgan Koran Ruing LEAO TUNG Nincota Mountains Helum Kingon L. Kuinin gohou Karakatton Chinyan Kinanki ai Hanchin Yrcheou Kianlin Chauxion Kimki Cittcheou Pitcheo Chanyven Chinyven Funing Kinhay Sungaar Aquita Nabo N. Point Schildpads I. Toy Sando Koqui I. Tayma Noto Canga Yacasa Eirochi Yedo Inaba IAPAN Foqui Xiano Coxuque Arima Meaco Suringo Idzu Barnevelts I. Princes I. Iuami Saccai Bitchu Yamaguski Quinoxumi Nava Tonsa I. Ongelucking I. South I. Bonga BONCO I. Posumi Fatsuma Str. of Dimen Tanaxima I. Isle del Fuego Los Hermanos Amsterdam I. Gulph of Nankin Cit.ch.ou Firando Figen Bugo Gotto Nangasaki Oeno Funoma Chusan Quesan Islands Lowang I. Hesan I. I. Sangshetse Lesan I. I. Queso Pequin I. dos Reys Magos Gould B. Whith Sand P. Tropick of Cancer P. Pannaba FORMOSA I. Batrol 5 Islands Bashes I. Utrae Timas P. OF THE Greguna LADRONE I. Agan o Pagan

The Sandy Desert of Xamo Casumur R. The Wall of China Karakoton Aramuch Camul Ulanobot Baluki Koambo or Yellow R. Croce I. Totsorha Sosama Lake The Gold mines Tionmera M. Tanla Lassa Ava R. Hapkin Cintienn Mentien Kaa Yunnan Quansi P. OF Bao TUNQUIN Kiangeon Cuabic Lanchang P. OF LAOS Long R. Kacho Kaserui Lanchiou Lienchou Louitcheou Quang Tong Bay Quanton High Towers P. Taya Linca HAYNAN Pekin Xangota Krim Yonnyin Tsinan Xi entsin PEKING Tsin Chintim Tayven Linyao Cumchem Talon Pimleam Fu XENSI Sinin Tonstian Ton Sigan Longan Xian R. Paouin Chingtu SUCHUEN or Blue R. Kiam R. Hachiou Quei rheou Oumon Tontchouen Tchynyven Chintcheou Xiychu Quie Kyang Tou Tcho Queilin Lieou tcheou QUEYCHEU HUQUAM KIAMSI QUAMSI Cantcheou Fochen FORIEN QUAMTUM Amoy Tchaoute Ngoutcheou Kaitcheou Lienchou Lanhay Caitton Black M. Tygar I. Byrt Tago Macao I. de Pruala Sinchan Kaien Xaou Yai Yan Caifum Honan Hantcheo Nanyan Fonyan NANKIN Ngankin Nankim Nanchang Kiu kiang Vuchang Yotchiou Tchaou Tchang Tchintien Tchaou Tchan Tangiun Soumann Tchan Yuen Yuchan Hampch Tcheu Kin Kiang Kin Kiang Taitcheou Ouma Kieou Yenpin Nan Kiang Kan Kiang Yuan Kan Byan Lake Poyang Lake Kiam R. Kiam En or Tchintien Tchan Kiang Sin Kiang Tsin Kiang Tsiu Kiang Tsiu Kiang Tsiu

THE

PRESENT STATE

OF THE

Empire of CHINA.

CHAP. I.

Treats of the ſituation and extent of this empire. Of the late revolution and union of the two kingdoms. The name, the climate and bounds of the reſpective provinces; with the principal rivers, canals, lakes and ſprings that country is watered with.

CHAP. I.

China and Tartary one Empire. Extent, &c.

GREAT Tartary and China are now united, and make but one mighty empire, comprehending all the eaſtern ſide of the continent of Aſia. The moſt ſouthern part of China lies in the latitude of 21 degrees, and the northermoſt part of Tartary which is ſubject to this Emperor lies in 55 degrees; ſo that the whole length from north to ſouth is 34 degrees, or two thouſand and forty Engliſh miles. If we extend it, as ſome do, to the latitude of 60 north, and take in the iſland of Haynam in the ſouth, which lies in the latitude of 18, this will make 8 degrees more, or 480 miles; and then the whole extent of this empire from north to ſouth will be 2520 miles: in breadth from eaſt to weſt it is reckoned to be above a thouſand miles in moſt places, and conſequently the circumference muſt be ſeven thouſand miles and upwards.

Boundary between this empire and Muſcovy.

The river Yamour, which lies in the latitude of 55, was till of late the boundary of this empire towards Muſcovy; but upon a treaty of peace between the Czar of Muſcovy and the Emperor of China, the Czar agreed to demoliſh his forts upon that river, and yield up the right of pearl fiſhing in it, and of ſable hunting in the adjacent country to China; which may have given occaſion to ſome geographers to extend the dominions of the Emperor of China ſome degrees further north; but as we hear of no towns, or any people beyond the river Yamour worth mentioning, that river may very well ſtill be eſteemed the northern boundary. At the ſame treaty, it was agreed that the river Argun ſhould ſerve as a boundary of the Chineſe empire towards the weſt, and that the town of Argun which lies in the latitude of about 52, and in the longitude of 125, ſhould be the utmoſt limits of the Czar of Muſcovy's dominions on that ſide. CHAP. I.

Before I proceed in the deſcription of this empire, I ſhall give a ſhort account of the great revolution which happen'd in that part of the world about fourſcore years ago; whereby not only that kingdom from whence the preſent imperial family is deſcended, but many other Tartar kingdoms, came to be united with China under one potent monarch. Revolution in China.

Great revolutions are ſeldom occaſioned by any one falſe ſtep, but a numerous train of unforeſeen accidents generally concur to effect the mighty change. And thus we are told it happen'd in that of China: XUNCHI or TSOUTE King of Niuche, one of the little Tartar kingdoms, north eaſt of China, complain'd of ſome abuſes put upon his people by the Chineſe merchants, which not being redreſs'd, he reſolved to make repriſals; and accordingly invaded the province of Leaotum, which lies without the great Chineſe wall. The Emperor ſent USANGUEY, one of his generals, againſt the Tartar Prince, and the war continued ſome time with various ſucceſs.

In the mean while there happen'd a famine in ſome provinces of China, and the people being unable to pay the uſual taxes, broke out into rebellion. The principal of their leaders was one LYCUNGZ, to oppoſe whom a great army was raiſed; but they deſerted to the rebels, who thereupon

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advanced to the capital city of Pekin, and having a correſpondence with the Emperor's eunuchs, who had then the principal ſhare in the adminiſtration, they were admitted into the city by their treacherous correſpondents, and entered the outward courts of the palace before the Emperor had any notice of their approach. This unfortunate prince, when he found himſelf betray'd, reſolved to break through the rebels with ſix hundred of his guards which remained about him, or periſh in the attempt: but theſe alſo baſely abandon'd him; whereupon he retired into a garden with his only daughter, and having written a letter to LYCUNGZ, the commander of the rebels, deſiring him to ſpare his ſubjects, he firſt ſtabb'd his daughter to the heart, and then hanged himſelf. The Empreſs, the Governor of the city, and many more of the court of both ſexes, either to prevent the barbarous uſage they expected from the rebels, or in compliment to the Emperor, choſe to die with him, and become their own executioners. The uſurper immediately mounted the throne, and exerciſed all manner of cruelties upon the poor citizens of Peking.

The misfortunes of the late Emperor are aſcrib'd, by father ADAM SCHALL, principally to the malice and revenge of his eunuchs, whom he had called to account for their extortions in the beginning of his reign. Theſe villains having found an opportunity of introducing themſelves into the adminiſtration again, were continually plotting the ruin of their Prince: they oppreſs'd his ſubjects, and kept back the ſoldiers pay, and left no means unattempted to render the Emperor odious to the people: at the ſame time they held a correſpondence with his enemies the Tartars, inviting them to invade the empire, and promiſed to join them. So dangerous is it for a Prince to put any confidence in ungrateful criminals, who ever think themſelves more injured by being called to an account, than obliged by any grace that is afterwards extended to them by an indulgent Sovereign.

The uſurper left a garriſon in Peking, and marched againſt USANGUEY, the late Emperor's general, on the frontiers of Tartary, carrying that general's father with him; and having laid ſiege to a town where USANGUEY had ſhut himſelf up, he threatened to put his father to death before his face in the moſt cruel manner he could invent, if he would not ſurrender; and ſoon after put his threats in execution. USANGUEY, provoked by his father's death, and the deſtruction of his Prince, made Peace with the Tartars, and deſired their aſſiſtance againſt the uſurper: accordingly they marched againſt him with their united forces; but he fled to Peking, where having burnt and plundered the palace, he loaded his people with the ſpoils, and retir'd into the province of Xenſi.

The citizens of Peking having ſuffered much from the uſurper, looked upon the Tartars as their deliverers, and begged their protection. And thus, ſays LE COMPTE, did they baſely ſubmit to a deſpicable people, whom they would have been aſhamed not long before to have owned for their ſubjects.

But with ſubmiſſion to LE COMPTE, the Chineſe did not ſo readily ſubmit to the yoke of their Tartarian deliverers, as he inſinuates.

They dreamt of nothing leſs than the ſetting XUNCHI upon the throne: but USANGUEY leaving the Tartars in poſſeſſion of Peking while he purſued the rebel LYCUNGZ into the province of Xenſi, and the reſt of the empire being diſtracted by ſeveral potent factions, ſome declaring for a ſon of the late Emperor's, while others under the ſpecious pretence of maintaining their liberties, ſet up for themſelves; XUNCHI, who was already in poſſeſſion of Peking, the capital city, procured himſelf to be declared Emperor, and invited all the Tartars who were before ſettled in China, as well as the little Tartar Princes his neighbours, to tranſplant themſelves to Peking, and by force expelled all the Chineſe inhabitants out of the city.

USANGUEY, returning from the purſuit of the rebel LYCUNGZ, was amaz'd to find his confederate the Tartar had mounted the throne, and the imperial city entirely poſſeſſed by Tartars; and begun to expoſtulate with them on that abuſe of the confidence he had repoſed in them; but nothing could perſuade them to leave the delicious country he had introduced them into, and return to their barren mountains; and finding himſelf in no condition to drive them out of China at preſent, he came to an accommodation with them: and it was agreed he ſhould govern two or three conſiderable provinces with the title of King, if he would not diſturb them in the poſſeſſion of the reſt.

To which inglorious partition he conſented, or ſeemed to conſent, till he ſhould have a better opportunity of reſtoring the family of the deceaſed Emperor. He retired therefore to the provinces which were aſſigned him; where he applied himſelf to augment his forces, fortify the towns he was maſter of, and furniſh himſelf with treaſure, in order to diſpute the Tartar's title; which XUNCHI having intelligence of, prepared to oppoſe him; and at length a war broke out between them, which was carried on with a great deal of fury. USANGUEY was very ſucceſsful at firſt, and if he had lived would probably have driven the Tartars out of China: But happening to die, and leave a ſon behind him, not ſo well verſed in martial affairs as his father, and the Jeſuits aſſiſting the Tartar in new caſting his cannon, and making them more ſerviceable than they had ever been before in China, the face of the war was altered, and the reſt of the provinces of China were reduced. The ſon of USANGUEY finding himſelf unable to reſiſt the Tartars, choſe to lay violent hands upon himſelf, rather than fall into his enemy's power; and thus

P. was the Tartar eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of the empire of China and Great Tartary, which he lived to enjoy but a ſhort time, and was ſucceeded by his ſon, an infant of ſix years of age. AMAVAN, uncle to the young Prince, to whom XUNCHI left the adminiſtration during the minority of his ſon, diſcharged his truſt with that fidelity and prudence, that the Chineſe, as well as the neighbouring Tartar Princes, ſubmitted to his government; and when his nephew came of age, he reſigned the adminiſtration of the whole into his hands, ſtill continuing to aſſiſt him with his counſels.

The Tartars being much inferior to the Chineſe in number, were forced to uſe all their arts to eſtabliſh themſelves in the empire; among the reſt, they obliged the Chineſe to cut off their hair, and change their habits to the Tartar faſhion, that it might not be diſcovered how inconſiderable a people they were in compariſon of the Chineſe; all the Chineſe ſoldiers, eſpecially who liſted amongſt them, they obliged to put on the Tartar habit, that they might be looked upon as Tartars, and over-awe their new ſubjects. Had it not been for this political proceeding, the Chineſe would ſoon have been ſenſible of their ſuperiority; and put an end to the Tartar uſurpation: but what contributed ſtill more to the eſtabliſhment of the Tartars, was, the employing the Chineſe, both in their civil and military affairs; they advanced the moſt popular of the grandees to be viceroys and governors of provinces, and ſo made them acceſſory to the ſubduing their own country; they remitted to the people one third of their taxes, governed them by their own laws, and, like our Henry VII. delivered the commons from that tyranny the great men uſed to exerciſe over them; and except in the matter of their hair and habits, the Tartars ſeem rather to have ſubmitted to the laws of the Chineſe, than to have impoſed any upon them; and Tartary may now be ſaid rather to be ſubject to China, than China to Tartary: for in China is the ſeat of the empire, there are the ſupreme courts of juſtice, thither all the wealth of the united kingdom is carried, there all honours and degrees are conferred, and conſequently thither all men will reſort. China has gained a vaſt addition of ſtrength by Tartary, and has now no enemy to fear: their indigent northern neighbours are under the ſame Sovereign, who keeps them in that ſubjection that they are no longer in a condition to diſturb China. The petty Tartar Kings, as they are called, are no more than his viceroys, or governors of Provinces, the Emperor has forts and garriſons through their whole country.

As to the name of this country, China, or Cina, ſome derive it from Cin, who was one of their Emperors: and though the people of India, and from them the Europeans, continue to call it by this name, yet it is obſervable, that every new family on their mounting the throne, give their own name to the empire; and by that name it is always called by their ſubjects. NAVARETTE ſays, it was called Chin by the people of India from the great produce of ſilk, that word ſignifying ſilk in their language. But however the name is derived, it is generally agreed that this is the ſame country that antiently went by the name of Cathai; that the great Cham, ſo much talked of formerly, was no other than the Emperor of China; and Cambalu, where he was ſaid to reſide, was indeed the city of Peking. Nor is it to be much wondered at that we were ſo much in the dark heretofore, having had little or no commerce with that people till within theſe two hundred years, ſince the Europeans found a paſſage thither by the cape of Good Hope.

No other great Cham but the Emperor of China.

Climate.

China extending from the latitude of 21, to about 42 N. the longeſt day in the ſouth is about 13 hours and an half, and in the north about 15 hours. The northern provinces have uſually a very ſevere winter of about four months, viz. from the beginning of November to the beginning of March, when the rivers and canals are generally frozen hard enough to bear. In the ſouthern provinces they ſee no froſt or ſnow; but, as in other countries which lie within or near the tropicks, they have uſually ſtormy weather and rains, about the equinox, particularly in autumn; and this is all the winter they know, the reſt of the year they enjoy a clear ſky, and an almoſt uninterrupted ſerenity: nor are the heats ſo great but they may eaſily be born by the help of their grotto's and refreſhing ſhades, which they retire to in the heat of the day. At that time there is as profound a ſilence, and a general ceſſation from all buſineſs, as if it was midnight: The evenings and mornings properly conſtitute the day in all hot countries; mid-day as well as mid-night being aſſigned for their repoſe.

Provinces.

China is generally divided into ſixteen provinces. ſeven northern and nine ſouthern provinces; the firſt is Leaotum, or Leaotung, which lies beyond the great wall, and is bounded by it towards the weſt, by an arm of the ſea which divides it from Corea on the eaſt, by the mountains of Great Tartary on the north, and the Kang-Sea or gulph of Peking on the ſouth; this province is ſituate between the 39th and 42d degrees of latitude; the capital city whereof is Xinyam.

2. Pekin, or Peking, where is the ſeat of the empire; it is bounded on the north by the great wall, which divides it from Tartary, on the ſouth by the province of Honan, on the eaſt by the Kang-Sea, and on the ſouth eaſt by the province of Xantum, and on the weſt by the province of Xanſi; it extends from 36 to 41 degrees of latitude; the capital city whereof is Pekin.

3. The province of Xanſi is bounded on the eaſt by Pekin, by the great wall on the north, by

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the province of Honan on the south, and by the river of Hoang, or Yellow River, on the west, which divides it from Xensi; the capital city is Tayven.

4. Xensi is bounded by the great wall and by Tartary on the west and north, by Suchuen on the south, and Xansi on the east; the capital city whereof is Sigan.

5. The province of Honan is bounded by Xansi and Pekin on the north, Xensi on the west, and Nankin on the east; and lies between the latitude of 33 and 37; the capital city whereof is Schaifung, or Caifum.

6. The province of Nankin, which is bounded on the north and west by Xantum and Honan, on the east by the sea, and on the south by Huquam and Chekiam, and extends from 30 to 36 degrees of latitude; the river Kiam, the greatest river in China, runs through it; the capital city is Nankin or Kiamnin.

7. Xintum, bounded on the north and east by the sea, by Pekin on the west, and Nankin on the south; the chief city whereof is Cinan.

8. The province of Chekiam, bounded on the north by Nankin, on the east by the sea, by the province of Kiamsi on the west, and Fokien on the south; and extends from 27 to 31 degrees of latitude; the capital city whereof is Hamcheu.

9. The province of Kiamsi is bounded by Chekiam and Fokien on the east, Huquam on the west, Nankin on the north, and Quamtum on the south; and extends from 26 to 31 degrees of latitude, the chief city whereof is Nancham.

10. The province of Huquam, bounded by Kiamsi on the east, Honan on the north, Quamsi and Quamtum on the south; the capital whereof is Vucham or Vjchang.

11. The province of Suchuen is bounded on the east by Huquam, on the west by the mountains of India, on the north by Xensi, and on the south by Quecheu; the capital city whereof is Chingtu.

12. The province of Queycheu is bounded on the north by Suchuen, on the east by Quamsi, and by Yunan on the west and south; the capital city whereof is Queyang.

13. The province of Yunan is bounded on the east by Queycheu and Quamsi, on the west by India, and on the south by Tonquin; the capital city is Yunan.

14. The province of Quamsi is bounded by Yunan on the west, by Queycheu on the north, Quamtum on the east, and Tonquin and Chochin China on the south; the capital city whereof is Queilin.

15. The province of Quamtum is bounded by Quamsi on the west, Huquam and Kiamsi on the north, Fokien on the east, an the ocean on the south; the capital city whereof is Quamcheu or Canton.

16. The province of Fokien is bounded on the west by Kiamsi, on the south by Quamtum, on the north by Chekiam, and on the east by the ocean; the capital city whereof is Focheu.

The kingdoms of Corea, Tunquin and Siam are also tributary to China, according to LE COMPTE.

Corea is a Peninsula; or, as some say, an island; being bounded on the west by the province of Leaotung and the gulph of Nankin, on the east and south by the sea of China, and on the north by Niuch, a province of Tartary, and lies between the latitude of 36 and 42; the chief city whereof is Kimki.

This being accounted by some a province of China, I take notice of the situation here; as for the kingdoms of Tunquin and Siam, which lie to the south of China, they have Princes of their own, and will be distinctly treated of hereafter.

In the 16 provinces of China abovementioned, LE COMPTE reckons 155 capital cities, 1312 of the second rank, 2357 fortified towns, and 10128789 families.

NEUHOFF assures us, that according to the poll book, which is exactly kept, there are upwards of fifty eight millions of people in the kingdom of China; and that this is easily known, because every master of a family is obliged under a severe penalty, to hang over his door a little board, giving a particular account of all the souls in his house; and that there is an officer over every ten houses, who examines the truth of these accounts, and makes his report to a superior magistrate.

The principal rivers of China are Kiam or the Blue River, and the Hoambo or Yellow River. The Kiam takes its rise in the province of Yunan, upon the borders of India, and runs quite cross the kingdom from west to east, through the provinces of Suchuen, Huquam and Nankin, and falls into the sea thirty leagues below the city of Nankin, running a course of above a thousand miles. The Hoambo or Yellow River, rises in the mountains on the west of the province of Suchuen, and runs northward along the borders of Tartary beyond the great wall, where it re-enters China, and then runs southward between the provinces of Xansi and Xensi, after which it passes eastward through Honan, Xantum and Nankin, and having flowed above 600 leagues, falls into the sea about 30 leagues north of the mouth of the Kiam.

The river Kiam is said to be unfathomable in some places; but LE COMPTE observes, that the Chinese pilots do not carry above 50 or 60 fathom of line with them, and it being something deeper than that, he supposes this gave occasion to people to think it had no bottom. The navigation of this river when it is swell'd by torrents from the mountains is exceeding dangerous, the stream being very rapid.

The

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The Hoambo, or Yellow River, carries with it at all times a yellow ſort of ſlime or mud, from whence it receives its name; and many other rivers in the rainy ſeaſon ſeem rather torrents of mud than rivers: The waters of China in general are not fit to drink till they have been boiled; which LE COMPTE imagines to be the principal reaſon of their drinking them hot, and infuſing tea or ſome other herbs in them to make them wholeſome as well as palatable

Through every province of China there is one grand canal which ſerves as a high road; the banks whereof are lined with great ſquare ſtones of coarſe marble, upon which the people who draw the veſſels walk; from this great canal are cut ſeveral ſmaller, which are again branched out into rivulets that generally end at ſome town or village. Over theſe canals are ſtately bridges of three, five, or ſometimes ſeven arches, the middle arch ſo high that veſſels may go through without taking down their maſts: the arches are all built with marble, or other ſtone; nothing can afford a more agreeable proſpect than ſo many fine canals, adorned with noble bridges, with a prodigious number of towns and villages upon the banks, and a multitude of veſſels ſailing different ways upon them, through the moſt fruitful vales. Europe we are aſſured has nothing to boaſt of comparable to this.

One of theſe, called the Grand Canal, reaches from Canton, the ſouthernmoſt part of China, to Pekin, the imperial city in the north, being upwards of 1200 miles, except that it is interrupted by one mountain in the province of Kiamſi, where there is a neceſſity of travelling a ſhort day's journey by land. In this vaſt tract, the ground not being always level, inſtead of ſluices there are ſeveral great water-falls, or torrents, more or leſs rapid according to the difference of the level: near theſe places are great numbers of men planted to draw up the veſſels which go againſt the ſtream, they have ſeveral capſterns upon the banks, and having faſtened cables round the veſſel, they raiſe it by little and little till they have brought it into the upper canal with infinite labour and hazard; they have not yet the art of erecting ſluices and floodgates, as in Europe, where one man can open or ſhut the gates, and cauſe the largeſt veſſels ſecurely to aſcend or deſcend.

In ſome places where the waters of two canals have no communication, and the level of one is fifteen foot above the other, their veſſels are ſo made, that by ſloping the banks like a ridge of a barn, they will drag them from the one to the other, though they are never ſo heavy loaded. And our author tells us, he had often paſſed from one canal to another in this manner.

Though their ſhips for the ſea ſervice are not comparable to thoſe of Europe, and their ſkill in navigation is but mean; yet upon their rivers or canals they manage large veſſels, as big as ſhips, by a few hands, with great dexterity; of theſe veſſels there are not leſs than ten thouſand in the ſouthern provinces equipped for the Emperor's ſervice: They are flat-bottom'd, the head and ſtern ſquare, but the forepart not quite ſo broad as the ſtern; they have a mainmaſt and a foremaſt: the foremaſt has a yard and a ſquare ſail, but the ſail of the mainmaſt is narrow a-top like a ſloop's ſail; their maſts are not pieced as ours, and ſet one on the head of the other, but are only one ſingle tree. Their ſails are made of a thick matt ſtrengthened with laths or ſplit cane at about two foot diſtance: upon the deck they build little rooms or cabins from one end to the other, raiſed about ſeven or eight foot high; they are painted and gilded both within and without, and ſo very neat and commodious, that they make the longeſt voyage tolerable. The mandarins, or great officers, often travel together in this manner, and no where ſpend their hours more agreeably; for here they viſit one another without ceremony, and play and paſs away their time as if they were all of one family; which freedoms are never taken by magiſtrates on ſhoar.

But notwithſtanding the ſailing upon their rivers and canals is generally exceeding pleaſant, there are ſeveral rapid torrents on which they ſail with the utmoſt hazard; father LE COMPTE tells us, he was once upon ſuch a ſtream, when the veſſel was whirled round with an incredible ſwiftneſs for a conſiderable time, and at length daſhed upon a rock. That in the province of Fokien, for eight or ten days ſail the veſſel is in continual danger of periſhing; there are ſo many cataracts and rocky ſtraights that it is hardly poſſible for the boat to paſs through without being daſhed to pieces on one ſide or other; every day almoſt ſome veſſel or other is ſhipwrecked in theſe torrents, but they have often the good fortune to ſplit near the ſhores, and the paſſengers are ſaved; ſometimes indeed the veſſel is daſhed to pieces and the crew buried in a moment. LE COMPTE ſays, though he had ſailed upon the moſt tempeſtuous ſeas, he thinks he never run ſo many hazards in ten years, as he did in ten days upon theſe torrents: But all this danger it ſeems proceeds from want of hands to manage their barks, for if inſtead of eight men they carried fifteen, all the violence of the ſtreams would not be able to carry them away, ſo dexterous are the Chineſe at ſtemming the force of the current. But it is common in China, as well as other parts of the world, to hazard men's lives, and venture loſing all their effects, rather than be at a trifling charge more than they apprehend to be abſolutely neceſſary.

Father GEMELLI CARERI obſerves, that there is hardly a city or village through the whole empire, eſpecially in the ſouthern provinces, but enjoys the conveniency of ſome navigable river, lake, canal, or arm of the ſea; and that there are almoſt as many

Navigation

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many people live upon the water as upon the land: wherever there is a town upon the ſhore there is another of boats upon the water; and ſome ports are ſo blocked up with veſſels, that it will take up ſeveral hours to get croſs them to land. Theſe veſſels are made as commodious as houſes; and there are many born, and live, and die in them; and they keep hogs, poultry, dogs, and other domeſtick animals on board, as if they were on ſhore.

Beſides theſe veſſels, there are a prodigious number of floats of timber perpetually going up and down the rivers and canals, which carry whole villages of people upon them. This timber is cut chiefly in the province of Suchuen, which adjoins to India on the weſt; and theſe floats are ſome of them a mile in length; they riſe two or three foot above the water, upon which the people build little wooden huts, or cabins, at equal diſtances, where they live till they have diſpoſed of the timber on which they are built: thus great quantities of it are conveyed as far as Pekin, being above three hundred leagues from the place where it is cut.

CHAP. II.

Containing a deſcription of their towns, fortifications, palaces, publick buildings, houſes and furniture.

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HAVING given ſome account of their rivers and canals, and the veſſels uſed upon them, I ſhall proceed to deſcribe their cities, fortifications and buildings on ſhore.

Great wall, &c.

And firſt of the great wall which ſeparates China from Tartary (except towards the eaſt part of it, where it divides the province of Pekin from that of Leaotum, which our later accounts inform us lies without the wall.) This work begins in the province of Xenſi, which lies on the north-weſt of China, in about 38 degrees of latitude, and is carried on over mountains and valleys; firſt towards the north-eaſt to the latitude of 42. and then ſouth-eaſterly to the latitude of 39, and terminates at the Kang-ſea between the provinces of Pekin and Leaotum. The whole courſe of it, with all the windings, LE COMPTE tells us, is about fifteen hundred miles; though in a direct line from weſt to eaſt it may not be half ſo many miles: it is almoſt all built with brick, and ſuch well tempered mortar, that it has now ſtood above eighteen hundred years, being built by the Emperor CHIHOHAMTI, to prevent the incurſions of the Tartars, and is very little decayed. Some relations tell us it is many yards thick, and exceeding high, but by the embaſſy that was ſent from Muſcovy to China, and others who have lately ſeen it, we learn that it is but four fathoms, or about thirty foot high, and broad enough for eight people to ride a-breaſt. LE COMPTE makes it but five foot thick, and not ſo high as the walls of their towns; but he has either miſtaken the thickneſs of the wall, or it is falſe printed, viz. five feet for five yards; for it is generally agreed to be about five yards thick, and ten in height. CH. II

There are no breaches in this wall, except in the province of Pekin, north of the city Suven, where inſtead of the wall are very high and inacceſſible mountains; and in that part where the Hoambo or Yellow River paſſes through it: as for leſſer rivers which fall into China through this wall, they run under arches made in the wall. It is generally of equal height upon the higheſt hills, and in the loweſt valleys: ſo that LE COMPTE obſerves, when people talk of the wonderful height of it in ſome places, it muſt be underſtood of the height of the mountain on which ſuch part of the wall ſtands.

It is fortified all along by ſquare towers at a mile diſtance, ſay ſome; and others at the diſtance of two bow-ſhots from one another. It was formerly guarded by a million of ſoldiers; but now guards are placed only at ſuch parts of it as are eaſieſt of acceſs.

Cities at building.

The cities and towns of China are all built in one form, as near as the ground will permit; that is, ſquare. Two great ſtreets which croſs one another in the middle of the town, divide it into four quarters; and from the center the four principal gates may be ſeen at once. The gates ſtand due eaſt, weſt, north and ſouth; the ſtreets lie in a ſtrait line, are large and well paved, but very troubleſome to walk in, all men of any faſhion being carried in chairs, or riding on horſeback through them with their attendants and great equipages, and no poſts to keep off the horſes and carriages. The deſcription of two or three of them will give us a tolerable notion of the reſt.

Pekin.

The imperial city of Pekin is ſituated about the fortieth degree of northern latitude, and was anticently exactly ſquare, being four leagues about; but when the Tartars expelled the Chineſe out of this city, they permitted them to build a new one adjoining to it; which, with the old one, now makes an irregular figure, conſiderably longer than it is broad: ſo that Pekin is indeed two cities joined in one, as London and Weſtminſter are with us; one is called the Tartar, and the other the Chineſe city, the latter of which is much the moſt populous. They are both together ſix leagues in circumference, reckoning 3600 paces to a league, according to father LE COMPTE, who meaſured them by the Emperor's order, and he thinks it to be four times as big as Paris: but as the houſes in Pekin are but one ſtory high, and thoſe at Paris four, Pekin may not have more people lodged in it than Paris; eſpecially if we conſider that the ſtreets are much wider, and that the Emperor's palace is of a vaſt extent, containing parks, gardens, canals, &c. Yet he ſeems to be of opinion, that the inhabitants of Pekin are more numerous than thoſe of Paris, becauſe they do not take up half the room in their lodgings that the Europeans do.

The

The crowds in the ſtreets alſo he obſerves are ſo great, that people of quality are forced to have a horſeman ride before them to make way; and yet ſcarce a woman is to be ſeen amongſt them: but there may be ſeveral other reaſons given for the crowd being ſo great in this city, beſides the populouſneſs of the place. Firſt, multitudes of country people daily reſort to Pekin to market, and no river coming up cloſe to the city, all manner of goods are brought thither by land carriage, which occaſions the ſtreets to be filled with waggons, camels and other beaſts of burthen, with their drivers; inſomuch that morning and evening the gates are ſo thronged a man muſt wait ſome hours before he can get by. Beſides few artificers or handicrafts work in their own houſes, but in the houſes of their cuſtomers; ſmiths, taylors, *&c.* are all day about the ſtreets looking out for employment; then all perſons of faſhion have numerous trains of ſervants; and when a mandarin goes abroad, all his officers attend him in their formalities: the Lords of the court and Princes of the blood, who go almoſt every day to court, are attended with ſtrong guards of horſe, all which contribute to fill the ſtreets, and make Pekin, as well as other cities of China, appear much more populous than they really are. However, LE COMPTE computes there are not leſs than two millions of inhabitants in the city of Pekin, which is certainly above double the number that is to be found either in Paris or London.

Artificers never work in their ſhops.

Streets.

The principal ſtreets in Pekin are one hundred and twenty foot broad, and a league in length; and the ſhops in which they ſell their ſilks and china-ware, generally take up the whole ſtreet, and make a very agreeable proſpect: and that which renders it more ſo, is the cuſtom the tradeſmen have of ſetting up a long board before their ſhops, above twenty foot high, painted and gilt, on which are written the names of the goods they ſell. Theſe being placed on each ſide the ſtreet, almoſt at equal diſtances, in moſt of the cities in China, and having pendants and ſtreamers on the top, make a very agreeable ſhow. They have no ſigns, but the name of every tradeſman is written in large letters over his door, as ſome of our tradeſmens are upon their ſigns in England.

The walls of this city are fifty cubits high, as ſome write; but all agree, that they hide the whole town by their height, and are ſo thick, that ſeveral may ride a-breaſt upon them. They are defended by ſquare towers about a bow ſhot diſtance from one another. The ditch before them is dry, but very broad and deep. The gates are of a prodigious height, and at a diſtance make a noble ſhow: every gate of the town has a fortreſs, or redoubt, built before it of equal height with the gate, which being joined together by high walls, forms a handſome ſquare, large enough for 500 men to draw up in battalia. The way into it is by the ſide wall between the gate and the fort, and not directly forward; then turning to the right, you enter the gate of the city, where a ſtrong guard is always kept. The arches, or gate-ways are built with marble; but the reſt of the walls with brick. The Chineſe are not arrived at any perfection in fortification yet; for they have no other works beſides a wall ſtrengthened with ſquare towers, a deep ditch, ſometimes dry, but commonly of running water, with ſome bulwarks or baſtions, and a few pitiful iron guns upon their walls. There are nine gates in the Tartar city; three towards the ſouth, and two on each of the other ſides. The Chineſe city is alſo walled round, and has ſeven gates, and a large ſuburb at every gate.

Palace.

The Emperor's palace ſtands in the middle of the Tartar city, and is an oblong ſquare, about two miles in length, and one in breadth, defended by a good wall. This palace includes not only the Emperor's houſe and gardens, but the apartments of his officers, and a great number of artificers, who are conſtantly employed by the Emperor. None are permitted to lie within the innermoſt palace but the eunuchs: The inner palace conſiſts of nine vaſt courts: the arches through which one enters theſe courts are of marble, and over each there is a large ſquare Gothick building; but the offices on each ſide theſe courts are but mean. The Emperor's apartment, which is in the furtheſt court, is ſupported by large marble pillars, and roofed with glazed yellow tyles, which glitter like the ſun; the white marble ſteps by which you aſcend the rooms of ſtate, the carved work, varniſh, painting and gilding with which they are adorned, make them look very magnificent, and ſuitable to the grandeur of the Monarch to which they belong: but ſtill there is not that contrivance and uniformity, LE COMPTE obſerves, in which the beauty of our buildings conſiſt; and the irregularity of the whole muſt offend any one who has skill in architecture.

The guards of the palace have no other arms but their ſcymitars, and are not ſo numerous as ſome relate; but there are three or four thouſand mandarins and great officers always attending at the time of audience. The power and inſolence of the eunuchs in the palace was an inſupportable grievance in the former reigns of the Chineſe Emperors; but the Emperors of the Tartar race have ſo humbled them, that they are not much conſidered now; ſome ſerve as pages, and others in the meaneſt offices.

But to return to the city; it is divided into four quarters or diſtricts, and every one of theſe into leſſer diviſions; every ten houſes has an officer like our conſtable, who preſides over the other nine, and informs the magiſtrate if any thing extraordinary happens. If any robbery be commited in the night, the neighbourhood are obliged to make it good; and in every family the maſter is anſwerable for

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for his children and ſervants. In the night the guards patroll in the principal ſtreets, and the horſe go their rounds upon the walls; and if they are taken up who have not a licenſed lanthorn, they ſeldom eſcape puniſhment; for no maſquerades or nightly meetings are encouraged by the Chineſe.

The city of Pekin ſtands upon a plain; there are no hills in it but two, which were thrown up by hand, in the Emperor's palace. In all parts of the city there are men and chairs to be hired, as in London, and horſes; but no coaches are uſed in this part of the world.

Houſes. Their houſes, and even the palaces of the principal mandarins, are built upon the ſurface of the ground, and ſupported by wooden pillars, without any foundation. Indeed they build but one ſtory high, and ſo need a foundation the leſs; but they take up a great extent of ground, having ſeveral open ſquare courts within their walls: they have ſuch a regard to their privacy, that no windows are made towards the ſtreet, or to look towards their neighbours; and juſt within their great gate or portal, there ſtands a wall or skreen to prevent ſtrangers looking in upon the opening of the gate: when you are paſſed this skreen, there are little alleys to the right and left, from whence you paſs into the ſeveral courts, which are built on all ſides. Their entertainments are made in a ſort of hall, or banqueting houſe, at the entrance of their houſes; which have no other ornament beſides a ſingle order of columns, painted and varniſhed, which ſupport the building; and the roofs are often open to the tiles, without a ceiling. They have no looking-glaſſes, hangings, or fine chairs; and their beds, which are one of the principal ornaments, are hardly ever ſeen by ſtrangers, who are not permitted to go farther than the firſt great hall. The Furniture. furniture of the beſt houſes conſiſts only of cabinets, tables, varniſhed skreens, china-ware, pictures, and pieces of white taffety, upon which are written in large characters ſome ſentences of morality: nor do you ſee any chimneys in their rooms, but they have ſtoves or charcoal to warm them in cold weather.

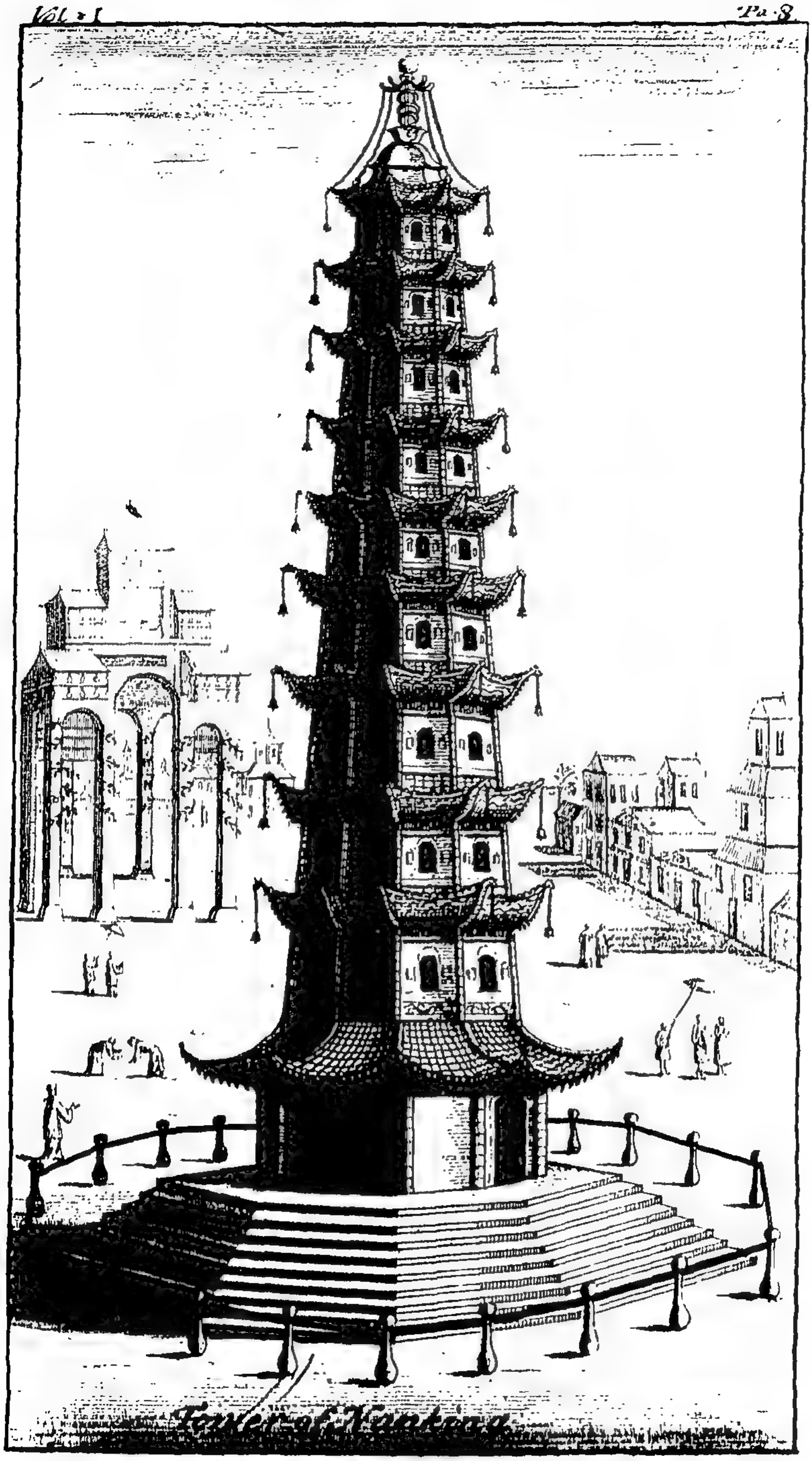
Their beds are indeed very fine; in the ſummer they have taffety curtains wrought with flowers, trees, and birds, in gold and ſilk embroidery; or they have curtains of the fineſt gauſe, which ſerve to keep off the flies and gnats, but let in the air. In cold weather they have curtains made of coarſe ſattin, with the figures of dragons, and other animals, and plants wrought in them; with counterpains of the ſame. They have no feather-beds; but uſe thick quilts, or matreſſes, to lie on; and their bedſteads are adorned with a variety of carving and figures.

Nankin. Nankin, or the ſouth court, (which the Tartars call Kiammin) was the ſeat of the empire, till the Emperor thought fit to remove to Pekin, or the north court, to oppoſe the incurſions of the Tartars.

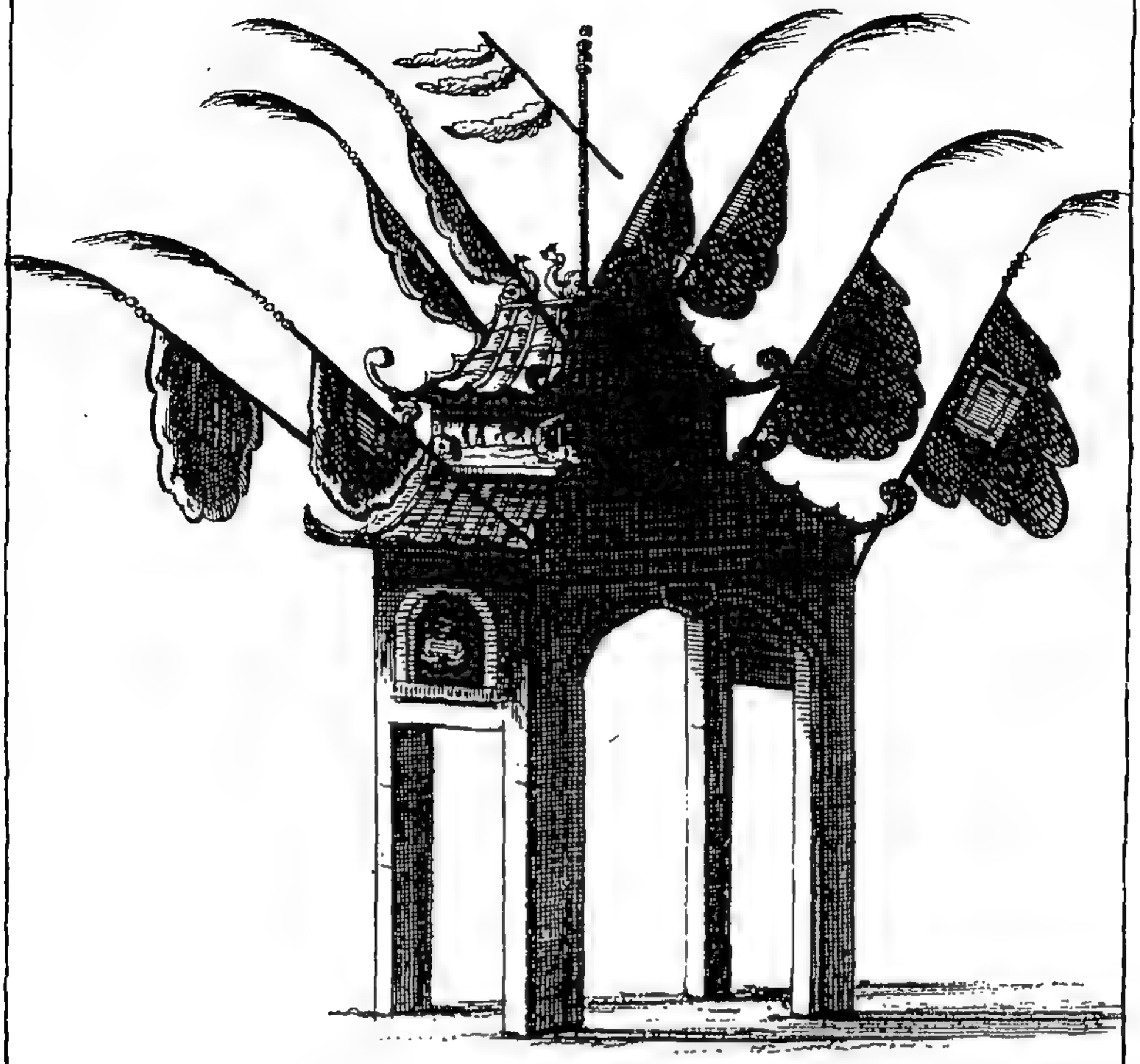
It is ſtill the capital of the province of Nankin, and lies in the latitude of 32, longitude 137. It was antiently encloſed by three walls, the outermoſt of which was ſixteen leagues in circumference. The ruins of them look more like the boundaries of a province, than the walls of a city: but though it has loſt much of its former grandeur, and is leſſened, as well in its buildings as the number of inhabitants, ſince the removal of the court to Pekin, it is ſtill thought to be more populous than Pekin. The ſtreets are well paved, but not very broad; the houſes low, but neat; the ſhops are filled with the richeſt ſilks, and all other manufactures which are to be found in the empire. Hither the doctors and mandarins retire when they are out of employment, here being the moſt conſiderable libraries, and printing and all other arts practiſed in the greateſt perfection; the language is alſo more pure than in any other part of the kingdom. This city ſtands on the river Kiam, the largeſt and deepeſt river in China: it is about half a league broad at this town. Here are alſo a multitude of navigable canals, with ſtately bridges over them, conſtantly thronged with veſſels going in or out the port, and the city has a garriſon of forty thouſand men in it.

Towers and public buildings. Without the gates of every town there are uſually two magnificent towers erected, and near each tower is a temple of idols, and another dedicated to the genius, or guardian angel of the place. There are alſo in almoſt every city triumphal arches, built to the honour of ſome great men, who have been benefactors to their country; and colleges or temples founded in memory of their great philoſopher CONFUCIUS, where his precepts are taught.

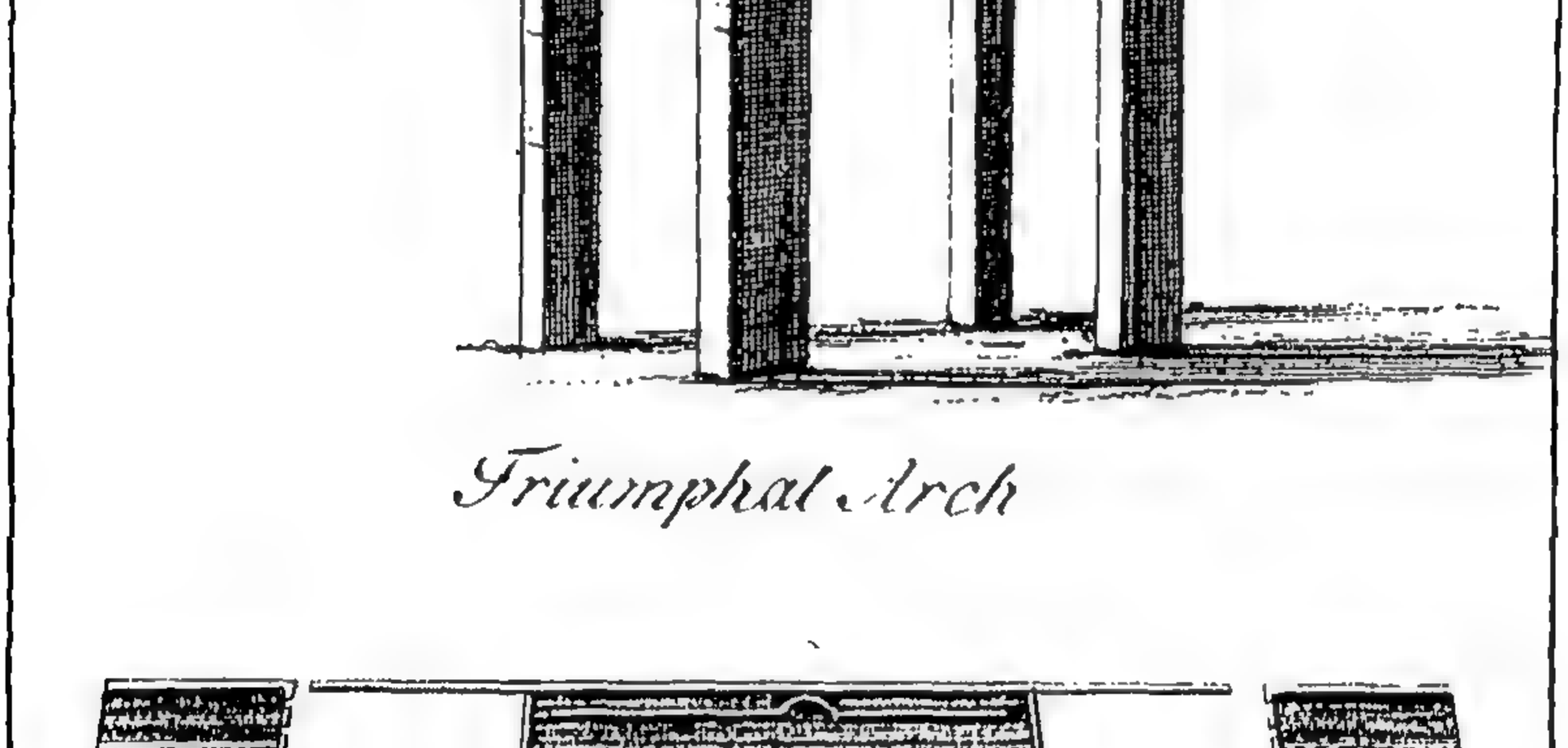
Porcelane Tower of Nankin. There are two towers without the gates of Nankin, one of them called the Porcelane Tower, of an octangular figure, contains nine ſtories, and is two hundred feet high: it is raiſed on a maſſive baſis built of brick, and ſurrounded with a rail of unpoliſhed marble. There are alſo ten or twelve ſteps all round it, by which you aſcend to the firſt room: There are no windows in this room, but three large doors open into it; and from thence you may aſcend to the ninth ſtory, by very ſtrait inconvenient ſtairs; each ſtep being ten inches deep. Theſe towers are all built alike, in the form of a cone, or ſugar-loaf; between every ſtory there is a penthouſe, or ſhed, all round, which grows leſs and leſs, like the tower itſelf, decreaſing in breadth as it encreaſes in height. The wall is at leaſt twelve feet thick at bottom, and eight and a half at the top, and faced with china, or porcelane, on the outſide. Each ſtory is made by thick pieces of timber laid a-croſs, and on them a floor; and the ceiling of every room is adorned with paintings. The walls of the upper rooms have windows; and there are niches alſo round them, filled with the images of their gods. Above the eighth ſtory there



Tower of Nankeen.



Triumphal Arch



A Plann of a Chinese House

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is a cupulo, which riſes thirty feet higher than the tower; and on the top is a very large golden ball. This tower has ſtood above three hundred years, and ſtill appears wonderous beautiful. LE COMPTE looks upon it to be the beſt contrived, and nobleſt ſtructure in the eaſt.

Bells and watches.

The Chineſe have in every city very large bells, by which they diſtinguiſh the five watches of the night: they are hung in towers built for that purpoſe, and begin to ſound at ſeven or eight in the evening. In the firſt watch they ſtrike once, which they repeat a little afterwards, and ſo on till the ſecond watch begins; then they ſtrike two, which they continue to repeat till the third watch begins, and ſo on. They make uſe alſo of a drum in their towers, in the ſame manner.

There are ſeven great bells at Pekin, LE COMPTE informs us, which weigh one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds a-piece. They are eleven feet wide, forty round, and twelve feet high, beſides the ear, which is three feet more. But tho' they exceed our bells much in bigneſs, ours exceed them as much in ſound: neither their metal nor their way of caſting is comparable to ours; and having wooden clappers, they make a very dull noiſe. Theſe bells are almoſt in form of a cylinder, near as wide at the top as they are at bottom; but the thickneſs leſſens gradually from the bottom to the top. The metal is brittle, very ill caſt, and full of knots.

Number of cities and towns.

China abounds in great cities; a traveller is hardly got out of one but he enters another: They are divided into three claſſes, of the firſt there are about 160, many of which are three or four leagues round.

In the provinces of Xenſi and Xanſi their villages are ſurrounded with walls and ditches; and have iron gates, which are ſhut every night, and guarded in the day time by the country people, to defend them as well from the inſults of the ſoldiers, as from robbers.

Triumphal arches.

The triumphal arches above-mentioned, conſiſt of three great arches made of marble, the middle arch higher than the other two: they are ſupported by four columns, ſometimes round, but oftner ſquare, made of one ſingle ſtone, placed on an irregular baſis. The frize is adorned with inſcriptions, beautiful figures and ſculptures, with knots and flowers finely carved, and birds flying as it were from the ſtone. Theſe LE COMPTE looks upon as their maſter-pieces. But ſome of their triumphal arches are ſo very mean that they are not worth deſcribing.

Windows.

The windows of their houſes, as has been hinted already, neither look into the ſtreet, nor towards their neighbours; which makes it neceſſary for them to build about open courts and ſquares to receive the light. Their windows are not glazed, as ours, but inſtead of glaſs they have oyſter-ſhells, or other ſhells of ſea-fiſh, cleaned and ſcraped ſo thin that they will let in the light, though they are not ſo tranſparent as glaſs: in other places, 'tis ſaid, they have pieces of painted glaſs, like ſtraws, glewed together, which form a ſquare of the bigneſs of our largeſt panes: and in other parts of China their windows are made of rattan, or ſplit cane, and are rather lattices than windows, eſpecially in the ſouthern provinces; theſe being much cooler than glaſs or ſhells.

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Port of Canton.

The principal ports of this kingdom whither the Europeans trade are, firſt, Canton, the capital of Quamtung, the moſt ſouthern province of China. It lies under or very near the Tropick of Cancer, about fifty miles from the mouth of the river Ta; and is ſaid to be the beſt harbour in China. It is defended towards the water-ſide by two high walls, with towers upon them, and two ſtrong water caſtles; and on the land ſide by a good wall, and ſeveral caſtles. It exceeds all the cities of Aſia, we are told, in idol temples, courts, palaces, and other publick buildings: there are no leſs than thirteen magnificent triumphal arches between the water-gate and the palace. This city would have vyed with the greateſt, for ſhipping, trade, and numbers of people, before it was ruined by the Tartars in the late war.

Macao.

There was formerly alſo a great trade to Macao, an iſland to the ſouth of Canton, poſſeſſed by the Portugueſe: they have ſtill a fort there and a garriſon; but are forced to ſubmit to the Chineſe, and obey their mandarins: all the cuſtoms alſo are paid to the Emperor, though the Portugueſe ſtill retain a form of government, as to their own people: The town is built upon very uneven ground, on the point of a ſmall iſland, which commands a good road, where the ſhipping is covered from ſtorms by ſeveral other little iſlands which lie to windward.

Emoui or Amoy.

North-eaſt of Canton, in the province of Fokien, is another port called Emoui, from the iſland that forms it. Here the biggeſt ſhips may ride cloſe to the ſhore; and trade has improved there ſo much of late, that it has drawn great numbers of people thither. It has a garriſon of eight or nine thouſand men for the ſecurity of it.

Nimpo.

The moſt eaſterly port in the continent of China is Nimpo: this is a city of the firſt claſs, very populous, and beautified with many triumphal arches. It is but two days ſail diſtant from Japan, with which iſland they maintain a great trade, exporting their ſilks and other manufactures; for which they receive gold, ſilver, braſs, japan cabinets, &c.

Chuſan.

The Engliſh had at the time of the erecting the new Eaſt-India-Company, a factory in the iſland of Chuſan, or Cheuxan, about thirty miles to the eaſtward of Nimpo. This iſland lies about the latitude of 30, and is eight or nine leagues in length from eaſt to weſt, and four or five in breadth.

CHAP. II.

There is a good harbour at the weſt end near the Engliſh factory, which was built cloſe by the ſhore in a low valley, where there are about two hundred houſes of merchants and tradeſmen, who come thither to traffick; but their families reſide at a town about a mile further within the land, which is ſurrounded by a fine ſtone wall, three miles in circuit, defended by two and twenty *ſquare towers, and ſome old iron guns, and has a* garriſon of three or four thouſand men.

Port of Nankin diſuſed by foreigners.

The harbour of Nankin, the capital of the province of that name, and formerly the reſidence of the Emperor, was once accounted the fineſt in China, becauſe of the breadth and depth of the river Kiam, which runs by that town: but no merchant ſhips, LE COMPTE tells us, put in there at preſent; whether the mouth of the river is choaked up, or whether the government intend to divert the trade from this place, he is not poſitive; but inclines to believe the latter: for, he ſays, the famous pyrate, or Chineſe admiral, who refuſed to ſubmit to the Tartars, beſieged it with a great fleet not many years ſince; and the ſtate obſerving how much the place was expoſed to inſults from abroad, choſe to remove the trade to other towns which were more ſecure.

CHAP. III.

The genius, temper, ſtature, complection, ſhape, and habits of the Chineſe; with their entertainments, diet, diverſions, feſtivals, viſits and ceremonies; roads, manner of travelling and carriages.

CHAP. III.

Genius and temper.

THE Chineſe ever looked upon themſelves as ſomething ſuperiour to the reſt of mankind, till the Europeans arrived amongſt them; and ſtill, though their ignorance is ſo notorious in the ſpeculative ſciences, and even in ſome mechanick arts, ſuch as clock-work, architecture, &c. they will have it, that they have one eye more than we.

Such deſpicable notions they formerly entertained of foreigners, that they laid it down as a maxim, to have no further commerce with them, than to receive their homage; and when this was at any time refuſed them, only ſeemed to pity the folly of the Barbarians, as they called them, in neglecting to put themſelves under the protection of ſo wiſe a people. They were antiently, 'tis true, reverenced throughout India, Tartary, and Perſia, as oracles; and the great objection, we are told, that the Japoneſe made to the Chriſtian religion, was, that ſo wiſe a nation as the Chineſe had not received it.

From this reſpect the neighbouring nations paid them, the Chineſe looked upon themſelves as the favourites of heaven, and that they were placed in the middle of the earth, in a ſort of paradiſe, to give laws to the reſt of mankind. Other men they thought wonderfully defective in their underſtandings, and deformed in their perſons, and believed they were caſt into the remote corners of the world, as the droſs and refuſe of nature; and that themſelves only had received from God rational ſouls and bodies, of an agreeable ſize and figure: when they found the Europeans to be verſed in arts and ſciences, they were amazed, and ſaid, 'How could 'this poſſibly be, that a people ſo remote from us 'ſhould be endowed with ſuch parts and learning! 'That they ſhould diſcourſe and argue as we do, 'when they never were inſtructed in the Chineſe 'learning!' But avarice, ambition and pleaſure, it ſeems, have a large ſtroke in all affairs in China, as well as in Europe, notwithſtanding their boaſted politeneſs, and the equitable rules they pretend to be governed by, injuſtice is too often found in their courts; and much of the time both of princes and people is taken up in amorous intrigues, as well there as here; but they uſe ſuch caution to conceal their vices, 'tis ſaid, that a ſtranger would be apt to pronounce all things were well regulated amongſt them.

When they have an intereſt to manage, no people know better how to inſinuate themſelves into the good opinion of thoſe they deal with, or improve an opportunity when it offers; nor will they decline the moſt hazardous undertaking, where they have any gain in view. Throngs of people are perpetually in motion upon their rivers, on their coaſts, and upon the roads; trade and commerce ſeem to be, ſays LE COMPTE, the ſoul of that people, and the ſpring of all their actions; nor do they much ſcruple impoſing on thoſe they deal with, of which many of them are ſo far from being aſhamed, that they will laugh at the man they have bubbled. A foreigner goes in great danger of being cheated if he truſts to his own judgment, and if he employs a Chineſe factor, as is uſual, both factor and merchant will ſometimes combine together to deceive the ſtranger.

They continually apply themſelves to diſcover the inclinations, humours and tempers of thoſe they have any commerce with; and keep up a fair correſpondence even with their greateſt enemies.

However, there do not want inſtances of fair dealing, and open generous uſage, and a fidelity not to be corrupted.

There are no duels amongſt them; all their revenge is ſecretly managed, and they can not only diſſemble their malice, but ſeem patient even to inſenſibility, till they have a favourable opportunity to ſtrike home. Their great men are engaged in a perpetual purſuit of places and great poſts, and carry on their deſigns by bribes and preſents, as in other courts: yet as the laws prohibit theſe practices, and refer all to the merit of the candidate, the moſt ſubtile and deſigning amongſt them ever put on the greateſt appearance of modeſty and ſelf-denial; but however the Chineſe may excel in cunning,



Habits of the Chinese.

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Stature, shape, features, complexion, &c.

cunning, their courage 'tis obſerved is not very remarkable.

In ſo large a country it cannot be expected but the complection and features, if not the ſtature of the diſtant inhabitants, muſt vary. It is not difficult to diſcover a North from a South Britain, or an Engliſhman from a Frenchman, with us; how much more may it be expected, that thoſe of North and South China ſhould have ſomething to diſtinguiſh them, who are 30 degrees of latitude diſtant from each other? Therefore when ſome authors tell us they are fair, and others that they are tawny; ſome that their ſtature and features reſemble the Europeans; others that they have flat ſquare faces, ſhort noſes, &c. theſe relations may eaſily be reconciled, if we conſider that one ſpeaks of this province, and another of that; and that the provinces here are of as large extent as moſt kingdoms in Europe. However, it ſeems to be admitted by moſt writers, that a majority of the Chineſe are ſquat well-ſet men, broad faces, black hair, little dark eyes, ſhort noſes and thin beards, which they wear long on the bottom of the chin and upper lip; but pull the hair off their cheeks by the roots with tweezers, and till they arrive to thirty years of age hardly any beard appears. The learned ſuffer the nails of their left hand to grow two or three inches longer than their fingers, to diſtinguiſh them from mechanicks.

The Chineſe admire one that is tall and fat, a little above the common ſize; and if he have a broad forehead, little eyes, a ſhort noſe, great ears, a little mouth, and a long beard, he is looked upon as a compleat beauty; a big voice alſo is looked upon as no mean accompliſhment, eſpecially in a magiſtrate. The women who are kept up and not expoſed to the Sun, are fair enough; and except that they have little eyes and ſhort noſes, may vye with our European beauties. Their exceſſive modeſty alſo 'tis ſaid, adds much to their other charms. They dreſs uſually in their hair, which is part of it made up in a roll, and faſtned with a bodkin; the reſt is divided into two locks, which fall gracefully upon the neck. In the northern provinces they wear a ſort of caul of thin ſilk over their hair: and in Pekin, in cold weather they wrap a kind of cornet or black hood about it. They wear as the men do, a long veſt of ſattin, red, blue, or green: the elder women generally chuſe black or purple; they have over this a looſe gown with wide ſleeves, ſo long, that they would reach the ground if they were not held up: but what is moſt remarkable, is their little feet; in which their principal beauty is thought to lie. As ſoon as a girl is born her feet are bound up ſo hard that they cannot grow, which makes them walk a little aukwardly, the foot of a grown woman being not bigger than a child's of three years old. They wear embroider'd ſilk ſhoes, in ſhape much like our womens, except that they are turned up at the toes, and that the heels are round and of an equal bigneſs from top to bottom: theſe they make themſelves, and are very proud of ſhewing their fine feet when they have an opportunity.

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The men wear no hats, but a cap, which does not come ſo low as their ears; they carry a fan in their hands to ſcreen them from the ſun. They ſhave their heads except one lock behind, which the better ſort make up into a little roll: the poor people often go without any cap, and let this lock hang down their backs; the cap is faſhioned like a bell; that which they wear in ſummer is made of a fine mat, and lined with ſattin; there is alſo a tuft or bunch of ſilk or hair died red which falls from the top of the cap to the bottom like a fringe, and covers it all over; or, being light, waves in the wind, and appears very beautiful at a diſtance: they have alſo a large button of amber or glaſs on the top of the cap, which makes a mighty glittering. In winter theſe caps are made of pluſh, turned up with ſable, or fox-skin, and being very ſhallow, they are faſtened under their chins with a ſtring.

Habits of men.

They wear a veſt which reaches to the ground, and folds over the breaſt. It is faſtened on the left ſide with four or five buttons of gold or ſilver: the ſleeves are wide at the ſhoulder, but narrow towards the wriſt, and cover the whole hand to the fingers ends. The veſt is tied with a ſilk ſaſh which hangs down to their knees. In ſummer their necks are bare: but in winter they cover them, with a cape of ſatten ſewed to the veſt, or a tippet of ſable or fox-skin three or four fingers broad. Over their veſt they wear a looſe coat or gown, blue, green, or any other colour, with ſhort ſleeves: this is ſhorter than their veſt, and thoſe the Tartars and ſoldiers wear, do not come lower than their knees. When they receive company, or viſit others, they wear another looſe coat or gown over that, and every garment is of different colours. Under their veſt both men and women wear a ſhirt, or rather waſtecoat of taffety, which wraps over the breaſt, and is laced or tied on the right ſide, and has cloſe narrow ſleeves; they have alſo a pair of drawers of the ſame. In winter the waſtecoat is of linen, and they have breeches, or rather trowſers; for they are wide, and reach down a great part of the leg: theſe are made with coarſe ſattin quilted with cotton or raw-ſilk. The men alſo wear a kind of ſilk boots quilted with cotton an inch thick, and ſlippers beſides. Theſe ſlippers have good ſubſtantial ſoles, ſtitch'd with pack-thread; but the foot of the boot, as it is called, is made of ſilk or linen, and therefore cannot be worn without the ſlipper. A man of faſhion will never be ſeen without his boots when any one comes to viſit him; but at other times they wear ſlippers only in their houſes.

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They had retained the ſame faſhion in their cloaths and habits above two thouſand years, when the Tartars compelled them to cut off their hair, and alter them in ſome particulars. The Chineſe cannot be reconciled to perukes; and the drawing on ſtrait ſtockings and breeches, and the diſcovering ſo much leg and thigh as the Europeans do, looks very odd to them.

People of diſtinction, though they never appear uncovered in publick, and obſerve a mighty decorum abroad, yet in private, and among their friends, will put off their caps, gowns, veſts, and even their waſtecoats or ſhirts, wearing nothing but a thin pair of drawers of white taffety or tranſparent linen. And the common people, watermen, and artificers, eſpecially in the ſouthern provinces, work and go along the ſtreets with only a thin pair of drawers, without cap, ſhirt, or ſtockings; ſo that they are perfectly tawny.

When the Chineſe ride in bad weather, their great coats, caps and veſts are cruſted over with a ſort of oil, which looks green when it is dried, and defends them againſt the rain; and their boots are made of good thick leather.

Miſſioners habits.

The Miſſioners in China at firſt went in the habit of the Bonzes, or Pagan Prieſts; but they ſoon grew aſhamed of appearing like theſe idol prieſts, and took up the ſtudents habit of long gowns. When the Tartars came in they were forced to accommodate themſelves to their faſhions, and wear ſhort veſts and coats of ſilk; though at home they tell us they are cloathed in ſerge, or painted linen.

At their girdles the Chineſe hang their pouch of tobacco, their pipe, which is braſs, their handkerchief, the little ſticks they eat with, and their knife. I don't perceive they have any pockets to put their trinkets in.

In winter the quality wear rich furs; and other lamb-skins, or quilted cotton.

Their ſwords, which are broad, they wear on the left ſide, with the point forward.

Every Mandarin has wrought upon his cloaths, either in gold or ſilver, before and behind, ſomething which ſhews the dignity of his office. The civil magiſtrates have uſually a bird: and the military officers dragons, lyons, or tygers worked upon them.

Diet.

The Chineſe are far from being ſuperſtitious in their diet; they do not only eat all kinds of fleſh, fiſh and fowl as the Europeans do, but horſe fleſh is in great eſteem among them; nor are dogs, cats, ſnakes, frogs, or ſcarce any ſort of vermin refuſed: but rice, roots, pulſe and garden-ſtuff are the common food. Broth and ſoops they have alſo made either of fleſh or fiſh, which they mix with their rice. Salt and pepper are never brought to table, the meat being ſeaſoned in the dreſſing. They eat their fleſh boil'd, fry'd, and broil'd; but it is cut into little ſquare pieces like dice before it comes to table. They uſe neither cloth, napkins, knives, ſpoons or forks; but two little round ſticks of ebony, or other wood, ſometimes tipp'd with ſilver at the ends, with which they take up their meat very dexterouſly; and for their rice and broth they hold the cup to their mouths and lade it in with their little ſticks. They uſe high chairs and tables, contrary to all the people of the eaſt beſides, who ſit croſs legg'd upon the floor. Every perſon almoſt has a little lacquer'd table to himſelf at an entertainment, on which is ſet his meat and rice in little China diſhes or ſaucers, and ſometimes plate is uſed.

Liquors.

Tea is their principal liquor; wine they have none, though the country abounds in fine grapes; neither do they brew beer of barley, but have ſtrong liquors which they make of rice, or wheat; cold water they never drink; their water being generally bad, and not fit to be drank till it is boiled and corrected by the infuſion of herbs, or mixed with ſpirits.

The two principal ſtrong liquors our ſeamen mention who go that voyage are, Hochſhue and Samſhue: as for tea, the ſailors leave that ſort of beveridge entirely to the natives. The Muſcovite ambaſſadors alſo tell us of a ſort of brandy or ſpirits, with which they were entertained in the Emperor's palace.

Hochſhue is of the colour of brown beer, but very clear and ſtrong: it is ſaid to be an infuſion of wheat in ſcalding hot water, and taſtes more like mum than beer. Samſhue is a ſpirit diſtilled from rice, and either of a pale or reddiſh colour; and this is what ſeveral travellers give the name of wine to.

Ceremonious at their entertainments.

Theſe people generally eat their meat cold, tho' they drink their liquors hot; and ſo much ceremony is uſed at their entertainments, that it muſt certainly very much leſſen the pleaſure of eating and drinking. Whenever a mouthful of meat is taken up, or a cup of liquor drank, it occaſions a hundred grimaces. There ſtands alſo a perſon to beat time, that every one may handle his little ſticks, and carry their meat to their mouths at once.

The entertainment begins with drinking wine, as it is called, though it be a liquor made of rice. This is preſented to every one of the gueſts at the ſame time, in a ſmall China or ſilver cup; they take hold of it with both their hands, and lift the cup as high as their heads, and then drink without ſpeaking a word. If any perſon don't care to drink, it is neceſſary to make the motion however, and hold the cup to his head as long as the reſt, and it is not taken notice of whether he drinks or not.

After this a diſh of meat is ſerved up to each table; when the maſter of the feaſt gives the ſign, the two ſticks are taken up and flouriſhed, after

which they ſtrike them into the diſh, and very dextrouſly carry a piece of meat to their mouths. They are to take as much care as poſſible that their mouths all move together, that one may not have done before another; for either to be beforehand, or make the reſt wait, is reckoned a great piece of rudeneſs, and throws all into confuſion. When this is done, they flouriſh their little ſticks again, and having taken two or three mouthfuls of a diſh, the maſter of the houſe gives the ſign to lay down their arms, which they do exactly in the ſame order they found them.

Then comes the liquor again, which is drunk off with the ſame ceremony as before. They drink, or rather ſip, after they have taſted a mouthful or two of a diſh, and ſometimes there is not leſs than twenty ſerved up; but the cups are little, and no man drinks more than he has a mind to; if he do but make the motion, as has been obſerved before, it is ſufficient.

They ſit ſilent at table often three or four hours, Le Compte tells us: and when the maſter of the houſe thinks every one has eat what he will, he gives the ſign to riſe. Then they get up and take a turn in the garden, or ſome part of the houſe, for about a quarter of an hour; after which they return to the dining-room, where they find the deſert, conſiſting of ſweetmeats and dried fruits, which they eat with their tea. In the mean time a company of ſtrolers are called in to act a comedy; but the Jeſuits tell us, they are exceeding dull and noiſy, and obſerve no rules; that they rather howl than ſing, and make very indifferent declamations; tho' it is expected you ſhould however cry up the performance, and admire the wiſdom of their anceſtors in inſtituting theſe diverſions.

Their plays generally contain the hiſtories of ſome of their imaginary ſaints or heroes.

Their ceremonies are part of the conſtitution, every man is obliged to obſerve them, even tradeſmen, ſervants, ſeamen, and husbandmen have their reſpective forms and ceremonies appointed them, which the Chineſe imagine contributes much towards civilizing their people; that the uſing thoſe outward condeſcentions and mild expreſſions required by the government, tend to promote peace and order in the ſtate, as well as in every particular neighbourhood; and that the ſeeming affection they are taught to expreſs for one another, tends to produce mutual good will; that the forbearing ſcurrilous provoking language may prevent many quarrels, or at leaſt they will be ſoon compoſed, where no ſuch fuel is adminiſtred, and by ſcolding in ſoft expreſſions, their fury does not riſe to that height it would, if vulgar, ſordid language were allowed of. Oaths and obſcene diſcourſe, it is ſaid, are never heard of amongſt them.

The common ſalutation is the laying the right hand to your breaſt and bowing the head a little; when they would ſhew greater reſpect, they join both hands together, and bow their whole body pretty low: where one ſalutes a perſon of ſuperior quality in his houſe, or elſewhere, he falls on one knee, and remains in that poſture till the perſon he ſalutes takes him up, which he does in an inſtant. It would be an affront, it ſeems, to ſalute a magiſtrate when he appears in publick, unleſs the perſon has particular buſineſs with him; but people ſtand up while they are carried by, with their arms a-croſs, and their eyes fixed upon the ground.

Viſits. Familiar friends viſit without much ceremony; but for all others there is a form preſcribed. The perſon who makes the viſit ſends a ſervant to the gentleman he deſigns to wait on, with a note filled with many reſpectful expreſſions, ſuitable to the quality of the perſon he is going to ſee, to which he ſubſcribes his name. The meſſage being delivered, the viſiter ſets out, and is received according to his rank: if the perſon he goes to ſee be much above him, the maſter of the houſe does not move out of his chair; ſometimes he waits for his gueſt at the hall, at other times he goes into the court; and if the perſon viſited be much the inferior, he goes out into the ſtreet to bring in the ſtranger; as ſoon as they diſcover one another they both run, and make low bows. There is but little ſaid at their encountring each other, a ſet of ſhort compliments are preſcribed; the one knows what he is to ſay, and the other what he is to anſwer: at every door they halt, where the bows and cringes are renewed, and they diſpute who ſhall enter firſt. They uſe but two expreſſions on this occaſion, the one ſays tſin, which is pray walk in; the other anſwers paucan, or it muſt not be. This is repeated four or five times, and then the ſtranger ſuffers himſelf to be overcome, and goes on to the next door, where the ſame ceremony is renewed. When the company comes to the room where they are to be entertained, they ſtand all in one rank, and bow almoſt to the ground; they never ſtand oppoſite to one another when they ſalute; then they kneel, after which they ſpend ſome time in offering one another the right hand: they proceed to bow even to the chairs, and every one duſts them with his great ſleeve, which the maſter accepts very thankfully; then comes the diſpute who ſhall ſit uppermoſt, but this makes no manner of diſorder, every one knowing what place belongs to him after all this cringing is over, and one waits for the other till the ceremonies preſcribed him are performed.

After a quarter of an hour's grimace, they all ſeat themſelves one over againſt the other. They are obliged to ſit upright without leaning, with down-caſt looks, their hands ſtretched out on their knees, and their feet even; they are to look grave and compoſed, and muſt not be too talkative,

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Manner of addreſs.

tive, and ſometimes there is not a word ſpoken beſides the compliments preſcribed. When they do ſpeak, it is with all the ſubmiſſion imaginable, and never in the firſt or ſecond perſon; for inſtance, inſtead of ſaying, I am obliged to you for the favour you have done me, they will ſay, the favour my lord has done me, who am ſo much beneath him, has laid his ſervant under the higheſt obligations. And inſtead of ſaying, I preſent you with this curioſity which my country produces, they will ſay, permit the ſervant to offer his lord this curioſity which his poor country affords. Again, whatever comes from his lordſhip's noble province is well wrought, or extraordinary fine. And never ſay, I or you; but your ſervant or your ſcholar did ſuch a thing; and the doctor or my lord ſaid this or that; and not you ſaid or you did it this would be reckoned the heighth of incivility, a manner of ſpeaking only to be uſed to ſlaves.

Tea is the uſual liquor drunk upon a viſit; and much ceremony there is uſed in taking the diſh, carrying it to one's mouth, and ſetting it down, or returning it to the ſervant, and when they take leave, much the ſame cringes are repeated as when the gueſts arrive. Ambaſſadors are allowed maſters of the ceremonies to inſtruct them forty days before they are admitted to their audience, that they may commit no blunders, and many of the Chineſe will be offended with ſtrangers if they omit to cringe and fawn, according to the rules preſcribed them.

Never uncover their heads.

The Chineſe are ſo far from putting off their caps when they ſalute one another, that it is reckoned very indecent to appear before their betters bareheaded: and upon this account, in conformity to the cuſtom of that country, the Pope thought fit to diſpenſe with the Miſſioners appearing bareheaded in the Chriſtian churches in China.

Ceremonies on taking leave.

When a ſtranger is about to take horſe and return home, this cannot be effected without much ceremony; for he won't be ſo rude to mount before the maſter of the houſe, and he on the contrary entreats his gueſt to mount, while he ſtands to wait on him. The ſtranger then proteſts the world ſhall be turned up-ſide down before he will be ſo rude, and perſiſts in his reſolution till the maſter of the houſe retires out of ſight; but the ſtranger is no ſooner in the ſaddle, than his friend appears again, and bids him adieu; which compliment is returned by the other: and when the ſtranger is gone a little way, a ſervant is alſo diſpatched after him to wiſh him a good journey; for which the other returns him thanks. Father GEMELLI CARERI tells us, the gueſts leave money enough behind them to pay for the expences the maſter of the houſe has been at; which though he refuſes a great while, is at length accepted. But this I meet with in no other author, and perhaps it may amount to no more than the ſervants veils with us; for few would make viſits where they were obliged to pay the whole charge of the entertainment.

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Gaming.

Gaming, though prohibited by the Chineſe laws, is much practiſed amongſt them, and there are inſtances of thoſe who have followed it ſo immoderately, that they have played away their eſtates, wives, and children; any of which they will ſometimes hazard upon a card, or a ſingle caſt of a die.

Feſtivals.

They have ſeveral feſtivals, particularly the three firſt days in the year, which they celebrate by feaſting, gaming, comedies, and ſending preſents to their friends and patrons; but the fifteenth day of the firſt month is ſolemnized with greater pomp than any: this is called the feaſt of lanthorns; they hang them up in the ſtreets and in their houſes, and give themſelves up to all the extravagancies practiſed at a carnaval. Some ſay that it was in remembrance of one of their Emperors, who ordered a vaſt palace to be erected, which he illuminated with a prodigious number of lanthorns, that the day might not be diſtinguiſhed from the night. Others ſay it was in remembrance of a great Mandarin, whoſe daughter drowned herſelf. This magiſtrate, they tell us, having uſed the people under his command with great humanity and tenderneſs, the country in gratitude came to his aſſiſtance with their lanthorns to look for his daughter; but ſhe was not to be found: and every year in memory of the accident, the people thereabouts aſſembled with their lanthorns, which at length grew into a general cuſtom.

But whatever gave occaſion to this feſtival, all people celebrate it with great ſplendor and magnificence. They lay out on ſome of their lanthorns at leaſt two thouſand crowns, and will retrench from their other expences that they may do ſomething extraordinary on that day. The gilding, carving, painting, ſilk and varniſh uſed about them, make a glorious ſhow; and ſome of them are above twenty feet diameter. Theſe lanthorns are illuminated with an infinite number of wax candles and lamps. The ordinary lanthorns are generally four foot high, and have ſix panes half a foot broad each, made of tranſparent ſilk, whereon are painted flowers, trees, rocks and human figures in very lively colours. They have alſo bonfires and fireworks in all parts of the city: and the people ſeem to run mad with an exceſs of joy for they know not what; in which the Europeans too frequently reſemble them.

Roads.

The Chineſe, as the Romans heretofore, throw up highways, from one end of the kingdom to the other. The canals, as has been obſerved already, are faced with ſtone, as well for the conveniency of travelling, as to ſecure the banks; and great numbers of fine ſtone bridges are laid over them, to render the communication of the provinces with one another the more eaſy and commodious. Through the meadows and low grounds they raiſe their

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their ways to a great height, and in ſome places pave them; they cut paſſages through rocks and mountains, that carriages may paſs the better; and on the ſides of ſome ſteep mountains they make a kind of galleries with timber, which are very dreadful to ſtrangers to look down from, but the country people ride over them without any apprehenſions.

Their roads are generally about five or ſix and twenty yards broad, and there are erected upon them little wooden buildings thirty foot high, not much unlike their triumphal arches. Theſe ſtand about a mile and half diſtance from one another, over which are written in large characters the names of the towns whither the roads lead, and their diſtances, which are exactly meaſured at the charge of the publick. At the like diſtances there are little forts or redoubts of earth caſt up, on which are erected the Emperor's ſtandard. The country militia keep guard here for the ſecurity of travellers, and forward all diſpatches that are ſent by the government. Theſe guards examine any one that goes armed, and he muſt produce his paſs or they will detain him. There is that caution uſed, that the roads are very little infeſted with robbers, notwithſtanding the number of neceſſitous people that ſo populous a country must be ſuppoſed to contain, and the rich booty that is perpetually to be found upon the roads; one reaſon whereof may be, that they are commonly ſo full of travellers and ſo well guarded, that it would be very difficult to meet with an opportunity to commit a robbery; but what contributes much more to this ſecurity is the natural induſtry of the people, and the great encouragement that is given to diligence, inſomuch that there is not a foot of land which is fit for tillage left unmanured, and their manufactures of ſilk exceed all the world beſides, both in quantity and goodneſs.

Roads.

Their poſts were originally deſigned only for the ſervice of the government, and it is the care of the Viceroys and Governors of provinces to give them all imaginable diſpatch; but the poſt-maſters are permitted to carry private letters, and do it as punctually, and with leſs charge than they are carried in Europe.

What contributes very much to the keeping their roads in repair, is the Emperor's frequent viſiting the provinces of the empire, and whether he goes or not, it is given out every year that he will make a progreſs through this or that part of his dominions; whereupon all the Governors and magiſtrates in the provinces through which it is expected the Emperor will paſs, apply themſelves with all diligence to repair every defect, it being as much as their places, or even their heads are worth if the roads be found out of order. And we are told of a Mandarin, who deſpairing of being able to mend them before the approach of the Emperor, hanged himſelf a little unadviſedly to avoid his reſentment; for the Emperor did not come that way at laſt. But notwithſtanding all this care, it is mighty inconvenient travelling by land in dry weather; for the ſoil is ſo light and beaten to powder by conſtant trampling, that a man muſt travel all day long through a cloud of duſt; their water-carriage is much to be preferred to the land.

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They have horſes, mules and camels to ride on; but chiefly travel in litters, carried by men or mules; ſome travel in chariots, we are told, but our authors do not give us the deſcription of theſe chariots, or acquaint us how they are drawn; they ſeem to me to be no other than the calaſhes with two wheels which the Tartars uſe. This is an omiſſion common in writers of voyages; they think it ſufficient to give a machin a name, not according to the figure of the thing, but the uſe it is put to; every thing we ride in they will denominate a chariot, and if carried by men, a chair, how little ſoever they reſemble ours. The chairs people are carried in are made of cane, and have no glaſs; the upper part of them is uſually open before, except the womens, who muſt neither ſee or be ſeen abroad. A piece of wood goes croſs from one pole to the other, which the chairmen lay upon their ſhoulders, and do not carry the poles in their hands, as ours do.

Way of Travelling.

The Tartars uſually ride on horſeback, both in towns and upon the roads; their ſaddles are made much like thoſe in Turky, and, like the Turks, they ride mighty ſhort, with their knees almoſt as high as the top of the ſaddle. When they engage an enemy they riſe up upon their ſtirrups to give the greater force to the ſtroke they make.

The greateſt part of the goods and merchandizes (where they have not the conveniency of water) is carried by porters on their backs, who travel at a great rate, the roads perfectly ſwarm with them, and there are little houſes for them to reſt and bait at all along the road ſide. Upon the canals alſo, as has been hinted already, their largeſt veſſels are drawn by men, even up the greateſt cataracts and water-falls; they ſeem to have very few horſes for draught or burden, the poor people are uſually employed in thoſe drudgeries; and, as travellers tell us, are uſed almoſt as barbarouſly as beaſts of burthen in this part of the world.

Carriages.

Their chairmen will run with a chair or litter at the rate of five miles an hour, and reſt but once in ten miles, we are told: a book of the roads is printed by authority, ſhewing the ways and diſtances from Pekin to every conſiderable place in the empire. In this book all the royal ways are divided into ſtages, or days journeys: at every ſtage there is a houſe where the Mandarins (governors of towns or provinces) are lodged at the Emperor's charge, when they go to their commands.

Inns.

Here is a guard and all accommodations ſuitable to the quality of the perſon to be received. An expreſs

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expreſs ſets out a day before the Mandarin, who carries with him an inſtrument containing the Mandarin's name and office, to which is alſo affixed his ſeal; upon producing whereof the houſe or palace where he is to lodge is immediately prepared, and ſervants, chairs, litters, proviſion and boats, if there be occaſion, are provided ſuitable to the quality of the officer who is expected. And other perſons, as well as Mandarins, are accommodated in theſe houſes, who travel upon account of the government, or can procure an order for it. Expreſſes are alſo here furniſhed with neceſſaries for their journey, who before they come near the houſe beat upon a braſs pan, which they carry at their backs, to give notice to prepare horſes for them, that they may meet with no delays.

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Their manufactures, trade, ſhipping, and navigation.

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Manufactures.

THE principal manufacture in this kingdom is that of ſilk, which is eſteemed by all nations the fineſt in the world. That which the natives account the beſt is wrought in the province of Nanking of Chekiang ſilk; but that of Quamtum is highly valued by foreigners.

The ſort that is moſt common amongſt them is called Touanze; it is like our ſattin, and either plain or wrought with flowers, birds, trees and houſes. Theſe figures are not raiſed, but made only by the different colours and ſhades. The principal figure in their ſilks is the dragon, of which there are two ſorts, one is called Lom, and has five claws, which is only uſed in the Emperor's ſilks; for this dragon is the imperial arms which Fohi, the founder of the empire, gave four thouſand years ago. They work another dragon in their ſilks, called Mam, with four claws, which every one is permitted to wear.

In ſummer the quality uſe a ſilk called Cha for their gowns, which is a ſort of taffety: it is not worked ſo cloſe, or has ſo good a gloſs as the taffety made in Europe, but it is more ſubſtantial; it is ſometimes plain, but generally powdered with great flowers pierced through, and cut like Engliſh lace: A whole piece of it, large enough to make a veſt and looſe gown, may be purchaſed there for about two guineas.

They have another ſort of taffety which ſerves them for waſtecoats, drawers and linings. This is a very cloſe ſilk, and yet ſo pliant, that preſs it or tumble it never ſo much it won't wrinkle, and they waſh it like linen without ſpoiling its beauty much. It is generally ſold by weight.

Beſides gold-tiſſue, and ſeveral other ſorts of ſilk, they alſo make pluſh, velvet, crapes, druggets, ſerges and tammies; but though wool is very plentiful, eſpecially in the provinces of Xenſi and Xanſi, which abound in ſheep, they make no cloth; they have a great value for Engliſh cloth, which is ſold dearer there than the richeſt ſilks. They make blankets of their own wool, and a ſort of ruſſet cloth, of which the learned make them ſtudying gowns for the winter.

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They have a great deal of cotton-linen, and another ſort of a plant called Co, which is found no where elſe. It is planted and grows in their fields to the bigneſs of ones finger; when it is dry they bind it into ſheaves and water it like flax or hemp: the firſt skin they peel off and throw away, the ſecond they divide into ſmall threads with their fingers, and without beating or ſpinning make linen of it, which is tranſparent, and mighty cool and light.

The people of faſhion make veſts of it in ſummer, and wear a looſe gown of Cha over it. In ſpring and autumn they wear coarſe ſattin, the elder people plain, and others flowered, but none wear ſilks flowered with gold or ſilver in publick aſſemblies or on ſolemn viſits but the Mandarins. The common people generally wear a coarſe blue linen quilted with cotton, or lined with ſheepskins in the winter; and the better ſort line their veſts and gowns with ſables, or fox, or lambskins: they only turn up their ſleeves, or border their veſts with ermins, for they are very ſcarce in China.

The Mandarins (who are often pretty thick and ſhort) beſides their veſts and gowns, which are made of furs, in winter put on ſtill another gown over all with the fur outwards; which our author obſerves make their figure differ very little from bears, or the beaſt whoſe skin they borrow; but nothing is more commonly worn than lambskins with the wool, which is white, ſoft and warm, but pretty heavy, and has at firſt a ſtrong ſmell with it.

Raw ſilk.

Their raw ſilk is of two ſorts, the one is made by wild worms in the fields and upon trees, which the people gather and ſpin; this ſilk is of a grey colour and has no gloſs, and yet it is mightily valued, and coſts more than ſattin; they are wove ſtrong and cloſe, and waſh like linen; as for the other ſilk, they feed the worms in their houſes with mulberry-leaves forty days, and manage it as in Europe.

Wax.

China is remarkable for a ſort of white wax, not made by bees but gathered from trees, which they have in ſuch abundance, that it ſerves the whole empire. It is found chiefly in the province of Huquam and Xantung: it is produced by an inſect not bigger than a flea, which has a ſting ſo ſharp that it pierces the bark and even the body of the trees. The country people gather the eggs of this inſect in the ſpring, from whence proceed worms, which they place at the foot of the trees that are proper for them; they creep up and diſperſe

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perſe themſelves through all the branches, and penetrating to the very pith, convert their nouriſhment into wax as white as ſnow, which they work out of the hole they have made; it hangs congealed in drops about the tree, and the people gather it and make it into cakes for the market. As for their tallow, which is produced by a certain tree, it will be mentioned under the next head of plants.

China-ware.

The Porcelane, or China ware, is another conſiderable manufacture in this country: it is made of a very ſtiff clay, or rather, ſoft white ſtone, found in the quarries of the province of Quamſi; the pieces whereof being waſhed, and ſeparated from the other earth wherewith it is mixed, are beaten to a very fine powder, which they make into a paſte, and knead and beat it a long time afterwards, that the water may the better incorporate with it. They uſe a particular water, which is not to be found in the ſame part of the country the earth is: it is impregnated with a peculiar ſort of ſalt which purifies and refines the clay more than any other. When the paſte is ſufficiently kneaded, they form their veſſels, and expoſe them to the ſun morning and evening; but take them in when the ſun is too hot, or it will warp them. Thus they dry the veſſels by degrees, and paint them as they find the earth proper to receive it. They alſo waſh over the cups with a ſort of lye or varniſh made of the ſame matter the Porcelane is compoſed of, which gives them a particular luſtre. After this they bake them in a furnace, which they heat with a gentle uniform fire, and for fear they ſhould receive any damage from the air, they do not draw them out immediately after they are baked, but let them cool gradually before they expoſe them to the air; from whence it appears that it requires a great deal of care and patience to bring this neat ware to perfection: but it is a great miſtake to think it takes up a hundred years, as ſome have reported: nay, it is evident that it is not many months about; for we ſend them the patterns of ſeveral veſſels from Europe, which they imitate, and return us the kinds we propoſed in a very ſhort time.

There are three different ſorts of China ware, diſtinguiſhed by the different colours: the firſt is yellow, and though this is coarſer than either of the other, yet it being the imperial colour, is always uſed in the Emperor's court, and is not allowed to other people. The ſecond ſort is grey, with abundance of ſmall irregular lines in it croſſing one another; theſe are the moſt beautiful, but very rarely brought to Europe. The laſt and moſt common ſort is white, painted with flowers, trees, and birds, of a pure blue, which our merchants principally buy up. This ware is valued according to its fineneſs, its whiteneſs, the ſmoothneſs, the painting and faſhion. The fineneſs is diſcovered by the tranſparency, which may be judged of by the edges where it is thineſt. The whiteneſs is not to be judged of by the outward varniſh, but the earth itſelf is to be examined; and this appears the whiter the older it is, when the varniſh is in ſome meaſure worn off. If there be the leaſt whart or roughneſs upon the ſurface it is accounted a very great fault; it ought to be perfectly ſmooth and even throughout.

The painting is either red or blue: their reds, it is obſervable, are ſeldom very lively upon theſe veſſels, tho' they do not want very fine reds in China; but their blue is excellent; however if care is not taken by the workman, the whiteneſs of the Porcelane will be ſullied by a bluiſh water which flows from the colour. Their flowers, it is obſerved, are pretty juſt in their painting; but their human figures monſtrous: and the reaſon of it is ſaid to be, becauſe regular pieces are not ſo taking in China as the miſ-ſhapen ill proportioned pictures they ſend us.

Varniſh.

That fine varniſh with which the Chineſe waſh both their earthen and wooden ware, is not a compoſition, but a gum which diſtills from a tree, as roſin does: it looks a little like pitch in the maſs, and muſt be mixed with more or leſs oil when it is uſed, according to the work it is intended for. Tables and ordinary chairs they only waſh two or three times over with it, and it is ſo tranſparent that you will diſcover every vein of the wood through it; but if you deſign to hide the matter it is laid on, it is repeated ſo often till it becomes an ice: when the varniſh is dry they paint the work with gold, ſilver or other colours; and they ſometimes will go over it with varniſh again, to give it the finer luſtre. This varniſh preſerves the wood as well as beautifies it.

Paper.

Their paper in China is made of the inward bark of the bambou, or large hollow knotted cane, which they beat, and make their ſheets ten or twelve feet long: it is mighty thin and ſmooth, and waſhed over with a ſort of varniſh, to prevent the ink's ſinking: but it is not ſo laſting as the paper of Europe; for being made of the bark of a tree, the worm is apt to take it; and this is the reaſon they have no antient manuſcripts in China: their libraries conſiſt only of copies of authentick originals, being forced to tranſcribe or reprint their books in the compaſs of a few years.

Ink.

Their ink is compoſed of lampblack extracted from ſeveral materials; but the beſt is made of hog's greaſe burnt in a lamp; they mix a ſort of oil and perfumes with it, which gives it an agreeable ſmell; having made it into a paſte, they form it into little long ſquare ſticks with a mold, and dry them; when they write they rub this ſtick in a little water, and it will make a ſhining black ink; which never ſpreads beyond the ſtroke of the pen or pencil, though the paper is ſo fine that it ſometimes ſinks through.

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Trade.

The Chineſe heretofore would have no trade with foreign nations, but now admit all people into their ports; they carry their merchandize alſo themſelves to India, Japan, the Philippines, Java, and other iſlands in the Indian ſeas; but never were known to make a voyage to any diſtant country. They hardly ever heard of any other part of the world, but Aſia, till the Europeans diſcovered the paſſage thither by the Cape of good Hope; though we are aſſured they had the loadſtone and the uſe of the compaſs long before us: the reaſon they never made long voyages is ſaid to be, that they looked upon the reſt of mankind as little better than brutes, and believed that they themſelves poſſeſſed much the greateſt as well as the beſt part of the earth. When the Europeans gave them to underſtand how very ſmall a part of the world they enjoyed, and that there were many kingdoms which ſurpaſſed them in arts and ſciences as well as power, they ſtood amazed; though they could not reſiſt the force of demonſtration. And it is obſervable, that they received the Jeſuits kindly who brought them this intelligence; and learnt the mathematicks of them, which gave thoſe fathers vaſt advantages in propagating the Chriſtian faith, and in ſome meaſure ſupplied the place of miracles.

But to return to their trade: their principal manufactures which they export have been mentioned already, and the product of the ſoil will be mentioned in the following chapter: but it may be proper to obſerve here, that notwithſtanding vaſt quantities of gold and ſilver are yearly ſhipped for that country, they ſuffer none to be exported again, but by ſtealth.

Shipping.

The veſſels on their rivers and canals have been deſcribed already; thoſe that go to ſea are deeper and more capacious; but their maſts and ſails are made after much the ſame manner, and their heads and ſterns ſquare, like the former. They have ſome two maſts, and others three, and their largeſt are above a thouſand tuns burthen. Each maſt is but one piece of timber, ſupported on each ſide: their ſails are made of matting, ſtrengthened with ſplit cane at about two foot diſtance; they let them down upon deck inſtead of going up to furl the ſails, and they fold up like a fan, having no yards as the European ſhips have.

All ſhips carry frightful images of their gods, and have altars and lamps burning before them. The hold of the ſhip is divided into many ſmall partitions, which are made ſo tight, that if they ſpring a leak, only the goods ſtowed there will be damaged, and it can go no farther.

This being ſo great a ſecurity to their ſhipping, I enquired how it happened that our merchants did not imitate the Chineſe, and build in the ſame manner; to which it was anſwered, that theſe partitions took up a great deal of room, and that the ſafety they could propoſe by this means, would not countervail the extraordinary charges they muſt be at. Beſides, our people trade to India by companies, and need no partitions to divide their goods; whereas the Chineſe trade ſeparately, and every merchant, or his factor, takes care of his own goods, which is looked upon to be the principal reaſon of making thoſe partitions.

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Contains an account of the nature of the ſoil, their tillage, gardens, huſbandry, plants, animals and minerals.

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CHINA, like other countries of a large extent, conſiſts of hills and valleys; but both the one and the other are made as plain and level as poſſible, and laid out in plots like gardens. Their hills they cut into terraces, or little artificial plains, from the bottom to the top, that the water which they convey through channels from one field to another, may be equally diſtributed. Theſe plains are leſs and leſs as they increaſe in height till you come to the top, and thus the ſoil of the hills is made as fruitful as their beſt valleys. The mold or vegetable earth is generally light and porous, and ſo deep in moſt provinces that you may dig a great way before you come at any rocky or barren earth. Indeed the mountains of Xenſi, Honan, Quamtum and Fokien are not ſo fit for tillage as the reſt; but then they are well wooded with all manner of timber, both for building of houſes and ſhipping.

Husbandry.

Wheat.

In the provinces of Pekin, Xanſi, Xenſi and Suchuen, which lie towards the weſt and north, they ſow wheat, barley and peas; Huquam, Nankin, and Chiekiam, which are low watery countries, abound in rice.

Soil and tillage.

The ſoil of their ground is ſo light, that they plow with a ſingle buffaloe or heifer; after they have plowed they clear the ground of all weeds; and if the field be deſigned for rice, they let in the water and moiſten the earth till it become a perfect pulp or hotchpotch. They ſow their rice firſt in little beds or plots, where it comes up ſo thick that it would never yield, therefore they tranſplant it after it is grown ſix or eight inches high (two foot high, ſays LE COMPTE, but this muſt be a miſtake) and plant their fields in ſtrait lines as our gardiners do their beans, leaving little ſpaces between. They continually ſupply theſe fields with water, in which the rice grows till it is almoſt ripe; and then the water being dried up, they cut and thraſh it out often in the fields where it grows, and in moſt provinces have two harveſts in the year. The rice has an ear, the moſt like bearded barley of any European grain, and grows uſually four foot, ſometimes two yards high.

They

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Manure for wheat.

They prepare their ground for wheat and barley by grubbing up the graſs and roots, and burning all together with ſtraw; then having ſifted this earth fine, they mix and ſow it with ſeed in a ſtrait line in trenches, and not promiſcuouſly as our husbandmen do. They uſe no dung to meliorate the land that is ſown with rice, water alone is ſufficient for this grain; but for other grain they uſe all ſorts of dung, and among the reſt aſhes and human excrements; and they are ſuch good huſbands of their ground, that there is neither hedge, ditch or tree to be ſeen in any of their ploughed fields.

Fruits.

They have moſt of the fruits that are known in Europe, as apples, pears, peaches, apricots, figs, grapes, walnuts, and cheſtnuts; they have alſo pomegranates, melons, oranges and olives; but make no oil of the laſt. They have alſo many fruits which do not grow in Europe, particularly the fruit letchi, as big as a nut, the meat is ſoft and wateriſh, of a delicious taſte, and has a long ſtone; this fruit being dried turns black and wrinkled, like a prune, and is eat with tea, to which it gives a ſharpneſs much more agreeable than ſugar. There is another fruit peculiar to them called louyen, or dragons eye, it is exactly round, yellowiſh when it is ripe, full of juice, and very cool and inoffenſive. They have alſo anana's, or pine-apples, goyaves and coco's, which they have brought from India: from hence came firſt thoſe oranges which are called China oranges, and were carried to Europe by the Portugueze, who have now great plenty of them themſelves; but there are ſeveral other ſorts in China beſides that the Portugueze brought over. That which is moſt eſteemed is no bigger than a large walnut. Lemons, citrons and limes are alſo very common in this country.

Tallow-tree.

Of all their trees their tallow-tree is the moſt remarkable: it is of the height of a cherry-tree, the leaf ſhaped like a heart, and of a lively red; the fruit is enc'oſed in a rind divided into three ſegments, which open when it is ripe, and diſcover three white kernels as big as a ſmall nut; theſe trees being planted in a ſtrait line chequer-wiſe, this mixture of white and red makes them look like a parterre of flower pots at a diſtance; but what this tree is moſt valued for is the kernel, which has all the qualities of tallow, both in ſmell, colour, and conſiſtency, and they make their candles of it; but the wick being made of a ſmall dry ſtick inſtead of cotton, they do not burn ſo clear as ours, and create an offenſive ſmell.

Herbs, roots, pulſe, gardens.

This country abounds more than any other in herbs, roots, peaſe, beans, and many other ſorts of pulſe, which are the principal diet of the poorer ſort; they cultivate their kitchen gardens much beyond the Europeans, though we exceed them in fine walks and flowers, which they entirely neglect, as unprofitable.

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Pepper.

They have a tree alſo peculiar to that country like our walnut-trees, which bears a ſeed about as big as a pea, much like pepper, and which the inhabitants uſe inſtead of it.

There are no fountains to be met with any where but in the Emperor's gardens.

Tea.

Tea or Tcha, is a plant peculiar to this country: it uſually grows at the foot of ſome mountain, and the beſt upon a ſtony ſoil, the root reſembles that of a peach-tree, and its flower that of white wild roſes. The tree is of all ſizes, from two feet to an hundred in height, and ſome of them are ſo thick, that two men cannot graſp them, according to the Chineſe herbal. But tho' there may be ſome very high and large trees, as thorns will ſometimes riſe to a great height: it is accounted but a buſh or ſhrub, and grows about as high as a roſe-tree generally. It is planted upon little hills, each plant about three foot diſtance from another, and does not commonly grow wild. Le Compte tells us, he ſaw this plant in the province of Fokien, where it grew upon the ſide of a little hill, and the plant was not above five or ſix feet high; that ſeveral ſtalks an inch thick a-piece were joined together, and dividing at the top into ſeveral little branches, formed a kind of cluſter like our mirtle: that the trunk ſeemed dry, but bore green branches and leaves; the leaves are narrow, ending in a point, and were an inch, or inch and half long, and indented; that the oldeſt were white and brittle, and taſted bitter; the young ones were ſoft, ſmooth, rediſh and tranſparent, and pretty ſweet to the taſte.

Mr. Cunningham, F. R. S. phyſician to the Engliſh factory at Chuſan, tells us, that the three ſorts of tea commonly brought to Europe, are all from the ſame plant, and only the ſeaſons of the year when it is gathered, and the ſoil makes the difference. Bohea or Voiij, ſo called from ſome mountains in the province of Fokien, where it grows, is the very firſt bud gathered in the beginning of March, and dried in the ſhade; the imperial or bing tea is the ſecond growth in April; and ſinglo or common green tea the laſt, in May and June, which are both dried in little pans over the fire. The tea ſhrub is an ever-green, and is in the flower from October to January. The ſeed is ripe in September and October following; but for one freſh and full ſeed there are a hundred naught. Its ſeed veſſels are tricapſular, each capſula containing one nut or ſeed; but, though there be the veſtiges of ſeveral, only one comes to perfection.

Grafting.

They underſtand grafting, but perform it in a different manner from the Europeans; for inſtead of ſlitting the ſtock as we do, they cut a ſmall ſlice off the outſide of the ſtock, and apply the graft, which is ſhaped accordingly, then they tie up all together and cover it with ſtraw and dirt as we do.

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China produces great quantities of ginger, which grows wild in many places near the ſea; but this is not near ſo good as that which is cultivated. There are two kinds of this root, male and female: the female has the ſmaller leaf, and the root is not ſo large as the other: its leaf is like that of a reed, and not eaſily diſtinguiſhed from it; the root is dug up about midſummer, when the leaf begins to fall; when it is freſh and moiſt it is not near ſo hot as when it is dried. It is a very pleaſant ſweetmeat preſerved green, and much eaten in this country. It is reckoned very good in many diſtempers, particularly the colick and the flux.

Ginger.

Sugar.

Sugar-canes grow in great abundance in this country, they are found chiefly in marſhy grounds, and have leaves like reeds, they are about three fingers thick, and full of knots, and ſhoot up ſix or ſeven feet high; but theſe canes ſhall be further deſcribed in thoſe countries where ſugar is the principal produce.

Canes and reeds.

There is another ſmall reed or cane which grows upon the mountains in China, called a rattan, or Japan cane; when dry it is ſaid it will produce fire if one piece be ſtruck againſt another, and that they are uſed in ſome places inſtead of flints.

Cordage.

Theſe rattans are very tough, and being twiſted together they make cordage of them. The Javans and Japaneſe make cables of them, which will not rot ſo ſoon in the water as thoſe made of hemp.

Bambou.

There is ſtill another ſort of reed or knotty cane called the bambou, the body whereof grows to ſuch a bigneſs that it is often reckoned among their trees. It thrives beſt in marſhy ground, and is naturally very ſtrait and tall; but they bend it in the middle while it is growing, to make poles for their chairs. Of theſe bambous are often made canoes or wherries, and being a light cane, they are rowed with incredible ſwiftneſs. They ſerve alſo inſtead of timber in their houſes and other buildings.

Mulberry-trees.

There are great woods of mulberry-trees in this country, particularly in the province of Chekiang, with the leaves of which they feed their ſilkworms. Theſe woods are ſome of them cut down every year, becauſe the ſilk which is produced by thoſe worms, which feed on the leaves that ſpring from the young ſhoots is much the beſt.

Cinnamon.

In the province of Quangſi there is ſome Cinnamon; but this being a tree which comes to the greateſt perfection in Ceylone, ſhall be deſcribed when we ſpeak of that iſland.

Cloves, nutmegs.

There grow alſo, as we are told by NIEUHOFF, cloves, nutmegs, and mace in China; but it is in ſuch ſmall quantities, he confeſſes, that they as well as the Europeans are ſupplied from the Molucca iſlands with theſe ſpices; and therefore I ſhall deſcribe them, when I come to ſpeak of thoſe iſlands.

China root rhubarb, COCOAS.

The drugs called china root and rhubarb, are alſo the product of this country, and cocoa-nut-trees are very common. This is the moſt uſeful tree which is any where to be found in the world, it ſerving for meat, drink, building and cloathing; of which I ſhall enlarge when I come to India, where they abound moſt.

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Ginſeng.

There is no plant which the Chineſe ſeem to value more than that which they call *ginſeng*: this, if we believe them, has the virtues of every other ſimple, and is one ingredient in almoſt all their preſcriptions to men of quality, but is too dear for the common people. The leaves as well as the roots are often uſed inſtead of tea: to ſick perſons they give a fifth part of an ounce; but thoſe who take it by way of prevention take only a tenth part of an ounce: the root is ſliced into half a pint of water and boiled till it is waſted to a coffee-diſh full, and then drank with a little ſugar. It may be filled up once, and a ſingle diſh drunk morning and evening is ſufficient. It cannot be drank in ſuch quantities as we drink tea, without producing ill effects. It is gathered in the province of Leaotung and the neighbouring mountains of Tartary, in cloſe thick woods, on the banks of torrents, or about rocks, at the feet of trees, and in the middle of all kinds of herbs. It is called ginſeng, that is man-plant, becauſe the root divides into two branches which ſpread like a man's thighs. The root is about as big as one's little finger, and as long again; the leaves are ſmall, and terminate in a point; the flower is of a violet colour, and the ſtalk hairy. The Chineſe give it abundance of pompous names, as the ſpirituous ſimple, the pure ſpirit of the earth, and the plant that diſpenſes immortality, &c.

There is a flower named mutang, or the king of flowers, much eſteemed by the Chineſe, and ſpreads its leaves broader than our common roſes, but is not ſo ſweet. The colour is a pale purple ſtreaked with white, and ſome are red and yellow. It grows on a ſhrub like the birch-tree, and is planted in all their gardens; but they abound in nothing ſo little as fine flowers.

Another herb our travellers tell us grows in China, called, the herb of a thouſand years; which they would have us believe never fades or dies.

Husbandry encouraged by the ſtate.

Several of the Chineſe Emperors have thought it worthy their royal care to promote and teach their ſubjects husbandry, particularly the Emperor VEN, who held the plough himſelf; and his Empreſs planted mulberry-trees, and bred ſilk worms in the palace, to ſet a good example to their ſubjects. All the cloaths the Empreſs wore were of her own making; and a feaſt was inſtituted, which is held yearly at the vernal equinox, when the governors of the ſeveral towns and provinces aſſemble the peaſants, and march before them in proceſſion with garlands, muſick, ſtreamers, and the inſtruments of husbandry carried before them.

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The Emperor HIACU, their hiſtories inform us, betook himſelf to husbandry in his old age, and ploughed and ſowed the ground himſelf three years before his death, to give an example to his ſubjects. He alſo ſent perſons skilled in husbandry, into every part of his dominions, to inſtruct his people how to improve their grounds to the beſt advantage.

The invention of the plough, and ſeveral inſtruments of husbandry, they aſcribe to ſome of their greateſt Emperors; as they do the inſtructing them to ſow wheat, rice, barley, and other grain; and books have been written by their Princes upon the ſubject of tillage, the nature of the ſeveral ſoils, and the proper manure for them, which ſerve the husbandmen for directions at this day.

Animals. There are ſome wild elephants in China, but not many; the Emperor has a ſtable of fifteen or twenty of them, which are preſents from foreign Princes. Their horſes are of mean ſize, the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſerviceable come from Tartary; there are alſo mules and camels, oxen, cows, and buffaloes; alſo wolves, bears, tygers, and other beaſts of prey in the mountainous parts of the country. Their ſheep are like thoſe of Turkey, with great tails that weigh ſeveral pounds.

Deer and hares they have in great numbers. Their hogs are black, and have bellies that reach the ground; they are eſteemed very good food, notwithſtanding the heat of the country; this is made no objection to the eating of hogs fleſh in the eaſt. Geeſe, hens, and ducks, and all ſorts of poultry are mighty cheap: their eggs are hatched in ovens or dunghills in moſt places.

In the weſtern provinces of China there is an odoriferous ſtag or deer which produces musk, according to the Atlas Sinicus; this animal has a bunch or excreſcence towards his belly, called by the Chineſe, Xe; much like a purſe, conſiſting of a thin skin covered with hair, in which the musk lies. The fleſh of this animal, as almoſt every other, is eaten by the Chineſe.

Graſshoppers are exceeding troubleſome in China, and frequently devour the fruits of the earth, in ſome provinces: there are alſo ſeveral kinds of ſerpents, particularly the cobra, capella, or hairy-headed ſerpent, which ſhall be deſcrib'd when we come to India.

Fiſh abound in their rivers and canals; and beſides nets and other engines which are uſed in Europe to catch them, they breed up large fowls like herns, which are as much under the fiſherman's command as our dogs and hawks are under the huntſman's; they keep them perched on the ſides of their boats, and when they give a ſign, every bird takes its flight to look for the prey, and will divide themſelves the whole breadth of a river or lake; when they have ſeized a fiſh they bring it to their maſter, and if it be too big for one, they will help one another, 'tis ſaid; when they have brought it to the boat they immediately take their flight again in ſearch for more; but they have a ſtring about their necks, which prevents their ſwallowing the fiſh, till the maſter thinks fit to leave off, and then they are ſuffered to prey for themſelves. There are all thoſe kinds of fiſh in their waters which are met with in Europe, and many more; particularly one which is called the gold and ſilver fiſh, which is wonderful beautiful, and kept by the quality in large baſons in their gardens: They are about the length and bigneſs of one's finger; the male of a fine red from the head to the middle of his body, the reſt, with the tail, is of ſuch a bright and glittering gold colour that no real gildings can come near it. The female is of a pure ſilver white; the tail of either of them is not flat, but gather'd thick like a noſegay, which is an addition to their beauty. They are a very tender animal, ſoon ſenſible of the alteration of the weather, therefore contrivances are made to ſhelter them from the heat, and their water often changed: And if they are to be removed from one baſon to another, great care is taken not to touch them; for the leaſt touch, 'tis ſaid, will kill them, as will ſometimes the noiſe of great guns, loud thunder, or an offenſive ſmell, ſuch as pitch or tar.

Mines. Mines they have of gold and ſilver; but thoſe of gold are never ſuffered to be opened. The gold which they have in ſuch plenty, is ſaid to need no refining, and is waſhed down by torrents from the mountains in the rainy ſeaſons. They have alſo mines of tin, iron, copper and lead, we are told; but it is not probable they abound in the laſt, becauſe that commodity is as good as ready money in China.

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Contains an account of their learning, arts and ſciences, honours, language, characters, hiſtory and chronology.

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Learning.

THE Chineſe are acknowledged by all to be an ingenious people; the reaſon they fall ſhort of the Europeans in the ſpeculative ſciences, does not proceed from any defect in their capacities or intellects, but from their ſituation; being ſeparated ſo far from the reſt of the learned world, and converſing with none but people ſo much inferior to themſelves. It is rather to be admired they have made ſuch great advances in arts and ſciences, than that they have gone no further, conſidering they have had no advantage by travelling, or any foreign aſſiſtance.

There cannot be a greater misfortune happen to any man or nation, than the being inſtructed only in one ſet of notions, and never meeting with oppoſition or contradiction. This may be one reaſon that the nobility and great men of any king-

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dom ſo ſeldom excel, and their inferiors often ſurpaſs them, and riſe by their merit to the greateſt poſts. It is not blood, or quality, or title, that can ſupply the place of education and application: unhappy muſt that man be whom none dare acquaint with his errors, and who is deſtined to be flattered and applauded even for his faults and infirmities, and taught to look down with contempt on thoſe who are every way as much ſuperior to him, as the Europeans are to the Chineſe; conſidering the fond notion this people had entertained of their own parts and learning, it ſhews a wonderful tractable diſpoſition that they ſhould ſubmit to be taught and inſtructed by the Europeans. Had the Chineſe been a barbarous or bigotted people, probably the Jeſuits had been ſacrificed for preſuming to give them juſt notions of the globe; as that unhappy man was, who was ſo hardy as to profeſs he believed the Antipodes, among ſome zealous, but ignorant Chriſtians, not many ages ſince. This readineſs to be inſtructed is a demonſtration of the ingenuity of the Chineſe. In proportion to the ſtupidity or obſtinacy of any ſect or people we ſhall infallibly find their ignorance to be; however piety may be thought to be promoted by that maxim of 'not reading any thing but what is writ on one ſide 'of the queſtion,' learning muſt ſuffer much by ſuch reſtraints.

To proceed, for want of conferring notes with other people, although the Chineſe have theſe four thouſand years given the greateſt rewards and encouragement to learning, yet has not any one man amongſt them made any great advances in the ſpeculative ſciences, and yet amongſt their more ignorant neighbours they have obtained the reputation of the moſt knowing people in the world.

Philoſophy. Geometry. Skill in natural philoſophy they have very little; logick they have none; their geometry is ſuperficial, and reſtrained to a few propoſitions and ſome problems of algebra.

Arithmetick. Their arithmetick is ſomething better, though they do not make uſe of figures, as in Europe, but have a little board of a foot and a half long, croſs which there is ten or twelve parallel lines, upon which are ſtrung ſeveral moveable buttons, and by putting theſe together, or ſeparating them, they reckon as the Europeans do with counters.

Muſick. As for their muſick, which they pretend to be the inventers of, it hardly deſerves the name.

Aſtronomy. Aſtronomy they have long diligently applied themſelves to, and made above four hundred obſervations, as well of eclipſes and comets as conjunctions: however in this they were not exact, but have regulated many things ſince the Jeſuits came amongſt them, and ſuffered them to reform their calendar; but however the Chineſe may have

Aſtrology. failed in the mathematicks, they are perfect aſtrologers, Le Compte obſerves, there being little more requiſite to render one maſter of that ſcience, than the being an expert jugler, and knowing how to lye artfully, in which the Chineſe are ſaid to excel. There are, it ſeems, pretenders there as well as here, who by the ſtars foretel all events, and in their almanacks ſhew the lucky and unlucky days for marrying, undertaking journeys, voyages &c.

Phyſick. In phyſick they have made but a mean progreſs, being ignorant of natural philoſophy, phyſicks and anatomy, which are the foundation of it; but pretend to mighty skill in pulſes, and will pronounce what diſtemper the patient is afflicted with, how long it will laſt, and whether it be like to prove fatal, after they have duly conſidered the pulſe. They are not always to be relied on, the Jeſuits obſerve, but their skill in this particular is wonderful, though they can much eaſier reſolve what the diſtemper is, than aſſign a remedy for it. They have no apothecaries, but every phyſician prepares his own medicines, which are generally made up in pills, but ſeldom purge, nor do they ever let blood or give a clyſter; they imagine that diſeaſes generally proceed from a malignant corrupt wind, which they endeavour to diſſipate by applying red hot needles or irons like buttons to that part; and thus they torment and cauterize their patients upon the ſlighteſt indiſpoſition. And ſome diſeaſes, eſpecially that called the Mordechin, which is a violent colick and vomiting, occaſioned by indigeſtion, is cured by applying a red hot iron plate to the ſoles of the feet; but nothing is more frequently preſcribed than cordials, which are extracted from herbs and roots. They abound in ſimples, which have their different virtues. Le Compte ſeems to be of opinion, that their frequent drinking of tea preſerves them from the ſciatica, as well as the

No gout or ſtone. gout and ſtone, with which they are never afflicted.

China root. The root ginſeng, which has been mentioned among their plants, is eſteemed one of their beſt cordials; and the root called Pao China is an excellent ſudorifick, and purges the humours and corrupted blood. Every man is permitted to practiſe phyſick in China; no degrees or qualifications are required but a good aſſurance, ſo that their phyſicians are generally no better than pretending quacks.

Good mechanicks. The Chineſe imitate the inventions of the Europeans very well, and now make glaſs, watches, piſtols, granades, or ſhells for bombs. They had, it ſeems, gunpowder, printing, and the uſe of the compaſs long before us.

There are ſeveral pieces of ſculpture well performed in China. The gates of their great cities, their towers and bridges have ſomething very auguſt, Le Compte obſerves; and all their works they perform with a very few plain inſtruments, which tho Europeans perform with a great number of tools.

No clocks. There were no clocks or watches in China till the Europeans carried them thither, but they had ſun-dials, which were divided into four parts, each

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each part containing twenty-four ſubdiviſions, which added to the four larger diviſions, made the whole circle conſiſt of an hundred parts.

They have of late regulated their dials, and reckon their time almoſt as we do, except that they reckon two hours for one, and ſo make the natural day to conſiſt of twelve hours, as ours does of twenty-four, and begin their day from twelve at night.

There are above one-hundred perſons employed by the Emperor to regulate their calendar, and it is ſent every year with great ceremony to the Viceroys of the ſeveral provinces. The number of months in their annual almanack being lunar months, are ſometimes twelve and ſometimes thirteen. The equinoxes, ſolſtices, and the time of the ſun's entry into every ſign is marked. The eclipſes of the ſun and moon, and the time when viſible in the principal cities, is obſerved; as alſo the Courſes of the planets, their places in the ecliptick, their oppoſitions, conjunctions and neighbourhood to certain ſtars deſcribed; and ſeveral predictions and lucky times for undertaking an enterprize are marked out; which the common people lay as great ſtreſs on as they do in this part of the world, but they are not much regarded by the wiſer ſort.

...lipſes, ...ir notice of them.

Before the Jeſuits taught them, they were never able to compoſe an exact calendar; their tables of eclipſes were ſo uncorrect, that they could hardly foretel about what time an eclipſe of the ſun would happen. They fancied alſo that there was a prodigious great dragon in heaven, who was a declared enemy to the ſun and moon, and always ſtood ready to devour them; and therefore when an eclipſe began, they beat their drums and kettles in hopes to frighten the dreadful monſter from his prey; and notwithſtanding the diſcoveries lately made upon a total eclipſe, the ſame cuſtom is ſtill obſerved at Pekin; and while the aſtronomers are making their obſervations, the Mandarins belonging to the court of Lipou fall on their knees in the palace, and looking towards the ſun, expreſs their concern for him, and implore the dragon to have compaſſion on the world, and not deprive them of the light of this glorious planet.

...guage.

The Chineſe language, according to LE COMPTE, contains about three hundred and thirty words, all monoſyllables, or which ſeem ſo by their pronunciation: theſe words are multiplied by the different accents that are given them, for the ſame word pronounced with a ſtronger or weaker inflection of the voice has ſeveral ſignifications; there are uſually five tones, or keys, in which every word may be ſpoken, according to the ſenſe intended to be given it. If you vary the accent never ſo little, and fall into another key, it often gives it a ridiculous or counter ſenſe, and you may call a perſon beaſt, when you deſigned to addreſs him with reſpect, and ſay Sir, the ſame word being uſed for both, and only diſtinguiſhed by the tone of the voice; inſomuch that this language, when ſpoken exactly, is a kind of muſick, and contains a real harmony. There is, LE COMPTE obſerves, almoſt inſuperable difficulties to be met with in learning the language, ſo as to ſpeak it intelligibly, notwithſtanding what MAGELLANS affirms, that the Chineſe language is eaſier learnt than either Greek or Latin, becauſe the words which compoſe it may be learnt in a day; for by the ſame rule, muſick, ſays he, may be learnt in an hour, becauſe it contains but ſeven or eight notes. There are perſons, he obſerves, whoſe memories are ſo ſtrong, that they will learn a book in a few days, and yet 'twill coſt them a month to pronounce one ſingle word in it juſtly.

Although the provinces of China differ ſo much in their ſeveral dialects that they can hardly underſtand one another, yet in their writings the ſame general characters are uſed and read by all; and through the whole empire there is one common language called the court, or mandarine language, which is uſed in all courts of juſtice, and underſtood every where.

Characters, no alphabets.

The Chineſe have no alphabet, each character is a ſyllable, or entire word, and may rather be called a figure than a letter, the art of putting letters together to form words is a perfect myſtery to them. Antiently they uſed only hieroglyphicks, and rather painted than wrote; a circle ſignified the ſun, and a creſcent the moon, a company of trees a forreſt, &c. This multitude of characters LE COMPTE aſſigns as one principal reaſon the Chineſe have made no greater improvements in ſcience, great part of their time being taken up in learning to write and read their own language, and yet there is not any one man maſter of all their characters. They are eſteemed learned who underſtand fifteen or twenty thouſand, and there is not leſs than twenty-four thouſand in all.

Writing.

The Chineſe write from top to bottom, and begin their letter from the right to the left, contrary to us: And the laſt page of a book with us is the firſt with them. They uſe a pencil inſtead of a pen, and hold it not obliquely as our painters do, but directly upright. Their paper, as has been taken notice of, is very thin, and almoſt tranſparent; they write therefore but on one ſide, and double the leaves when they write on the back, which is hardly diſcernable, the paper is ſo even. The higher ſtation any one poſſeſſes the better hand he writes, a fair hand being one of the principal qualifications required in every one who ſtands for a degree, without which he cannot be preferred in the ſtate.

Printing.

Printing, ſuch as it is, has been long practiſed in China; they engrave the words upon boards, and do not collect and diſtribute the letters, as in Europe,

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Europe, where with a ſmall number of letters large volumes are compoſed. The author of a book in China firſt gets it fairly tranſcribed, then the engraver glews each leaf upon a ſmooth board, and cuts through the written paper; ſo that the character perfectly reſembles the original copy, nor is there any difference between the print and written hand. The boards which compoſe a book of an ordinary ſize, printed in this manner, will fill a large room; but then a man has as many impreſſions as he pleaſes afterwards with a very little more charge than he is at in the firſt impreſſion: and there is hardly any occaſion for a corrector of the preſs; for provided the copy be juſt. the engraver is ſeldom guilty of a fault.

Merit only, 'tis ſaid, can advance a man to any conſiderable poſt in China; a man's fortune depends entirely upon his capacity and application to buſineſs; therefore great care is taken in the education of their children. The towns of China, LE COMPTE informs us, are full of ſchools (others ſay there are none, but they take maſters into their houſes) however all agree that ſeveral years are taken up in learning to read and write. When a lad has made ſome progreſs in theſe, he is preſented to an inferior magiſtrate, and being approved by him, he is admitted a ſtudent. They have degrees which anſwer to thoſe of our bachelors, maſter of arts and doctor.

Degrees.

To the firſt they are admitted by the principal magiſtates of the province. When they are admitted to the ſecond, a Commiſſary from the Emperor aſſiſts at the examination: and none take the third degree but at the imperial city of Pekin, whither their charges are defray'd, if they are not able to bear them, that the common-wealth may not be deprived of the ſervice of their ableſt men. The Emperor often examines the candidates himſelf; and as his quality does not exempt him from a learned education, is not an ill judge of their merit.

The candidates are ſhut up in a room without books or more paper than is neceſſary for the exerciſe they are employed in, and centinels placed to prevent all perſons converſing with them. When the doctors are named, they are preſented to the Emperor, who orders three of them garlands of flowers, or ſome other favours, by way of diſtinction. Some of them are admitted into the royal academy, from whence they ſucceed to the higheſt poſts in the ſtate. When any one acquires the degree of doctor, all his friends look upon him to be in the road of preferment, and ſtrive who ſhall aſſiſt or oblige him; ſo that he never wants a ſubſiſtence after he has obtained that degree. But they are not yet at liberty to be as lazy as they pleaſe, for they undergo many examinations afterwards, and if they have not made ſuch a progreſs as is expected, they are reprimanded and diſcountenanced; but if they are found to have improved themſelves, they are ſuitably rewarded and advanced; ſo that all offices are filled with the ableſt men.

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No nobility.

There is no ſuch thing as hereditary nobility, or any other diſtinction of quality, but what the office a man executes gives him; ſo that, except the deſcendants of CONFUCIUS, the whole kingdom is divided into magiſtracy and commonalty. There are no baſe tenures, their lands are properly their freeholds, having no ſuperior Lord but the Emperor, and he can by his own authority tax all the lands both of prieſts and people as he pleaſes. There being no ſuch thing as quality or nobility, the whole nation apply themſelves to trade or husbandry, and have no idle hands among them, or drones that live entirely upon the labour of others.

Hiſtories.

That their hiſtories may be well and impartially written, a certain number of learned men are choſen, whoſe province it is with all poſſible exactneſs to regiſter the tranſactions of their times, and daily to obſerve the words and actions of their Princes. Theſe hiſtorians, without conferring notes with one another, daily ſet down ſuch facts as occur to them, with their remarks upon them, on a paper, which is thrown into an office ſet apart for that purpoſe. This office is never opened during the life of the Prince, or while any of that houſe are upon the throne; but when the crown goes to another family the doors of the office are opened, and all theſe memoirs collected together; and after they have been examined and compared, they compoſe the hiſtories of their Emperors; recommending them for examples if they have acted prudently, or expoſing their ill conduct if it deſerve cenſure.

Chronology.

As to their chronology, it is ſaid, their hiſtories affirm that it is forty thouſand years ſince the foundation of their empire; but at the ſame time it is acknowledged that all their hiſtories and records were deſtroyed by one of their Emperors about two thouſand years ago: ſo that this is no more than pure tradition at laſt.

Beginning of their monarchy.

And LE COMPTE tells us, their learned men do not compute it to be above four thouſand years ſince their monarchy begun, in which time there has reigned two and twenty different families, and two hundred and thirty-ſix Emperors. They ſay their firſt Monarchs lived to a great age, as the Patriarchs who were their contemporaries did: that their founder FOHI reigned one hundred and fifty years, CHINUM an hundred and forty, HOAMTI an hundred and eleven, and ſo decreaſing as we find the age of men did after the flood. And what makes it evident that their hiſtories which ſpeak of tranſactions long before our account of the creation are fabulous, is, that they aſcribe the invention of all arts, even husbandry, architecture, cloathing, &c. to ſeveral Emperors who have reigned within

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in these four thousand years; and it cannot be supposed, if the world had been thirty thousand years older, but ploughing, sowing, planting, building and cloathing must have been discovered long before the last four thousand years. It is observable also, that in some eclipses and conjunctions of the planets which are recorded in their histories they appear to be mistaken several hundred years, some of these happening many years after they have recorded them. It is observed farther, that their paper is so bad that it will not last many ages, and all the manuscripts and printed books they have at this day are but copies, and possibly very different from the originals; perhaps altered by the direction of some of their Emperors to serve a turn, or advance a favourite scheme. I shall only add, that if it be true that the first war in the world happened but about four thousand years ago, as their historians relate, what the same histories tell us of the ages forty or fifty thousand years before cannot be much credited, unless we can suppose those first ages so very peaceable, that there never happened one quarrel in many thousand years. And what is a farther confirmation that all prophane history which pretends to go much higher than four thousand years is fabulous, is the concurrent testimony of all nations, that husbandry, planting, cloathing, building, the making wine, and almost all other necessary and useful inventions were discovered and taught mankind within that space of time.

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Treats of the Emperor's stile, his prerogative, revenues and forces, succession of the crown, courts of justice, magistrates, laws and customs, coin, weights and measures.

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Stile of the Emperor.

THE Emperor is stiled Holy Son of Heaven, Sole Governor of the Earth, Great Father of his people, &c. And every new family assume some name by which the empire is called, so long as that house possesses the throne.

China a monarchy.

The government of China is monarchical, and has continued so upwards of four thousand years. As for states and common-wealths, they had never heard of them till the States of Holland sent an embassy thither, and the Dutch Embassadors found the greatest difficulty in the world to explain what sort of government that of the United Provinces was, and what they meant by the High and Mighty Lords their Masters.

Emperor appoints his successor. But this act, as all others, must pass the Great Council.

The Crown of China is said to be hereditary by some; but it is agreed by all, that the Emperor has a power of altering the succession, and declaring any one of his subjects his successor, though he have no relation to the royal family; but then this must be passed and ratified by his great Council, or Calaos, which consists of the Princes of the Blood and Ministers of State; and there have been instances where the Emperor's resolution has been opposed, and his design of setting aside those who were deemed next heirs defeated. On the contrary, it is observable that when the Emperor is determined to carry his point, if he cannot prevail on the council by presents or promises, he often proceeds to turn out and new model his council, till he finds a majority of his mind. But the concurrence of this great council is held so absolutely necessary, and their advice of that weight among the people, that the Emperor never attempts to enact new laws, or reverse or suspend those in force, without their assent: one example whereof our modern Missioners afford us, for they tell us, that though the Emperor himself, and the Tartars in the council were ready to decree any thing in their favour, yet there being a majority of the Chinese against an alteration in religion, it was thought too great a hazard to attempt it. From whence it appears, that though this Emperor is every where represented as absolute, he finds himself under a necessity of acting according to the laws of his country, especially in religious matters, or he would endanger another revolution. But this will be farther evident, when we come to consider the several supreme courts through which all business passes, for the Emperor never acts but by the mediation of some one or more of these: even the militia or revenue are not absolutely at his disposal; and tho' he has the greatest treasure, and by much the greatest forces of any Prince on the face of the earth, he neither applies or commands the one or the other directly, but his resolutions must be ratified and confirmed by the proper courts or officers before they can be put in execution.

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And the Emperor never alters or suspends the laws but by their advice.

The application of the Emperor to business.

This Emperor, like other eastern Monarchs, is said to be surrounded with women and eunuchs; none approach the inward apartments of his palace but these; and that he appears in publick but four times in a month: but if no business of importance is transacted without the Emperor's knowledge, and every sentence, especially in capital cases, is ratify'd or reversed by the Emperor himself, as the Jesuits assure us, it cannot be presumed he spends much of his time in the seraglio. His retirement is not designed to indulge or gratify an indolent temper; but he retreats from the crowd, that he may be more at liberty to attend affairs of state, and consider the grievances of his subjects; for petitions, we are told, are daily presented to him, which by the constitution of the empire, he is obliged to read; these he refers to such of his councils whose province it is to consider the case, who make their report to the Emperor, and he finally determines the matter; so that if we give any credit to these relations, the Emperor must

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be the buſieſt, as well as the greateſt man in his dominions.

Maxims inculcated into their Emperor

Their antient law-givers laid it down as a ſtanding maxim, That Kings ought to be the fathers of their people, and not tyrannically domineer over them as ſlaves; therefore in all ages the Emperor has been called their Great Father, and is ſo fond of no title as this. When they would make a panegyrick on their Prince, the affection he has for his people is the grand topick, and much more conſidered than his power, his learning or his politicks.

Mandarins ſuffered to reprove the Emperor.

The Mandarins are permitted to petition their Prince when he does not act agreeable to their conſtitution; and will deſire him to reflect on the conduct of his anceſtors, how ſtrictly they adhered to the laws of the empire. But this advice is not always attended to; Le Compte inſtances in one who repreſented the ill conſequences of the Emperor's journeys to Tartary, and of his long ſtay there, which he had very little regard to; inſiſting, that they were for his health. He alſo tells us of another who pretended to find fault with the education of the Prince; but was turned out of his office for his pains: and there are very few courts, poſſibly, that will bear ſuch repreſentations, how much law and reaſon ſoever the honeſt petitioner may have of his ſide.

His councils of ſuperior courts.

The Emperor has one ſupreme council, compoſed of the Princes of the Blood only, which does not aſſemble but upon extraordinary occaſions. There is another ſtanding ſupreme council, compoſed both of the Princes of the Blood and great Officers, denominated Calaos, who like our privy council, conſtantly attend affairs of ſtate: ſix other courts there are in Pekin ſubordinate to this, who have their particular buſineſs aſſigned them.

The firſt, called Lipou, inquires into the abilities and qualifications of all Miniſters of State, Governors and Magiſtrates, and places and diſplaces them, having firſt communicated the matter to the Emperor, and received his approbation.

The ſecond court preſides over the treaſury, and the levying the taxes and revenues of the crown; who alſo make a new roll every year of all the families in the Empire, what lands they hold, and what duties are payable by them to the Emperor.

The third has the care of religion, rites and ceremonies, arts and ſciences.

The fourth regulates the affairs of the army and navy, grants commiſſions, orders recruits, repleniſhes the magazines, takes an account of the forces in garriſon, the fortifications, &c.

The fifth takes cognizance of criminal cauſes, which are brought hither by appeal.

And the ſixth takes care of the publick buildings, temples, palaces, bridges, canals and highways. Every one of theſe courts are ſubdivided into committees, who have ſome particular branch of the buſineſs aſſigned them to digeſt and prepare for the determination of their principals.

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And though every court has its particular buſineſs aſſigned, yet they are checks upon one another, and the concurrence of ſeveral courts is often neceſſary to effect any buſineſs of conſequence.

For example, the militia is under the command of one of theſe courts, and paid by another; ſo that though a body of troops be commanded to march, they can't ſtir till the treaſury have order'd them ſubſiſtence money.

The Emperor appoints an inſpector in every court, who gives him an account of their proceedings, and of the private failings of his Miniſters. Theſe are called Colis, and even the Princes of the Blood ſtand in ſuch awe of them, that Le Compte tells us of one, who having built his houſe a little higher than the cuſtom of China allows, immediately pulled it down again, upon notice that one of the inſpectors did not approve it.

Governors find account of their adminiſtration to the Emperor.

It is ſaid by moſt writers alſo, that every Viceroy, Governor and Magiſtrate is obliged to tranſmit to court an account of his own adminiſtration; and if he endeavours to hide or palliate his miſcarriages, he is ſeverely puniſhed. But it is plain this is very ſeldom done; for the ſame writers aſſure us, there is no place under the ſun where there is more bribery and corruption in the magiſtracy and courts of juſtice than in China; inſomuch that he that bribes higheſt is morally ſure of carrying his point: and notwithſtanding their laws are ſo mightily cry'd up, the caſe of the Chineſe poſſibly may be like that of a certain European nation, where no people abound more in good laws, but it is remarkable they are hardly ever put in execution; the people, magiſtrates and miniſters do not only act in contradiction, but in open defiance of the laws and conſtitution of their country, and there is a circulation of bribery from the higheſt officer to the loweſt.

A general corruption in their magiſtracy.

Nine orders of Mandarins.

In every province there are ſeveral orders of Mandarins, ſome reckon up nine, but the principal are, firſt, the Judges in criminal and civil cauſes; ſecondly, thoſe who attend the affairs of the treaſury and revenue; and thirdly, thoſe who have the command of the militia; and all theſe, though in many reſpects they are ſubordinate to the Viceroy, or Tutang. are a conſiderable check upon his actions, and it would be very difficult for him to be guilty of any male adminiſtration or oppreſſion. if they did not find their account in conniving at it, as they ſometimes do, that he may wink in his turn.

Theſe magiſtrates ought by the conſtitution to remain in office but three years, and are never natives of the province where their poſt is: Strangers being ſuppoſed to be more impartial, and not ſo capable of practiſing againſt the government,

and

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and if a magiſtrate happen to be of mean parentage, he will not be ſo liable to be contemned as if he ſerved in his own country.

Palaces for the Mandarins furniſhed.

In every city there are palaces where the Mandarins reſide, and juſtice is adminiſtred, which are furniſhed at the charge of the government; but their ſalaries are none of them, 'tis ſaid, above one thouſand crowns per annum. How their governors can amaſs ſuch vaſt eſtates out of ſo inconſiderable an income in ſo very few years as writers affirm they do, and yet conceal their extortions from the Emperor, is not eaſily accounted for, unleſs all his creatures and miniſters make it their buſineſs to keep him in ignorance of what is tranſacting in his dominions, as is common in ſome other countries nearer home.

Extortion of the Mandarins.

The miniſters and preſidents of the ſupreme courts at Pekin, we are told, clandeſtinely extort great ſums from the Viceroys and Governors of provinces. Theſe again ſqueeze the Mandarins under their government, who by conſequence fleece their inferior officers. Whoever refuſes to comply with their extortions runs a great hazard of being ruined. There ſeems to be a general connivance at theſe practices through the kingdom; tho' we are told, the laws prohibit them, and that the Emperor puniſhes bribery and extortion very ſeverely, whenever he diſcovers it. LE COMPTE inſtances in one of the members of the Colaos, or Great Council of State, who for taking a bribe was condemned to ſerve as a common ſoldier.

A nation of hypocrites.

Upon the whole, the Chineſe ſeem to be a nation of exquiſite hypocrites; and, like ſome other pretenders, while they carry a fair outſide are guilty of all manner of fraud, vice and extortion. They boaſt the equity of their laws indeed, but ſtick at no violations of them; and are more covetous, rapacious and cruel, than thoſe nations whom they term barbarous.

It is a maxim of this government to keep ſome of the children of the Viceroys and principal Governors at court, on pretence of education, and that they may be in the way of preferment; but this is obſerved to be principally as a ſecurity for their fathers loyalty. They have another maxim, they tell us, that no place ſhall be ſold: however this law is ſhamefully evaded, it ſeems, and merit without money will go but a little way in China any more than in Europe. Thus much indeed muſt be admitted, that the candidates for the meaneſt employments undergo ſo many examinations, that it is almoſt impoſſible for an ignorant man to paſs muſter; which is one great point gained; for many ſuffer by the ignorance as well as the corruption of their magiſtrates in other governments.

No capital puniſhment inflicted till ratified by the Emperor.

Every province is a little empire, and has its Viceroy, courts and magiſtrates, exactly reſembling thoſe of Pekin, only ſome weighty matters are reſerved for the determination of the ſuperior courts: indeed ſo tender that people ſeem in capital caſes, that no ſentence of death is executed till it is ratified by the Emperor: though whether the murdering a man by the baſtinado, or crippling and impriſoning him ſo that he lingers out a miſerable life in tortures, be not a greater cruelty than ſtrangling or beheading him directly, and would not be ſo eſteemed by our European criminals, can hardly be made a queſtion. And this brings me to conſider a little more particularly their laws and puniſhments.

Laws and puniſhments.

Nothing is more ſtrictly required by their laws than ſubmiſſion and obedience to their parents. If a father charges his ſon with any crime before a magiſtrate, there needs no other proof of it, the ſon is ſuppoſed to be guilty, and ſhall loſe his life without further evidence. If a ſon ſhould preſume to mock a parent, or lay violent hands on him, the whole country is alarmed, and the judgment reſerved for the Emperor himſelf: the magiſtrates of the place are turned out, and all the neighbourhood threatned, as having given countenance to ſo infernal a temper, which muſt be ſuppoſed to have diſcovered itſelf upon other occaſions; a man could never have arrived, they think, at ſuch a degree of wickedneſs at once. The criminal in theſe caſes is ſentenced to be cut into ten thouſand pieces, and afterwards burnt, his houſes and lands deſtroyed, and even the houſes that ſtood near him, to remain as monuments of ſo deteſted a crime.

Undutifulneſs to parents puniſhed.

The Emperor himſelf, it ſeems, is not exempt from ſhewing the profoundeſt reſpect for a parent; and one of them, LE COMPTE tells us of, who baniſhed his mother upon her entertaining a criminal correſpondence with one of his courtiers, whom his people in a manner compelled to recall by their importunate petitions; and though he put ſeveral to death for their inſolence in pretending to adviſe him, the Emperor found himſelf under a neceſſity of recalling her at laſt, or he would have endangered a general revolt of his ſubjects: ſo tenacious are the people of this precept of their law.

Submiſſion to magiſtrates.

The next precept they inculcate is, to honour the magiſtrate, who repreſents the perſon of their Prince: and to ſtrike the vulgar the more, he never appears in publick without the badges of his authority, and an equipage ſuitable to his poſt.

He is carried on eight or ſixteen mens ſhoulders in an open chair, and all his officers and executioners of juſtice marching before with chains, faſces and eſcutcheons of varniſhed wood, containing an account of his office and quality, and one beats upon a braſs veſſel, and commands the people to make way. If he obſerves any offence committed when he is in the ſtreet or upon the road, he can in a ſummary way, without forms, order the offender to be puniſhed immediately by the

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baſtinado, or otherwiſe; and none may approach him in courts but upon their knees.

Mutual civility requir'd.

The third precept, which may tend as much to the peace and tranquillity of the government as either of the former, is, that civility and reſpect which every one is required to pay to another: but that has been ſpoken to already in treating of their viſits and ceremonies; therefore I proceed to conſider ſome other of their laws.

Treaſon puniſhed.

Treaſon and rebellion are puniſhed with the greateſt rigour; the criminal being condemned to be cut in ten thouſand pieces, the executioner ties him to a ſtake, and firſt fleas his forehead, letting the skin hang over his eyes; for a very wiſe reaſon, as ſome pretend, namely, that he may not ſee how barbarouſly he is mangled; and having cut and tormented the offender till he is weary, what remains of him is torn in pieces by the mob: and where the crime is very great, the children and family of the offender ſuffer with him.

Children involved in the puniſhment.

Murder.

Murder is puniſhed by death, which is inflicted different ways: the meaner ſort are beheaded, as being deemed the moſt ignominious puniſhment: and perſons of quality are ſtrangled, which of all deaths is looked upon to be the moſt reproachful with us.

Theft and adultery.

Neither theft or adultery, unleſs ſome great violence is done to the party, are puniſhed with death, but by the baſtinado; or the offender has a thick board hung about his neck, and expoſed every day, the crime being written on the board.

No criminal being executed but by the Emperor's expreſs order, malefactors are confumed in priſons: the priſons in the great cities are ſo large, that they conſiſt of ſeveral ſtreets with market places. In Canton alone, 'tis ſaid, there are not leſs then fifteen thouſand priſoners. The offenders are allowed to work in the day time for their livings; the Chineſe not being much given to acts of charity, and the Emperor's allowance is but mean.

Priſons.

The common puniſhment among the Chineſe is the baſtinado, or ſeveral blows of a cudgel on the buttocks as they lie on their faces on the ground, from which the Mandarins are not exempt, nor is it reckoned very ſcandalous.

Baſtinado.

The offender, if he be able, after this diſcipline falls down before the magiſtrate and thanks him for this kind correction, tho' one blow is enough to lame him, if the executioner be not bribed, we are told, which 'tis ſaid he frequently is: and LE COMPTE aſſures us it is a common thing for men to let themſelves out to be baſtinado'd in the room of the criminal; which, if true, diſcovers no ſmall weakneſs or corruption in their magiſtrates.

Men allowed to ſuffer in the room of the criminal.

Courtezans are here allowed by publick authority, and are under the regulation of the ſame officers who take care of the temples and the Emperor's ſacrifices.

I don't find they have any lawyers or advocates, but every man manages his own cauſe: for MAGELLAINS acquaints us, that the plaintiff having drawn up his caſe or plaint in paper, in ſuch a form as cuſtom requires, comes to the tribunal; and having beat on a drum at the ſecond gate, falls on his knees, raiſing his hands as high as his head; after which he delivers his paper to an officer, who carries it to the Mandarin. If the ſuit appear to be frivolous and vexatious he is ſeverely baſtinado'd; but otherwiſe it is given to the proper officers to examine, who having made their report, it is either confirmed or altered by the judge. But theſe writers are not pleaſed to inform us whether the defendant be ſummoned to anſwer, or in what manner he makes his defence, which is ſuch an omiſſion as can hardly be forgiven: but as it is impoſſible to determine juſtly in any cauſe without hearing both ſides, we muſt conclude that no man is forejudged without being permitted to offer what he has to ſay in his defence, among ſo polite a people as the Chineſe are repreſented to be. There is a liberty of appeal, it ſeems, to the ſuperior tribunals, or a man may paſs by the inferior courts and bring his cauſe before the higher judicatures at firſt, if he apprehends juſtice will not be done him at home.

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Law proceedings.

Notwithſtanding what LE COMPTE and other writers affirm, that the laws of China are ſo plain, and their policy ſuch, that the Emperor may diſpatch all the buſineſs relating to the empire by applying himſelf to it but two hours in a day; this to any one who conſiders the multitude of people under his government, and conſequently the great variety of buſineſs here, muſt be looked on as impoſſible; neither a few hours or a whole day can be ſufficient to read over the petitions only that may be ſuppoſed to be preſented him in this vaſt empire. He muſt certainly be informed of the purport of them by his officers, and determine as they are pleaſed to repreſent facts to him. Thus it is in all kingdoms in Europe, and cannot be otherwiſe in China, which is much larger than any of them. The moſt that can be expected of a Prince whoſe dominions are not exceeding ſmall, is to make choice of able miniſters, and to preſerve his people from notorious oppreſſions: as for reading all petitions, and determining of all cauſes which come by appeal to the ſuperior courts himſelf, the Jeſuits may as well tell us he works miracles, which they pretend to in that part of the world themſelves, and they will be equally believed.

The Emperor determines matters as others report them to him.

The ſtate with which the Emperor receives foreign Ambaſſadors will give us ſome notion of the grandeur of this Monarch, of which we meet with the following deſcription.

Emperor's ſtate when he gives audience to Ambaſſadors.

In the middle of one of the inner courts of the palace there is a very large ſquare ſolid baſis, on the top of which there is a balaſtrode, over this there

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there is another building ſomewhat leſs, and over that three more, which are leſs in ſize as they increaſe in height, upon the uppermoſt of theſe there is a large room of ſtate, ſupported by four rows of varniſhed pillars, where the throne is placed, and the roof is covered with ſhining yellow tiles. Theſe vaſt baſis's with their balaſtrodes being diſpoſed in form of an amphitheatre appear very magnificent, and with their gildings and varniſh dazzle the eye. Here the Emperor, attended by a multitude of the great officers in their robes, the Princes of the blood and tributary Kings, who fall proſtrate on their faces before him, gives audience to Ambaſſadors, who are conducted to the throne by ſome Viceroy. The throne is about three or four foot high, in the faſhion of an altar, and covered with ſables, on which the Emperor ſits croſs-legg'd, after the manner of the Tartars.

EYSBRAND IDES, Ambaſſador from the Czar of Muſcovy, acquaints us, that when he had his audience the Emperor was dreſs'd in a dark colour'd damask waſtecoat, a coat of deep blue ſattin faced with ermins, a ſtring of corral about his neck, a cap faced with ſable, with a red ſilk knot, and ſome peacocks feathers hanging down behind; that he had no gold or jewels to be ſeen; and on his legs had boots or buskins of black velvet. The ſame Ambaſſador gives us an account, that he was conducted to his audience by three Mandarins in their robes, that he had fifty horſes allowed for him and his retinue, and having alighted at the gate of the outward palace, he paſſed through the five courts, and there found great numbers of Mandarins in their embroidered robes; that the Emperor being ſet upon his throne, he delivered his credentials from the Czar his maſter, and after a ſhort ſpeech was reconducted to his houſe in the ſame manner he came. That he was afterwards invited to an entertainment at court, and the Emperor came in with a guard of twelve halberdeers, richly dreſt, and the muſick playing; when he had mounted his throne, the guards ſat down croſs-legged beneath him, and the muſick ceaſed; the Viceroy, the Emperor's uncle, and other miniſters of ſtate ſtood on each ſide the Emperor, the Ambaſſador was placed on the right ſide of the throne, about four fathom diſtance; the Viceroy having received the Emperor's commands upon his knees, brought the Ambaſſador two fathom nearer; and the Emperor having enquired after his Czariſh Majeſty's health, he ordered a table that was furniſhed with cold meats and fruits to be uncovered; whereupon the damask covering was taken off, and the Ambaſſador having a table provided for himſelf, was deſired to eat. About two hundred Lords of the court alſo ſat down croſs-legged upon carpets, having every two of them a table between them.

The Emperor ſent a gooſe and ſeveral other diſhes to the Ambaſſador from his table, and a gold cup with brandy or ſpirits in it, with which his attendants were alſo treated: then the Jeſuits were called in, who having kneeled before the throne, were ordered to ask the Ambaſſador ſome queſtions concerning the length of his journey, and the kingdoms of Europe; and his anſwers were again interpreted by the Jeſuits. The Viceroy led the Ambaſſador to his place, where having ſet a quarter of an hour, he was ordered to ſtand up; then the Emperor, having ſaluted the Ambaſſador, retired to his apartment; and the Ambaſſador was afterwards entertained with a play by the Mandarins.

When he had his audience of leave, and the Emperor was ſeated on his throne, he obſerves that a herald called aloud to the Lords of the court to ſtand up and bow to the earth, which they did three times, and in the mean while the drums beat, the bells rung and the muſick played, and the Ambaſſador being brought within three fathom of the throne, was placed between two Tartar Princes, while he made his compliment to the Emperor. As he returned, he obſerved the Emperor's guards ſtood in the fourth court, cloathed in red callico, with figures as big as a crown printed upon them; and that they had little caps with yellow feathers, being the Emperor's colour, and armed with ſcymitars and launces: from the palace the Ambaſſador was conducted to his apartment in one of the Emperor's chariots drawn by an elephant.

Emperor appears four times a month.

The Emperors of the Chineſe race ſeldom appeared in publick, but the preſent Tartar family obſerve a medium, and ſhew themſelves to the people about four times a month.

When he viſits the frontiers of Tartary, as he does almoſt every year, thirty or forty Tartar Princes attend to do him homage. He commonly rides poſt when he viſits the provinces, with a few of his officers; guards being planted along the roads for his ſecurity.

The ſtate he goes in to other ſacrifice.

But the Emperor never appears in that ſplendor, we are told, as when he goes to ſacrifice in the idol temples. Upon this occaſion there marches firſt four and twenty trumpets with golden coronets, and as many drums; then twenty-four men with gilded truncheons, after whom come one hundred ſoldiers with fine halberts; after theſe an hundred ſerjeants at mace, who are followed by four hundred fine lanterns, and as many gilded flambeaus; after theſe come two hundred launces, followed by four and twenty banners with the ſigns of the Zodiack, and fifty ſix more with the conſtellations painted upon them; then four and twenty magnificent umbrello's, with a cupboard of gold plate born by the officers of the court; after theſe the Emperor follows on horſeback glorioufly dreſſed, his houſen and furniture covered with

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with gold and precious ſtones, and he is ſhaded with gilded umbrello's held over his head by the pages of honour: he is followed by the Princes of the blood, Viceroys, and Miniſters of ſtate in their robes; after whom come five hundred young gentlemen, attended by a thouſand footmen dreſſed in carnation ſilk, and worked with ſtars of gold and ſilver: after them is carried an open chair, like a triumphal chariot, by thirty ſix men, and another follows it carried by an hundred and twenty men, ſo large, that it would ſerve for an apartment: after theſe come two chariots drawn by elephants, and two more by horſes, each chair and chariot having a guard of fifty men; and the proceſſion is cloſed by two thouſand Mandarins, and as many officers of the army richly dreſt.

Of the Emperor's women and children.

The women which are entertained in this Prince's court, and which our writers are pleaſed to denominate wives and concubines, conſiſt of the moſt beautiful virgins the Viceroys and Governors of provinces can make choice of to preſent to their Emperor, and are indeed no better than his ſlaves. They are ſo very numerous that many of them are hardly known to him: ſome tell us of three that are called queens, and are preferred above the reſt, on whom the others wait; but the children of the meaneſt have as good a chance to ſucceed to the empire as the ſons of thoſe who are termed wives, and make the greateſt figure. The late Emperor was the ſon of a concubine, as they are called, and ſo were many of his predeceſſors. The Emperor, poſſibly, when he takes the daughter or ſiſter of ſome Tartar Prince to his bed, may confer a title upon her; but as for any contract between them which could make ſuch a one a wife in the ſenſe we underſtand it, and legitimate the iſſue, this I don't perceive was ever heard of amongſt them. The women are excluded from having any ſhare in their government or councils; and by way of deriſion, they ſtile Europe the ladies empire; having learnt that women are ſometimes veſted with ſovereign power in this part of the world.

When the Emperor appoints any of his ſons to ſucceed him, all the reſt, whether elder or younger, readily ſubmit, and live in the palaces aſſigned them, but have no command in the cities where they reſide, or are ever ſuffered to remove from thence without the leave of the reigning Emperor. They have their revenues punctually paid them by the treaſurer of the province, and lead the life of private gentlemen: nor has there been an inſtance hardly of any of them aſpiring to the throne on pretence of birthright, or any other claim, tho' the crown has been poſſeſſed by their younger brothers.

Eſtates of inheritance.

Every ſubject has an eſtate of inheritance in his lands, and does not hold them of any ſuperior Lord; yet the Emperor may levy what taxes he ſees fit, to ſupply the neceſſities of the government: but they have one ordinary tax, ſome ſay about a tenth of their profits, which is ſeldom exceeded; and the Emperor every year exempts ſome one or more of the provinces from paying any, eſpecially if they have been viſited by ſickneſs, unſeaſonable weather, or any other calamity. It is very difficult to compute what the whole revenues of this empire are, becauſe a great part of them are paid in kind. In money, LE COMPTE ſuppoſes there may be paid twenty two millions of Chineſe crowns, reckoning every crown at ſix ſhillings; and in ſilks, rice, corn, ſalt, and other commodities, to the value of fifty millions of the ſame crowns. In all, about one and twenty millions ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſterling: which for a kingdom of that vaſt extent, and ſo rich and populous as it is repreſented, ſeems extremely moderate: for this little kingdom of England, many years during the late war, raiſed near half as much; and now in time of full peace the taxes of all ſorts amount to above a fourth of that ſum.

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Taxed by the Emperor at pleaſure.

Revenues of the empire.

How the Chineſe do to pay their civil liſt and five millions of ſoldiers with twenty two millions of money, is not eaſily conceived.

An account of every man's family, eſtate, and ſubſtance, with the taxes due to the crown, is taken every year and enrolled; a tranſcript of which is hung up at the door of each houſe, and the maſter is obliged to carry in the Emperor's duties to the Mandarins of the town of the third rank, without being called upon, on pain of impriſonment and the baſtinado, till it is done; ſo that all the charges of collectors and receivers is ſaved. The Mandarins pay in their taxes to the treaſurer of the province, who tranſmits the ſurplus to Pekin, after the reſpective governors, officers, and ſoldiers of the province have received their pay, and other neceſſary charges of the government are defrayed.

An account of every man's eſtate and family hung over his door.

Revenue carried in.

There are magazines of rice and other proviſions laid up in ſtore-houſes at Pekin for three years, to ſupply the neceſſities of any part of the empire, which may be diſtreſſed by famine, or any other calamity.

Store houſe.

As to the forces of this empire, there are ſaid to be no leſs than five millions of ſoldiers in pay in time of peace, moſt of them horſe; and that there are above one hundred and ſixty thouſand horſe quartered in the city of Pekin only, armed with ſcymitars and launces. The horſe have no fire arms, and the foot not many; their weapons are chiefly bows and arrows ſtill. The principal uſe of theſe forces is to keep the country quiet: they are no more fit to engage diſciplined troops than our militia, and indeed they have no foreign enemy to fear now China and Tartary are united. They have an allowance of rice and proviſions ſufficient to ſubſiſt their families, and many of them are allowed to follow their trades, and only called out at cer-

Forces of the empire.

tain

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tain times, as our militia are: they have a pretty good train of artillery for the field, which the Jeſuits aſſiſted them in caſting; but thoſe upon their walls are old guns, and of little uſe.

Coin.

There is no gold coin in the kingdom, the current coin are round pieces of baſe metal like braſs; with a hole in the middle, which they ſtring, and count by ſtrings, and not by pieces. A thouſand pieces are not of more value than a piece of eight, they have four Chineſe characters on one ſide; which compoſe the Emperor's name, and two on the reverſe, expreſſing the name of the City where they were coined.

Their ſilver with which they buy goods, they uſed to cut into little irregular pieces, and weigh with a little pair of ſcales like a Roman balance, which every one carries about him in a ſmall varniſhed caſe; but late writers inform us that they have now a ſmall ſilver coin.

Weights and meaſures.

The Chineſe have a pound weight, which they divide into ſixteen ounces, as we do, and each ounce into ten parts, theſe are divided again into ten peny weights, and each of theſe into ten grains.

Their foot is much about the length of ours, or not above $\frac{1}{10}$ ſhorter.

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Treats of their religion, temples and ſuperſtition.

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OF all the idolaters upon the face of the earth, NIEUHOFF obſerves, that the Chineſe have fallen into the feweſt abſurdities; that they have always worſhiped one ſupreme God, the King of heaven and earth, or rather that eternal mind which they imagine animates both heaven and earth. Though there are ſeveral inferior deities they worſhip, as the firſt inventors of arts, mountains, rivers, &c. yet they never ſacrificed to vice, or worſhipped ſuch impure deities as the Egyptians, Grecians, and Romans did.

Religion of the Chineſe.

Three principal ſects.

There are three ſects in China at this day, firſt the followers of LI-LAOKUM, who lived, as they ſay, above five hundred years before Chriſt. He taught that God was corporeal, and had many ſubordinate deities under his government; his diſciples ſtudy magick, and pretend to make that drink which will give men immortality.

The ſecond is the ſect of the learned, who are the diſciples of the ſo much celebrated CONFUCIUS, who left many admirable precepts of morality, and inſtructed the people in philoſophy. He ſpeaks of God as a moſt pure and perfect principle, the fountain and eſſence of all beings; and though we are told he prohibited idolatry, he has temples and images erected to him, and is worſhiped with the profoundeſt adoration, as will appear from the Pope's decree againſt the Jeſuits for allowing their converts in this idolatrous worſhip.

There is a third ſect much more numerous than either of the former, who worſhip the idol Fo, whom they ſtile, the only god of the world. This idol was imported from India about thirty two years after the death of our Saviour: his prieſts, the Bonzes, teach ſeveral moral precepts; and that there is a ſtate of rewards and puniſhments after this life. They alſo inculcate into their followers, that it is not lawful to kill any living creature, or to drink wine; and do not forget to inſtruct them how much it is their duty and intereſt to entertain and nouriſh their prieſts, and to build them temples and monaſteries, and perform the penances they enjoin. If they neglect theſe things they threaten them with the greateſt torments after death; or that their ſouls ſhall animate ſome vermin or beaſt of burden.

Tranſmigration.

LE COMPTE tells us of one whom the Bonzes had prevailed on to believe that his ſoul ſhould go into one of the Emperor's poſt-horſes, and that they had adviſed him to eat little, and endure it patiently, and God might be induced the next remove to let him poſſeſs ſome perſon of quality; but the man was under ſuch horror at the apprehenſion of being a poſt-horſe, that his being a man of figure afterwards gave him but little ſatisfaction. He could not ſleep day or night, but hearing that Chriſtians did not undergo thoſe changes, but were men as well in the other world as here, he ſent for the father to baptize him, who aſſures us he died a very good Chriſtian: ſo that this doctrine of tranſmigration, where it is heartily believed, will drive men to Chriſtianity as effectually as the denunciation of hell torments, it ſeems.

And theſe prieſts do not only aſſign their diſciples what kind of bodies they pleaſe after death, but pretend to know the very individual perſon or creature any man's ſoul goes into: for the ſame author tells us of one of the Princes of the blood who had loſt a companion he was infinitely fond of, whoſe ſoul they pretended paſſed into the body of a Tartar boy, whom for a ſum of money they procured, and preſented to the Prince, which gave him great ſatisfaction.

Voluntary penances to extort alms.

Their ſanctity alſo is ſo great, and their voluntary penances of that value, that they are thought ſufficient to atone for the ſins of the people; and every prieſt pretends to be inveſted with a power of applying his merits where he pleaſes, which is ever among thoſe who are the moſt bountiful to their order.

They will drag heavy iron chains after them through the ſtreets faſtened to their wriſts and legs, and beat their heads againſt the ſtones till they run down with blood, to extort alms from the people; and we are told of one who procured himſelf to be carried about in a chair with nails drove through it on every ſide, that he could not ſtir one way or other without wounding himſelf: and this being

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ing for the good of their ſouls, the people were perſuaded to purchaſe them at ſix pence a-piece to releaſe this devotee: they were aſſured that every nail would derive ineſtimable bleſſings on the family that purchaſed it; for this money was to be applied to the building a temple to the honour of the god Fo: it was not to be ſuppoſed the prieſt could reap any benefit by it.

Three principal images in their temples.

They have an image of immortality, which they worſhip in the form of a monſtrous fat man, ſitting croſs legged, with a huge prominent belly. There is another called, the idol of pleaſure, about twenty foot high; and between theſe in their temples is another large image thirty foot high, gilded over, with a crown upon his head, and richly dreſt; this they call the great King KANG; to whom they pay a mighty adoration.

Houſhold gods,

Leſſer images are innumerable; they may be found in their houſes, ſtreets and ſhips, as well as their temples. No man is without his Jos, or houſhold-god; but they ſometimes uſe them as ſcurvily as the Portugueze do St. ANTHONY; for

Whom they correct.

if they have prayed to them a great while importunately, and find no effect of their prayers, they will reproach the wooden deity with his neglect of them, and drag him through all the kennels in the ſtreets, to teach him better manners: and if they happen in the mean time to obtain what they asked, they carry him to his place again, fall down and adore him, and excuſe the ignominous uſage they have been guilty of towards him. Then they new paint, and waſh and gild the block, that it may be more propitious for the future. And LE COMPTE relates a ſtory of one of them, who brought an action againſt his god for not anſwering his prayer, after the prieſts, whom he had bribed, had promiſed him ſucceſs. But I muſt confeſs I am inclined to ſuſpend my belief of theſe things, till I hear them confirmed; for we know the Jeſuits will prevaricate ſometimes, eſpecially when religion is in the caſe.

To proceed, the Chineſe, beſides theſe images, worſhip the heavens, the ſun, moon, and the reſt of the planets, the ſouls of their anceſtors, and of thoſe who have been the authors of any notable invention, mountains, rivers, &c.

Emperor worſhips the great LAMA.

The Emperor being a Tartar, follows the idolatry of his nation, which does not differ much from that of the Chineſe, except it be that they worſhip a living man, whom they ſtile LAMA; and LE COMPTE will have him to be the ſame with the god Fo, only worſhiped under a ſenſible figure. They give him the name of eternal father, and all the eaſtern Tartars have the greateſt veneration for him: he is ſhewn in a dark place in his palace illuminated with lamps; he ſits croſs-legged on a cuſhion raiſed above the ground, dreſſed in the richeſt robes, and all that approach him fall proſtrate on the ground, and humbly kiſs his feet. That he may be thought immortal, his prieſts chuſe out one of their number as like him as poſſible, who ſucceeds him when he dies, and none of his votaries doubt his living for ever.

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He is of ſuch authority throughout all Tartary, that no King is crowned till he has made rich preſents to this pretended deity, and implored his bleſſing. His reſidence is in Barantola, where he has the court of a King, but does not meddle with the ſecular government, and may properly enough be ſtiled the Tartars Pope.

Since the Tartar has governed China, the prieſts of this great LAMA, who after their maſter are called Lama's, ſerve as chaplains to the Tartar nobility who live at Pekin. The Emperor, for reaſons of ſtate, ſhews both Lama's and Bonzes a particular reſpect, the Jeſuits obſerve; but they inſinuate, that he is no ſlave to their religion; that he ſees through the folly of it, and laughs at their extravagant legends in private. They tell us, that upon the death of the Emperor's mother, when her maids came and fell at his feet, deſiring leave to follow her into the other world, where their ſervice might be uſeful to her, he told them he had taken care of that matter already, and they need not trouble themſelves farther about it; and to prevent their laying violent hands on themſelves, he ordered their hair to be cut off; for this it ſeems, according to the notion they entertain, would render them unfit to ſerve a perſon of that dignity.

But it is acknowledged that the Emperor ſtill pays thoſe honours to CONFUCIUS that others do, and ſacrifices in the heathen temples; and though they would have us believe he adores only the ſupreme Lord of the univerſe, and that nothing but reaſons of ſtate hinder his embracing Chriſtianity; yet they acknowledge at other times, that he aſſures them he cannot believe the Chriſtian religion: that whatever difficulties there are in it, if he was convinced of the truth of it, he would not delay a moment to be of it; and that if he became a Chriſtian, the whole empire would ſoon follow his example. Which does not well agree with his being a Chriſtian in his heart; for if the people were ſo devoted to him as to follow his example, where could be the hazard of his declaring himſelf?

There are ſome thouſands of Mahometan families in China; that religion having been tolerated there theſe five or ſix hundred years: but how Mr. COLLIER came to affirm that the Emperor was a Mahometan, unleſs he imagined ſo becauſe ſome of the Tartars, who are dependent on Turkey are ſuch, I cannot conceive: no author having ſuggeſted any ſuch thing that I can meet with, of the eaſtern Tartars.

Temples without their cities, and in ſolitary places.

This country abounds with idol temples which ſtand without the city gates, or in ſolitary places, where travellers are accommodated by the religious with

Chinese Idols.



with lodging and provisions: by every temple generally stands a tower built in memory of some saint or hero. These places are filled with images and lamps that burn night and day.

Their temples are built with timber, and are one long square room, roofed with shining tiles, and floored generally with large stone. In the province of Peking, NIEUHOFF tells us, there is a temple one hundred and sixty five foot in height, in which is an image an hundred and six foot and half high, in form of a virgin: to every temple belong a great number of priests, who offer wine, rice, and other provision to the deities of the place, and consult them when any come to enquire after their good fortune: near these temples are frequently cloysters of religious devotees, who pretend to have forsaken the world and all its riches and honours, and undergo such voluntary penances as they think will be most acceptable to their gods; in which they far out-do the mortifications of any Christian sect.

They have great faith in their astrologers.

The Chinese are great observers of times, and have as much faith in their astrologers and fortune-tellers as in their gods: they govern all their affairs by the direction of those people, and will not undertake a journey, or any business of moment, without first consulting, when will be the most lucky day or hour to begin it. These fortune-tellers also pretend to calculate nativities, and by knowing the day of a man's birth will tell him all his future fortune in the world: nor does it shock their credit how often soever the people are deceived; for, like their brethren on this side the globe, they still follow the deceiver, and will not be persuaded they are imposed on. This is not so much to be wondered at where superstition and gross ignorance still prevails; but to see how universally our people fall into these notions, who have been shewn the folly and absurdity of them, is very astonishing. Nor is it the crowd only, but some of our greatest men seem to have been tainted with this superstition, as the Lords Shaftsbury, Bristol, Monmouth, &c. if we believe Dr. BURNET and some other writers, these gentlemen had as great faith in conjurers and cunning men, as any young girl that goes to the devil to know her sweet-heart, nor does the reverend doctor himself seem to disbelieve, that his hero King William's success was foretold by some of the infernal crew; but to return from this digression.

A notion that a certain liquor will make them immortal.

The great men in China, and even some of their Emperors, it is said, have given in to that opinion, that it is possible for men to obtain immortality without dying: and from this kingdom probably, the famous ASGIL imported the notion into Britain. Upon this subject innumerable books are written, nor can the daily instances of mortality, even among those who have the greatest opinion of the prescription which is to effect this change, and preserve them from all corruption and decay, convince them of their folly.

There is this difference indeed between Mr. ASGIL and the Chinese, he prescribes a strong faith as the only means to secure immortality, while the Chinese prepare a draught to give them this angelick constitution. Now as Mr. ASGIL's scheme can never be disproved, because his disciples may reply that the patient wanted faith when he expires; so the Chinese assures us, when any of their friends depart this life, that there was something wanting in the composition, which every succeeding projector hopes he has discovered.

NIEUHOFF gives us a relation of one of their Emperors, who was confident he had purchased the immortal draught; and was cured of the whimsy by one of his favourites in this manner:

The Emperor having a cup of this water of life before him, and declaiming upon the virtues and excellency of it, while he turned his back, the favourite had the assurance to drink off part of it; whereupon the Emperor in a rage threatned him with immediate death: to which the wise minister calmly replied, do you suppose you can deprive me of life now I have drank of the immortal cup; if you can what have you lost? If you cannot, I am become equally immortal with you. And this short way of reasoning, it seems, reduced that Prince to his senses, when all other arguments appeared to be thrown away upon him.

The progress of the Christian religion.

The Christian religion, the Jesuits inform us, has gained ground mightily in China by the favour of the late Emperor, insomuch that they have now two hundred churches and chapels there, very well filled with converts; but these I perceive are of the poorer sort, they make but slow progress among the grandees; the better sort of people are not only offended at the doctrine of the Trinity and Incarnation, but the magistrates and rich merchants are so universally given up to cheating and extortion, by which they acquire their estates, that they will not hear of making restitution. The parting with their women is another great objection to Christianity, and to preach to the women to live with one man, when their husbands have an absolute power over them, and can sell and transfer them from one to another as often as they please, seems to very little purpose: however, the missionaries assure us they have converted above fifty thousand within these few years, besides the children who are exposed by their parents in the streets, to whom they administer baptism before they expire. What sort of Christians they make will appear by the Pope's decree against them; but I shall first shew what the Jesuits say for themselves for permitting the worship of CONFUCIUS, of their deceased ancestors, &c. contained in a letter to the Pope, and a declaration of the Emperor of China's sense of these things, which letter follows:

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The Jeſuits defence as to ſuffering their converts to worſhip Confucius nd their nceſtors.

Moſt holy Father,

'YOUR Holineſs is not ignorant how the Jeſuits have laboured to obtain free entrance for preaching of the Goſpel in the empire of China, where all the gates were ſhut againſt foreigners; and how that after an hundred years ſpent in pains and trouble, they at length obtained permiſſion by the Emperor's edict publickly to preach the law of God through the extent of that vaſt empire. The more this work, which has coſt us ſo much care and fatigue, is for the glory of God, the more are we pierced with grief and ſorrow that we are in danger of ſeeing utterly loſt, what has ſo many years been eſtabliſhing.

'For it is evident, that if the Chineſe Chriſtians are forbid the uſe of the ceremonies which are practiſed in reference to CONFUCIUS and their deceaſed parents, the Chriſtian religion runs the hazard upon the firſt accuſation of being baniſhed out of the empire of China. Whatever goodneſs the Emperor ſhews us, we cannot expect that he ſhould expoſe himſelf for our ſakes to thoſe inconveniencies, and all thoſe troubles which would infallibly happen upon the leaſt innovations upon the cuſtoms of the empire, more eſpecially being himſelf a foreigner, and only maintained in his poſſeſſion by the Tartars.

'Conſidering therefore that theſe ceremonies may be looked upon differently by thoſe that examine them, and that according to the ſenſe and meaning wherein they are taken by ſome, we are accuſed of openly tolerating idolatry, becauſe we permit what our predeceſſors thought it became them to tolerate as ceremonies meerly political, after they had pared off what ſome idolaters had intermixed of ſuperſtitious; ſeeing alſo that every body quoted in favour of his own opinion ſeveral texts taken out of the Chineſe books, we deemed it our beſt way to conſult the Emperor, as being well verſed in the Chineſe language, chief of the ſect of the learned, the only judge of the ſenſe of the laws, ceremonies, and cuſtoms, as legiſlator of the empire.

'To which purpoſe, by the favour of two Mandarins, we preſented to his Imperial Majeſty our explanation of the Chineſe ceremonies, which we ſent to your Holineſs; which after the Emperor had read he found to be very juſt, and declared that it contained the true ſentiments of the empire, and his own, which he confirmed by a decree which is hereunto annexed.

'We take the liberty, moſt holy Father, to preſent to you this decree, and proſtrate at your Holineſs's feet implore you graciouſly to receive it. It is a clear declaration upon the matter in queſtion, and the authentick teſtimony of a great Prince, who has been all along affectionately kind to all the miſſionaries. We ſhall alſo ſend to your Holineſs ſeveral other teſtimonies upon the ſame ſubject of the greateſt lords of the court and the empire; in hopes your Holineſs will give more credit to theſe teſtimonies than to theirs who are of an opinion contrary to ours: perſons without credit, without capacity, and who have aſſerted ſeveral things upon bare conjectures. And your Holineſs may ſee by this decree of the Emperor, that what they have ſaid touching the ſentiments of this great Prince, are no way conformable to truth.

'So that if cuſtoms ſo antient and ſo authorized in the empire, the preſervation of which the Chineſe look upon as one of the moſt important bleſſings of the government, and as one of the principal ſupports of the monarchy, ſhould be overturned, we may preſume to tell your Holineſs, that the courſe of the Goſpel would be in great danger of being ſtopped, and that the church of China would in as little time be utterly ranverſed. We could wiſh it were in our power to aboliſh all the cuſtoms and ceremonies of the Gentiles, where there is the leaſt appearance of evil or ſuperſtition: but being afraid of ſhutting the gates againſt the Goſpel, and excluding out of heaven a great number of ſouls by an over-rigorous ſeverity, we rather chuſe to imitate the conduct of the holy fathers in the primitive ages of the church, and to tolerate ſuch ceremonies as are purely political and civil.

'And now as we have taken the liberty to repreſent theſe things to your Holineſs, we beſeech you to be fully convinced of our filial obedience and ſubmiſſion to him on whom we look as the viſible head and common father of the univerſal church, &c.

YOUR HOLINESS's moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervants and ſons in JESUS CHRIST,

Signed,

PHILIP GRIMALDI,
Rector of the college, and ſubſtitute of the Vice-provincial.

ANTHONY THOMAS,
Superior of the oriental houſes.

The explanation of the Chineſe ceremonies, mentioned in the Jeſuits letter, and preſented to the Emperor CAMHI, *Nov.* 30. 1700.

The worſhip of CONFUCIUS explained.

'WHEN the Chineſe honour CONFUCIUS, they do it to ſhew their reſpect to him, by reaſon of the doctrine which he has left among them. Having embraced this doctrine

'from

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'from him, how can they better pay thoſe ho-
'nours that are due to him, than by falling up-
'on their knees, and touching the ground with
'their heads? this is the true reaſon of theſe ho-
'nours, becauſe the whole empire of China looks
'upon and reveres CONFUCIUS as their maſter.

'As for what concerns the libations and other
'ceremonies paid to their deceaſed parents, they
'practiſe them as a mark of their love and reſpect
'to them, and out of that acknowledgment which
'is due to them as being the heads of their race
'and family; nor did they propoſe any other end
'in ſettling thoſe ceremonies, than to ſhew the
'full extent of their affection for their kindred and
'relations.

'As for the little pictures which they ſet up in
'honour of their anceſtors and kindred, we ſay
'that the Chineſe do it, not that they believe the
'ſoul of the dead reſides there, or that they come
'there to demand any kindneſs, but they ſet meat
'and preſents before the ſaid little pictures, to the
'end, that by ſhewing their love and reſpect to
'them as if they were alive and preſent, they
'may make appear their conſtant and continual
'ſorrow for the loſs of the heads of their families.

'As for the ſacrifices which the antient Kings
'and Emperors were wont to offer to heaven, they
'are ſuch as the Chineſe philoſophers call Kiao
'Che, the ſacrifices which are made to heaven
'and earth, by which they ſay that Cham Ti,
'or the ſovereign Lord, is honoured. And for
'this reaſon it is that the little pictures before
'which they offer thoſe ſacrifices, bear this inſcrip-
'tion, to the Cham Ti; that is to ſay, to the
'ſovereign Lord.

'From whence it is evident that they do not
'offer ſacrifices to the viſible and material heaven,
'but only to the Lord and Creator of heaven and
'earth: and becauſe that out of fear and reſpect
'for him they dare not call him by his proper
'name, they invoke him under the appellations of
'the ſupreme heaven, the bountiful heaven, the
'univerſal heaven.

The Emperor of China's approbation of it.

The Emperor of China's approbation of the explanation.

'THAT which is contained in this writing is
'very right, and very conformable to the
'grand doctrine: to pay our devoirs to heaven,
'to our lords, to our parents, to our maſters
'and our anceſtors is a law common over all the
'world. The things that are contained in this
'writing are very true, and there is nothing to
'amend.

The Pope's decree publiſhed by Cardinal de Tournon, the Pope's vicar in China.

The Pope's decree againſt the worſhipping CONFUCIUS, &c.

'CHARLES de Tournon, by the grace of God,
'and of the holy apoſtolical ſee, patriarch of
'Antiochia, domeſtick prelate and aſſiſtant of the
'papal chair, by divine providence, a member of
'the holy inquiſition at Rome, commiſſary and
'apoſtolical legate a latere in the Eaſt Indies, the
'empire of China, and the kingdoms of the neigh-
'bouring iſlands, &c. wiſhes eternal welfare to
'his venerable brothers the ordinary biſhops, the
'apoſtolical ſtadtholders in the empire of China.
'Whereas we have received certain information
'that our fellow labourers in the Goſpel are fre-
'quently ſummoned by the Emperor of China to
'give an account of matters relating to our holy
'worſhip, and ſince we have on all occaſions ex-
'horted them to ſeparate the pure corn of God's
'word from the pernicious tares of hereſy and in-
'fidelity; we think it our duty to admoniſh you
'to lay aſide the animoſities and wranglings which
'are crept in among you, to the great ſcandal of
'the infidels as well as of ſuch who have been con-
'verted to our holy faith. We command there-
'fore all the miſſionaries in this country, and
'even thoſe of the ſociety of Jeſus, to obſerve
'punctually the following directions.

'I. That in your writings and ſermons, you
'diſapprove and condemn only ſuch doctrines,
'laws and cuſtoms of the Chineſe as are inconſiſ-
'tent with our Chriſtian faith.

'II. If it be demanded of you to give an account
'of what doctrines of the Chineſe are contrary to
'the divine law, you muſt boldly declare, that
'the offerings made by the Chineſe to heaven,
'the moon, and other planets; to ſpirits, and
'inventers of arts, &c. are only due to God the
'creator of all things, as well of infidels as true
'believers.

'III. If in particular you are asked about the
'offerings made unto CONFUCIUS, or their an-
'ceſtors, you are frankly to deteſt and condemn
'ſuch a worſhip; as alſo the adoration of the pic-
'tures of deceaſed men: and in caſe you are asked
'the reaſon of your ſentiments, your anſwer muſt
'be, that ſuch worſhip is inconſiſtent with the ſer-
'vice of the true and living God, and with the decla-
'ration of the Pope, who is the infallible rule of the
'Chriſtians in all matters that concern religion.

'IV. And laſtly, if you are queſtioned how
'you came to know this, you are to anſwer, that
'you are aſſured of it by the patriarch of Antiochia,
'whom you are obliged to obey. We therefore
'enjoin all the biſhops, miſſionaries, prieſts, and
'even Jeſuits, to pay an exact obedience to our
'orders about theſe matters on pain of incurring
'the ban called Lata Sententia.

Dated at Nankin, Jan. 28th. 1707.

Signed
CHARLES.
and underneath
LE BRETON,
Apoſtolical ſubdelegate of Fokien.

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Contains an account of their marriages, women, wives, children, ſlaves, and the names they go by.

The conſent of the parties never required in marriage.

IF mutual conſent conſtitutes a marriage, there is no ſuch thing in China: the parties never ſee each other till the bargain is concluded by the parents; and that is uſually when they are perfect children; nor is the woman's conſent ever demanded afterwards. The girls may well be reckoned part of their fathers treaſure, ſince the pooreſt man muſt purchaſe his wife, and no fortune is given with her. However, next to being barren, the greateſt ſcandal it ſeems is to bring females into the world; and if a woman happens to have three or four girls together without a boy, ſhe will expoſe, or ſtrangle them with her own hands. And whenever the parents happen to be poor or unfortunate, they look upon it, we are told, to be an act of piety to deprive them of a miſerable being, which they are not likely to ſupport with comfort. This is the reaſon ſo many children are daily expoſed in the ſtreets and highways, whoſe parents poſſibly have ſo much tenderneſs remaining, that, notwithſtanding a prevailing cuſtom, they cannot ſee them die, much leſs butcher them with their own hands. Theſe are the children our miſſioners glory ſo frequently in adminiſtring baptiſm to; and thus, though they are not able to relieve them in this world, they procure for them a glorious reverſion in the next.

Wives purchaſed.

Children expoſed by their parents.

Miſſioners baptize them.

Poor women have an advantage of the quality.

As wives only are obtained by purchaſe, men in mean circumſtances are forced to content themſelves with one a-piece; and in this reſpect the poor women in China have much the advantage of the quality. What would a Lady give to exchange her condition with a cottager, and have a whole man to herſelf! for men of fortune do not, it ſeems, content themſelves with one or two, or even two and twenty, but will have an hundred in their ſeraglio if their circumſtances will admit of it, where the wretched creatures are perpetually confined, and ſcarce allowed to breathe the freſh air. They muſt neither ſee another man, or be ſeen by any, after they have entered their tyrant's doors; while the poor women range about at liberty, with their feet of a natural ſize, without being made cripples and priſoners from their cradles, as their betters have the honour to be.

One of them (I ſuppoſe the firſt that is contracted for) our miſſioners will have to be the lawful wife; though it is acknowledged that ſhe who bears the firſt child has the preference of the reſt, even in the Emperor's court; and that till a woman has had a child ſhe is not ſuffered to ſit down at table with her husband's mother and the reſt of the family, but muſt wait upon them.

As the Jeſuits have been very complaiſant to the Chineſe in many inſtances, yet it ſeems they rigorouſly exact their putting away all their wives and concubines but one, as a neceſſary qualification to their being initiated in the Chriſtian religion; which is ſuch a difficulty as cannot be eaſily ſurmounted; for in the firſt place, not only the laws and cuſtoms of the country are expreſly againſt the turning off a wife but for ſome miſdemeanour, and the relations of the woman would demand juſtice upon ſuch an occaſion; but it would alſo be very hard to ſeparate the children from their ſeveral mothers, which muſt be done in this caſe, or the father muſt part with the children too, and commit the education of them to ſtrangers. And it ſeems a little ſtrange, that ſince the caſe was the ſame in other parts of the heathen world at the firſt planting Chriſtianity, there is nothing to be found in the Goſpel that required the primitive Chriſtians to part with their wives and children they then had, though it recommended and enjoined a conjunction of one man and one woman for the future, as moſt agreeable to the primitive inſtitution of matrimony. The diſtractions and confuſions that theſe ſeparations muſt make in numerous families was ſurely as good a reaſon for indulging them in this article, as any the Jeſuits have produced for complying with the Chineſe in the adoration of CONFUCIUS and their anceſtors: but the latter poſſibly had ſuch a reſemblance to their own doctrine of worſhiping ſaints and angels, that it was paſſed over with the leſs reluctance.

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The reaſonableneſs of obliging the Chineſe converts to put away their wives.

As for the women, it is not conceivable what effect this doctrine can have upon them; one who had no other objection to Chriſtianity, very well replied to a certain father on this occaſion, 'Sir, 'I belong to a Mandarin who bought me; if I go 'out of his doors he hath a right to reclaim me 'and take me again, and inflict on me the puniſh-'ment of a ſlave: and if I could avoid his purſuit, 'whither ſhould I fly? My kindred who ſold me, 'durſt not harbour me; and I ſhall infallibly fall 'into the hands of ſome other perſon who will en-'gage me in the ſtate I ſeek to avoid. I muſt 'therefore remain in the houſe where I am; and 'how ſhall I be able to reſiſt a brutiſh fellow, who 'conſults only his luſt, and will be juſtified by the 'laws and example of the whole empire? It is to 'no purpoſe to lay before him the holineſs of Chri-'ſtianity, which I deſire to embrace; neither my 'tears or entreaties, or even the moſt obſtinate re-'ſiſtance I can make, are able to hinder him.' So that here the miſſionaries propoſe impoſſibilities, which ſurely the divine goodneſs never does; nor can it enter into the heart of any man to believe, that our Saviour himſelf would have refuſed to receive ſuch a proſelyte, who in all other inſtances was ſincere.

The impoſſibility of the women leaving their husbands.

But

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But as all the great men in the empire will certainly remain averſe to Chriſtianity, if nothing leſs than parting with their women will ſatisfy the Jeſuits; on the other hand the women will infallibly promote Chriſtianity with all their might, that every one may have her man to herſelf, and be a little more upon the level with our ſex. Were the intereſt of the Ladies as good in that part of the world as it is here, the Jeſuits would need no ſupernatural aſſiſtance to carry their point: 'Tis very unfortunate for the Jeſuits that they have ſcarce any opportunity of approaching the fair ſex; whatever purity or ſelf-denial they may preach or practiſe, the Chineſe underſtand human nature too well to ſuffer the moſt mortified amongſt them to converſe intimately with their wives: nay, theſe ſurly husbands will not truſt their women even in a church with the men. And the converſion of the Chineſe Ladies is ſtill the more difficult, becauſe they underſtand only the language of their particular province; ſo that if the Jeſuits were admitted into their company, they could not be underſtood, having learnt only the court or mandarin dialect: and where all theſe difficulties have been maſtered, the fathers tell us ſtill there is no dependence on the women's converſion, they are ſo much under the dominion of their husbands, and in ſuch dread of their reſentment.

Marriage in great eſteem.

Moſt men marry by that time they are twenty; an old batchelor is looked upon with the greateſt contempt; beſides, the Chineſe look upon it to be a very unfortunate thing to have no children to mourn at their graves. There is therefore ſcarce a ſingle man to be found amongſt them; and the women being exceeding fruitful, it is no wonder the country is ſo populous, eſpecially ſince few of them travel into diſtant countries, and there is very ſeldom either war or peſtilence to take them off. There is one difficulty remains to be ſpoke to, and that is, ſince every man marries, and the rich have ten or a dozen wives a-piece, where can there be found women enough for them, if the numbers of males and females that are born are pretty near equal, as 'tis generally held they are? To which it may be anſwered, that the poor, who make up the bulk of a nation, have but one wife a piece; and in the next place, as the men live ſingle till twenty, and the women are marriageable at twelve, all the females between twelve and twenty are ſupernumeraries, and may ſerve to fill the ſeraglios of the great. They make it a rule never to marry one of the ſame name; but degrees of kindred are not much conſidered, eſpecially on the mother's ſide.

Here, as in other parts of the world, there is great feaſting and rejoicing when the man takes home his bride; and there is uſually a ſplendid cavalcade from the wife's father to the bridegroom's houſe, with muſick, drums, trumpets, ſtreamers, colours flying, &c. but the bride, it ſeems, ſees little of it, being ſhut up in a cloſe chair, ſhe is never to be prophaned by the eyes of the multitude, or even the looks of her neareſt male relations.

The marriage is ſaid to be irrevocable when the bride, or rather her parents, have accepted the gold and ſilver bodkins, and other preſents the bridegroom ſends her ſuitable to her quality, and ſhe cannot marry elſewhere if her ſpouſe ſhould go out of the kingdom afterwards, but muſt expect him all her life-time. Upon every marriage ſome prieſt or pretended conjurer is conſulted, not only to know whether the match is like to prove happy or unfortunate, but when is the lucky day and hour for conſummation: and they never fail to obſerve his directions.

No divorce but for notorious miſbehaviour.

When the bride is brought home, the bridegroom ſtands at his gate richly dreſſed to receive her, and unlocks the door of the ſedan himſelf. This being the firſt interview, both the one and the other are often confounded at their diſappointment, finding themſelves deceived in the repreſentations made by their agents. There is no redreſs however for the woman, ſhe muſt ſubmit let her averſion be never ſo great, if the man will accept of her; but ſome husbands, if the woman is not ſo agreeable as they expect, Le Compte obſerves, will return the bride that moment to her parents, and contentedly loſe the purchaſe money, rather than be troubled with one they apprehend may prove a domeſtick plague: but the ſame author aſſures us, that if the husband once receives his wife he may not divorce her unleſs for adultery, or ſome other notorious offence. In theſe caſes indeed he may ſell her and buy another. The concubines are ſervants to the wife, he tells us, though their children enjoy an equal ſhare of their husband's effects. When Le Compte obſerved to them the jealouſy and uneaſineſs that a plurality of women muſt needs occaſion, they reply'd, that there was nothing but had ſome inconvenience attending it; and they did not know but a man might have more vexation with one than with many; where there were ſeveral, ſome of them might probably be in humour when the other were out of temper; whereas if a man was confined to one, there was no relief if ſhe proved ſullen or noiſy.

A gallant contracted for in the marriage articles.

Notwithſtanding moſt women are kept up with that ſtrictneſs that they are not ſuffered to converſe with their neareſt relations, or to appear in any publick places, as in Europe; yet there are ſome husbands that will give their wives full liberty to entertain their gallants, and there are women who get it inſerted as a condition in their marriage-articles to have this liberty allowed them; whereupon their lovers reſort to their apartments with the ſame freedom that the husband himſelf does; but the

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Chineſe in general ſo abhor the practice, that the children of ſuch women are diſabled to hold any place or preferment in the ſtate.

The common people are ſaid to have ſo ſtrong a propenſity to matrimony, that when they are not able to purchaſe a woman, they will offer themſelves for ſlaves, upon condition they may have a ſhe-ſlave of the family for a wife; which inclines me to think that the Chineſe uſe their ſlaves with more humanity than ſome other eaſtern nations. I have already mentioned the barbarous cuſtom of expoſing and murdering their children, if they are females; or if they apprehend they ſhall not be in a condition to maintain them, they have another, not much leſs cruel, and that is, the gelding their children to make them capable of preferment in the ſeraglio. They are called Gelubden, and no other are permitted to come near the women's apartment, or attend in the innermoſt courts of the palace.

Eunuchs made.

Perſons of quality generally give their daughters two or three ſhe-ſlaves when they marry, who attend her to the bridegroom's houſe.

So ſacred is the women's apartment, that even the husband's father, 'tis ſaid, is never permitted to enter it. And if the father would puniſh his ſon for any offence, as he may do even after marriage, if the ſon gets into his wives lodgings he is ſafe as in a ſanctuary.

The women employ themſelves in painting, needle-work, and other works proper for the ſex; but never meddle with trade, or buying or ſelling; and have birds, dogs, and other animals to divert them in their retirement. The ſons of the concubines, as well as thoſe that are called wives, equally ſhare their father's fortune amongſt them, if he makes no diſpoſition of it; but the daughters have no need of fortunes, being always purchaſed by their husbands. If they are not married in the father's life time, the brothers are obliged to provide for them.

The Jeſuits mightily cry up the piety and devotion of their female converts in China: inſomuch that if that kingdom in general ſhould embrace Chriſtianity, they tell us, moſt of the women would certainly be ſaved.

Every man has three names; firſt the ſirname, which is common to the family. 2. A proper name. And, 3. A name that he receives upon entering upon any new buſineſs or employment; which is called, the Great Name, or Name of Dignity: and if a perſon embraces a new ſect or opinion, the Doctor who introduces him beſtows a new name upon him; and the Miſſionaries have always a particular name given them beſides their Chriſtian and ſir-name.

As for daughters, they retain their father's ſirname only; and are diſtinguiſhed according to the order of their birth; as firſt, ſecond, third, &c. and do not change their names upon their marriage.

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Treats of their funeral rites, mourning, tombs, &c.

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Coffins provided in their life time.

PEOPLE of condition cauſe their tombs to be built and their coffins provided in their life time, and there are few families of any note, but have their particular burying places, whither they are brought if they die at never ſo great a diſtance from home.

The common people have a burying place without the city, where they are buried promiſcuouſly. No perſons are ever buried within the walls of the city; nor is a dead corps ever ſuffered to be brought into a town if a perſon dies in the country. Their coffins are made of the moſt laſting wood, very large, and ſix or eight inches thick; but much in the ſhape of ours. They are varniſhed, carved and gilded, and often coſt ſeveral hundred crowns.

Funeral.

When a perſon of diſtinction dies, his ſon, or neareſt relation, acquaints his friends with it; they waſh and perfume the corps, and then dreſs it in the beſt cloaths the deceaſed wore; and having placed it in a chair, the wives firſt, then his children, and afterwards the reſt of his relations and friends proſtrate themſelves before it, and paſſionately bewail their loſs. The third day the corps is put into a coffin and covered with a piece of ſilk, and being placed in a large room hung with white linen, and an altar erected in the middle of it, with the picture or image of the deceaſed placed upon it, the relations are again introduced, who bring with them wax lights and incenſe, which they burn upon the altar, and again proſtrate themſelves before it. In the mean time the ſons of the deceaſed ſtand cloathed in white coarſe linen, girt about them with an ordinary cord, on one ſide of the coffin, in a very mournful poſture; and on the other ſide behind a curtain ſits the mother with the daughters, lamenting themſelves in ſuch ſtrains as cuſtom requires; the Prieſts in the mean time ſing mournful ſongs, and for ſeveral days tables are ſet, and a variety of diſhes ſerved up, which the prieſts ſhare amongſt them at night: over the gate hangs a large ſcroul of paper, wherein is written the name and quality of the deceaſed, with an account of his virtues and great actions. The coffin being very thick, and well pitched and varniſhed over, a ſon will ſometimes keep his father ſeveral months, and ſometimes years, before he buries him. The ſons ſleep on mats about the coffin for an hundred days, and eat no fleſh, or drink ſtrong drink, or come near their wives, 'tis ſaid; but this the law does not prohibit, though it forbids them to be at any entertainment, or to be concerned in any buſineſs, for

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for three years; inſomuch that if a man is poſſeſſed of the higheſt poſt in the government, he is oblig'd to leave it three years upon the death of his father, and retire to his own houſe, where it is indecent to indulge himſelf in any pleaſure, or even to be ſeen to laugh.

Upon the day appointed for the funeral the friends are again aſſembled to follow the corps to the grave; when ſeveral images of men, women, elephants, lyons, and other beaſts, made of painted paper, are prepared to be burnt at the grave: there are alſo carried torches and great copper incenſe-pots to offer incenſe to the deceaſed; ſeveral pageants are alſo born before the corps, as triumphal chariots, caſtles, &c. with tables of rich perfumes and meats; after which follow the prieſts with drums, wind-muſick, and gingling bells; then the coffin is carried upon a bier by twenty or thirty men under an arched canopy, followed by the ſons on foot, leaning on crutches as ſcarce able to ſupport themſelves; after theſe come the women in cloſe chairs covered with white ſilk or linen, and tho' they cannot be ſeen, deaſen the company with their perpetual howling; and oftentimes women are hired to howl on this occaſion.

Mountains and ſolitary places far from towns are generally choſen by the great men to build their ſepulchres in; and ſome of them are ſaid to be little inferior to palaces. If the ſepulchre is erected in a plain, they raiſe a vaſt heap of earth over it, which they carry almoſt to the height of a mountain.

Tombs. The tomb is a large arched vault, as big as an ordinary houſe, and covered with plaiſter of Paris; ſo that no wet can penetrate it. There is uſually one great gate at the entrance, with a leſs on the right and left. The deceaſed being interred, according to the cuſtom of the country, an altar is erected, on which lights are placed: the friends and relations at certain ſeaſons proſtrate themſelves before it with their faces to the ground, pouring out wine, offering meats, and burning incenſe, with the pictures of men and animals on gilt paper, which they apprehend are converted into the things they repreſent, and that they will be of ſervice to the deceaſed in the other ſtate.

Epitaphs. The virtues and great actions of the deceaſed, whether real or imaginary, are engraved on marble, or other ſtones, and placed in the vault before the altar.

Impious to leave the tombs of their anceſtors and travel. The Chineſe abhor foreigners, who leave the tombs of their anceſtors, and travel into remote parts of the world, to ſatisfy their curioſity or avarice: But one of them reproaching a Miſſionary with this impiety, as 'tis termed, the father anſwered; 'He came thither in the ſervice of the 'God of heaven and earth, to acquaint mankind 'with his holy laws; a thing of far greater im-'portance than attending the aſhes of their dead 'parents, whoſe ſouls were now removed into a 'better ſtate. And he could not ſee why the Eu-'ropeans ſhould be eſteemed more impious or un-'dutiful than the Tartars, their Governors, who 'had alſo forſaken the graves of their anceſtors, to 'relieve the Chineſe in their diſtreſs.' And this diſcourſe happening before ſome of the Tartar Mandarins, the father was highly applauded.

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Worſhip their anceſtors. To proceed, every Chineſe keeps in his houſe a table whereon is written the names of his father, grandfather, and great grandfather, before which they frequently burn incenſe and proſtrate themſelves; and when the father of a family dies, the great grandfather is taken away, and the deceaſed added to make up the number. This cuſtom of proſtrating themſelves and burning incenſe to their anceſtors, it ſeems, the Jeſuits are not able to break their converts of, and therefore connive at it; which has occaſioned ſevere reflections upon them, as tolerating idolatry; and the practice it ſeems has been condemned by the Pope, as was obſerved in the chapter of religion.

Temples erected to them. Great men alſo, whoſe circumſtances will allow it, erect temples, we are told, to the memory of their anceſtors; where a yearly ſacrifice is offered. The Emperor ſacrifices to ſeven of his anceſtors, the tributary Kings to five, and a Mandarin to three.

Time and manner of mourning. The time of mourning for a father is three years; the firſt year both men and women wear a kind of coarſe white ſackcloth, patched and torn, girt about them with a cord, and a coarſe linen night-cap; their grief, we muſt ſuppoſe, being ſo great as to make them perfectly negligent of their dreſs. The ſecond year their cloaths are ſomething better linen, and their caps of the uſual ſort, but a different colour, and the cord is left off. The third year they may wear ſilk, but it muſt be white; and though it be ſaid that during this time they follow no employment, this muſt ſurely be reſtrained to men of eſtates; it is not poſſible to be practiſed ſtrictly by ordinary tradeſmen or huſbandmen.

NIEUHOFF tells us of a Mandarin who was impatient to return to his poſt before the time of his mourning was expired, and imagining the time he was travelling to court, from whence he was a thouſand miles diſtant, would have been looked upon as part of the three years, he ſet forwards before the time was expired: but this was looked upon as ſuch a breach of their laws, that he was ordered back again to ſpend as much more time in mourning as his journey had taken up. But it ſeems the ſoldiers and military Mandarins are not obliged to perform this three years mourning upon the death of a father.

The wife alſo mourns three years for the death of a husband, and it is reckoned ſcandalous for her to marry again. But the husband doth not mourn above

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Honours conferred on the dead.

above one year for a wife; and as long for a brother.

Although the Emperor beſtows no hereditary honours on his ſubjects while they live, he frequently confers titles and honours on ſuch as have deſerved well, when they die. And it may not be amiſs here to give a relation of thoſe he conferred on father VERBIEST, who ſerved him in quality of a Mandarin; for at this funeral there ſeems to be an odd mixture of Romiſh and Pagan ſuperſtition.

On the death of father VERBIEST, who had inſtructed the late Emperor in the mathematicks, his Majeſty wrote his encomium himſelf, wherein the Emperor recited, 'That this father having 'left Europe to come into his dominions, and ſpent 'the beſt part of his life in his ſervice, he declared, 'that during all the time he had preſided over the 'mathematicians, his prediction had never failed, 'but exactly agreed with the motions of the hea-'vens; and that he was ever faithful and un-'wearied in his labours, till he had finiſhed his 'courſe. That he had ordered his own phyſician 'to attend him; and when he underſtood a dead 'ſleep had ſeized the father, his heart was wound-'ed with inexpreſſible grief. That towards the 'charges of his funeral he had ordered two hundred 'golden crowns, and ſeveral pieces of ſilk: and it 'was his pleaſure that this declaration ſhould teſtify 'the ſincere affection he entertained for that father. With this inſtrument he ſent two principal Mandarins to attend the corps of the deceaſed, which was laid in ſtate after the Chineſe manner. Theſe Lords kneel'd before the coffin, and bowed their faces ſeveral times to the ground, weeping and lamenting as for the loſs of a father. Then they read the Emperor's declaration aloud, which was afterwards hung up near the corps. The great Lords of the court alſo, in imitation of the Emperor, wrote panegyricks on the father on pieces of ſattin, which were hung up round the room; and others ſent in preſents towards the charges of the funeral.

The corps was buried on the 11th of March, 1688. The Emperor in the morning ſent his father-in-law to repreſent his perſon; with him came alſo one of the chief Mandarins, a gentleman of the bed-chamber, and five officers of the houſhold; who all proſtrated themſelves ſeveral times before the corps, and wept bitterly: for no women it ſeems have a greater command of their tears than the Chineſe courtiers.

Soon after the proceſſion begun; and firſt was carried a trophy thirty foot high, varniſhed over with red, wherein was written the name and titles of the father in large golden characters; afterwards there was carried a great red croſs, with flags and ſtreamers, by two files of Chriſtians, cloathed in white, holding a lighted taper in one hand, and a handkerchief in the other to receive their tears; at ſome diſtance followed the picture of the Virgin Mary in a frame, ſupported alſo by ſome Chineſe converts; and after that the image of St. Michael.

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The encomium of the Emperor's compoſing, written on a large piece of yellow ſattin was carried next, ſurrounded by a crowd of Chriſtians.

After theſe came the coffin varniſhed and gilt after the manner of the country, and carried on a bier by ſixty bearers; it was attended by the Miſſionaries, the Lords the Emperor had deputed from the court, and a multitude of other Mandarins, who cloſed the proceſſion.

When they come to the tomb, the Miſſioners read the uſual prayers in their ſurplices, and having ſprinkled the corps with holy water, and perfumed it with incenſe, it was let down into a vault ſurrounded with walls, and of the bigneſs of an ordinary room. Having prayed near it ſome time, the Miſſionaries remained upon their knees to hear what the Emperor's father, who repreſented his perſon, had to ſay to them; at length he declared to the company, 'That father VERBIEST had been very ſerviceable both to the 'Emperor and the ſtate; and that his Majeſty, to 'expreſs his ſenſe of theſe things, had deputed 'him, with the other Lords, to make this publick 'acknowledgment; that all the world might know 'the affection he had for him in his life, and how 'much he bewailed his death.' For which honours the fathers made their acknowledgment in very handſome ſpeech.

The court of rites finding how acceptable it would be to the Emperor to confer ſome further honour on the deceaſed, preferred a petition to his Majeſty for that purpoſe; which being readily granted, they ordered ſeven hundred golden crowns to be laid out in adorning his tomb, and that the Emporor's encomium ſhould be engraven on a marble ſtone, and ſome Mandarins deputed again to proſtrate themſelves and weep before the corps: and after all, conferred on him a higher title than he had born in his life-time.

CHAP. XI.

Treats of Corea and the iſlands ſubject to China; and contains the ſubſtance of Mr. Lockyer's obſervations on the Chineſe trade and cuſtoms.

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Corea.

THE kingdom of Corea, whether we reckon it a province of China, or tributary to it, differs very little from the reſt of China as to manners and cuſtoms. It is a fruitful country, abounds in wheat, rice, and other grain; and has mines of gold and ſilver, and pearl is found in their ſeas: however, they trade with no other country but China and Japan, from whence they are not many leagues diſtant. The later maps make it an iſland, but

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but whether it does not join to Niuche, a province of Tartary on the north, is not yet settled by our geographers.

Formosa.

The principal islands subject to China are, first, Formosa, a large island, which lies in the latitude of 22 north, about four or five hundred miles in circumference, and distant from the province of Fokien about twenty leagues. This island seeming to be neglected by the Chinese till the Tartar conquest, the Spaniards from Manilla settled themselves there; and after them the Dutch, who defended their possession a considerable time against the attacks of the Chinese; but were at length overpowered, and compelled to leave the country. The ant[illegible]t government of this island, the Dutch would persuade us, had some resemblance of their own [illegible]ate that every town was a little commonwealth, inde[illegible]ent of the rest, and no monarch in the island. [illegible]But whatever the antient government was, [illegible]nce [illegible] have been subdued by China, they have [illegible]ect to the same laws.

[illegible]ountains, it is said, are full of brimstone; [illegible]kes the island subject to earthquakes. The [illegible]inese there plow and sow and manure the ground, and the[illegible]men spend their time chiefly in hunting. Their houses are built with cane, and but one story high. They are Pagans like the Chinese, but they have female priests, who sacrifice beasts, and fruits, and pretend to oracles, and are frequently consulted. The Dutch tell us many of them were converted to Christianity while they were masters of the island; but I do not find there are any Christians in the island at this day.

Aynan.

There is another island called Aynan, or Hainan, about the latitude of 18 or 19 north, which lies to the south of China, and is about three-hundred miles in circumference. It is a plentiful country, and has mines of gold and silver, and a pearl-fishery. LE COMPTE mentions a lake in this island which will petrify fish; and says, he saw some crabs that were petrified there.

Macao.

Macao is a little island near the coast of Quamtum, only famous for the great trade carried on there by the Portugueze, for about one hundred and fifty years past. They had once the sovereignty of it, but are now subject to the Chinese, and pay customs and other duties to the Emperor; but are suffered however to have the government of their own people.

The farther account of China from Mr. LOCKYER.

Before I take leave of China, I shall give the reader the substance of Mr. LOCKYER's observations on that country in his voyage to Canton. He seems to be one of the most intelligent Englishmen that has sailed thither; and it were to be wished he had seen more of the country; for though the Jesuits are very capable of furnishing us with elegant descriptions, and philosophical remarks; yet where things have any relation to religion, they are not entirely to be relied on; and trade not being their province, little is to be expected from them very accurate on that head. The accounts we receive from our merchants in these particulars are much to be preferred to any thing the missionaries have given us.

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Port of Canton most frequented.

The port of Canton, Mr. LOCKYER tells us, is in the greatest reputation with the English merchants of any port in China.

Extortions of the Chinese on our merchants.

Amoy was formerly more used, but the extortions of the Mandarins there are grown to that height, that the merchants can reap little profit by trading thither. Another inducement which the European merchants have to frequent Canton is, that whole fleets may be freighted in a short time there, and are not in danger of being delayed till the monsoon sets in, and prevents their return till another season. But even at Canton I find our merchants are intolerably imposed on, if they do not settle preliminaries with the Hoppo's or Commissioners of the customs, before the ship sails up the river: and therefore our author advises the ship to remain at anchor at the Portugueze island of Macao, till the ship's measurage, and the licence to trade freely, are adjusted. When the ship is come up the river, our author advises the taking a house close to the water-side, for the concealment of bullion, it being of dangerous consequence to let the Chinese know the full value of the merchant's treasure; and this they would discover if it was carried far on shore, whereas they can conceal it under the planks of their boats, and deliver it into their houses by the water-side without observation.

Presents must be made.

Presents must be made, it seems, to the custom-house-officers, or they will be very troublesome: but our author advises to feed them from time to time with small presents; for if they are never so large they will forget if their memories be not frequently refreshed. An even temper and a smooth tongue, he observes also are qualifications absolutely necessary for a super-cargo: that is, in short, the Chinese must be dealt with in the same crafty manner they deal with others.

Little got by goods exported thither.

Lead, it seems, is almost the only commodity wherein our merchants get more than their prime costs; their gains arise from the goods imported from China, and not by what are carried thither.

Chinese merchants not to be trusted.

There is no trusting the Chinese, he tells us; if the merchant does not view his goods thoroughly, and see there are no defects in them, and be very careful of their weights and measures, 'tis odds but he is cheated. In weighing it must be nicely observed that the beam is not longer on one side than the other; some have two holes or notches at the ends of the beam, and by hanging the scales in the one or the other, will increase or diminish the weight. In others the ends of the beams may be pulled out or shoved in; but that which is the least discernable is, when the nut, or center of the beam

Silver weights.

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beam whereon the ſcale hangs is made to ſlide; and it is ſo difficult to diſcover all their tricks, that Mr. LOCKYER adviſes the weighing every thing in Engliſh ſcales after them. Thoſe that have truſted to their package have been no leſs deceived in this than their weights; they have found cheſts, boxes and caniſters ſo exactly imitated, and marked, that they have not doubted their being their own; when others with damaged goods, or ſomething of little value has been packed up in the room of them.

Of tea.

Goods imported from China are, firſt, tea; green only is drank in India, Perſia, and the eaſtern nations; bohea, it ſeems, is not valued by them; this is a long brown leaf, and the water it is infuſed in high coloured. If it be good it has a fine ſmell, is all of a colour, criſp and dry; ſmall black leaves and dirt are ſigns of a very bad ſort: the beſt opens ſooneſt in hot water. Singlo, or green tea, is to be choſen alſo by its fine ſmell and its light colour; if any of the leaves appear browniſh or dark colour'd, it is not good. Imperial, or bing tea, is ſtill lighter than green tea, of a pleaſant ſmell, but not ſo ſtrong as ſinglo. If it once loſes its criſpneſs it is good for little; which it will do, though it be never ſo good when bought, if care be not taken in the packing.

Other goods imported from China.

Beſides tea, our merchants alſo bring from China, quickſilver, vermilion, china-root, rhubarb, raw and wrought ſilks, copper in bars like ſticks of ſealing-wax, camphire, ſugarcandy, fans, pictures, lackered ware, porcelane or china-ware, ſoy, borax, lapis lazuli, galingal and tutanaque, which is a ſort of coarſe tin, and ſeveral other kinds of merchandizes are purchaſed there as cheap as in the countries that produce them.

Gold.

Although the exportation of gold be prohibited, the magiſtrates themſelves underhand ſell it to our merchants. Ten tale weight of gold touch 92, bought at touch for touch (the moſt governing price) amounts to 111 oz. 8 dwt. 5 gr. currant ſilver at 5 s. 6 d. per oz. is 30 l. 12 s. 8 d. for which you have 12 oz. 2 dwt. 4 gr. worth about 4 l. an ounce in London, is 48 l. 8 s. 8 d. and makes upwards of 58 per cent. profit.

The fineneſs of it.

Silver

Silver in any form paſſes current by weight inſtead of money, reckoning from a tale decimally to the ſmalleſt part imaginable, viz. 10 mace make a tale of troy; 1 oz. 4 dwt. 5 gr. 10 candareens a mace of 2 dwt. 10 gr. and 10 caſh a candareen, which are likewiſe the baſis or foundation of their greater weights for merchandize; 16 tale are 1 catty for coral, muſk, amber, borneo camphire, and other fine goods; 100 cattys are a pecul of troy-weight, 161 l. 5 oz. 5 dwt. 20 gr. is neareſt 132 l. 11 oz. averdupoize, which is their biggeſt weight for groſs goods. In payments made with tankards, diſhes, bowls and baſons, plates, ſpoons and ſilver porringers, they will cut a piece out of the ſides of what they think is not ſo fine as you would have them take it for, and try it immediately by eſſay, and afterwards if you agree in the touch, reduce it into the currant ſilver by multiplying the quality by the touch, and dividing the produce by 94. viz. 500 tale touch 56, is tale 510 6 ms. 3 can. 8 ca. pillar dollars are often reckoned at 96, which is 1 ½ per cent. better than Mexico or long dollars.

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Goods exported to China.

Goods uſually exported from Europe to China are bullion, cloth, cloth-raſh, perpetuano's, and camblets of ſcarlet, black, blue, ſad and violet colours, which are of late ſo lightly ſet by, that to bear the duties and bring the prime coſt is as much as can reaſonably be hoped for. Lead turns to the beſt account, beſides which, he ſays, he knows of nothing that is worth while to concern the ſhip's ſtock in. A private trader may carry coral in branches, clear amber beads, flint-ware thin and according to their muſters for ſamſhue cups and bottles; ordinary horſe-piſtols with gilt barrels, ſword-blades of about 14 s. per dozen; ſpectacles ſet in horn of about 8 s. 6 d. per dozen; clocks and watches of a good appearance, but of ſmall price; and any new toy that has not been carried thither before, which if he can get aſhoar without paying the duties, he may make a better voyage than with all ſilver, otherwiſe the charge and trouble will be more than the profits.

The deſcription Mr. LOCKYER gives us of the city of Canton, and the manners of the people in that part of the kingdom, is as follows:

Canton deſcribed.

The ſtreets of Canton, he ſays, are very ſtrait, but narrow, and paved with broad ſtones. The ſhops of thoſe who deal in ſilks are very neat, and make a fine ſhow, and ſtand moſt of them together in one of the beſt parts of the town; tradeſmen of the ſame profeſſion herd together in particular ſtreets, as in London. Their windows in ſummer are of cane or rattan, but in winter they have oyſter-ſhells cut diamond faſhion, and ſet in wooden frames, which afford but a dull light: their fires in their publick rooms are of charcoal in winter, which is kept in a ſort of a ſhallow iron pot in the middle of the room, and in their chambers they have pans of charcoal, which is ready to ſuffocate thoſe that are not uſed to it. Their pots for boiling are fixed like coppers in brickwork about the height of our ſtoves. The walls of their houſes, inſtead of hangings or white-waſhing, are covered with thin white paper.

There is a market held in almoſt every ſtreet, where fleſh, fiſh, poultry, garden-ſtuff, and all proviſions are ſold cheap. The fiſhmongers keep their fiſh alive in ciſterns, and among other kinds have the largeſt carp that are to be found any where, but they have a muddy taſte. The Chineſe make no ſcruple of eating any ſort of meat, and

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and like it as well if it died in a ditch, as if it were killed by a butcher. Their frogs, which are their greateſt dainties, and bear twice the price of any other meat, are black and loathſome to an European to look upon, but they taſte very well; rats do not eat amiſs, and ſnake broth was in reputation there long before it was in London.

At Canton, our author tells us, he could diſcern no difference between the Tartars and Chineſe, either in their ſtature, features, or habit; only he fancied the Chineſe appeared more dejected on their being forced to ſubmit to the Tartar yoke; but poſſibly this muſt be mere fancy, for the Chineſe as well as the Tartars are admitted to commands and places of truſt, and they have now intermarried with one another for near a hundred years, and been ſubject to the ſame laws, cuſtoms and faſhions; and it may be difficult to find a Tartar of the whole blood in thoſe ſouthern provinces.

The common people, he tells us, eat four times a day, and are ſuch gluttons, that if they are in the middle of their buſineſs they will leave it and run to their victuals at the uſual hours. Rice is their principal diet, which they cram into their mouths ſo greedily with their chop-ſticks, that they would be choaked if they did not often waſh it down with a cup of ſamſhue that ſtands by them.

Tobacco is in great eſteem amongſt them, but though they take it often, it is in very ſmall quantities, in braſs pipes, the bowl no bigger than a thimble, and the tobacco is ſo dried that the pipe is out in half a ſcore whiffs: they hang theſe pipes at their girdles, and uſe them ſeveral months without cleaning.

In the ſtreets there are abundance of blind beggars, which ſome think proceeds from the poor people's eating ſo much rice; but he obſerves it has not any ſuch effect on thoſe of India; but as I remember, the common people of India, one part of the year, are many of them troubled with ſore eyes, and it was ſaid to be occaſioned there too by their living upon rice: but I am inclined to think the hot winds which blow at certain ſeaſons are more likely to produce this effect than their rice diet.

In winter time, it ſeems, people make uſe of a live quail, which they carry on their hands inſtead of a muff, to keep their hands warm.

Every thing almoſt is ſold by weight in China, as eggs, fruit, fowls and even liquids; and it is ſaid, they will cram their poultry with ſtones and gravel to encreaſe their weight. In ſhort, if they excel the Europeans in any thing, it is in the myſtery of cheating and impoſing on thoſe they deal with. A young gentleman who had made this voyage relates, that having bought a parcel of hogs of them for the ſhip's company, they all died; and he did not doubt but they were killed by ſomething their owners had given them before they came on board; for he obſerved the very men they bought them of taking the dead hogs up into their boats when they were thrown over-board; and no doubt would make as good a market of them a ſecond time as if they had been killed by the butcher: for Mr. LOCKEYR tells us, they never ſcruple exchanging a live hog for a dead one, if the dead beaſt be but a little larger than the live one.

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CHAP. XII.

Containing a further account of the Tartars who inhabit this empire.

CHAP. XII.

A further account of the Tartars who poſſeſs the northern part of the empire.

THE manners and cuſtoms of the Tartars who inhabit the northern part of this empire, have many of them been deſcribed already; I have here collected ſuch further particulars in relation to that people, as I apprehend may deſerve credit, omitting ſuch paſſages as ſeem calculated rather for our amuſement than information.

That part of Tartary which is ſubject to this empire, extends from the frontiers of Muſcovy to the Eaſtern ocean: and from the latitude of 42 to 55 N. This country was antiently divided into ſeveral little kingdoms and principalities, moſt of theſe Princes ſtill retain the title of King, but are really no more than vaſſals to the Emperor of China.

The weſtern Tartars live in tents, and remove from place to place for conveniency of paſture, their herds of cattle, and what they get in hunting, being their principal ſubſiſtence. The eaſtern Tartars live in towns, but they are neither ſo numerous or ſo regular and beautiful as the towns of China; many of them lie in ruins, and are perfectly deſerted for warmer ſeats and a more fruitful country: for, as has been obſerved already, upon the conqueſt of China their Emperor invited all the little Tartar clans to join him, and tranſplant their families to Peking, in order to eſtabliſh himſelf and ſecure his conqueſts; and from that day to this, all men of any ſpirit, who are not deſtitute of ambition, have reſorted to the court of China, where they have almoſt a certainty of meeting with preferment, and conſequently their native country is abandoned and left in a more wretched condition than before their unfortunate union with China. They had the honour indeed of being conquerors, and ſetting a Prince of their nation upon the throne; but are notwithſtanding become a province to the kingdom they conquered: they are governed by a military force, and garriſons placed in all their ſtrong towns; the manners and cuſtoms of the Chineſe alſo prevail more and more among the Tartars every day. However, the Tartars

CHAP. XII.

that remain in their own country, and do not attend the court, muſt be allowed to differ from the Chineſe in many reſpects: They are neither ſo effeminate or luxurious as their more ſouthern neighbours, nor do they apply themſelves to traffick near ſo much; hunting, horſemanſhip, and other manly exerciſes take up great part of their time. They would be aſhamed to be ſeen in chairs or litters, like the ſoft Chineſe, but eſteem it much more glorious to be found at the head of a troop of horſe. Like other northern countries, they alſo allow their women all innocent liberties, and both ſexes converſe together with freedom; and poſſibly it will be found a very juſt obſervation, that the braveſt people have been ever the leaſt troubled with a ſpirit of jealouſy, and kept their women under the leaſt reſtraint. To inſtance only in the Romans, whoſe valour and complaiſance for the fair ſex were equally remarkable.

To proceed, Tartary is full of barren deſerts and uncultivated fields; wheat and other grain they have ſome indeed; but fleſh is what they moſt admire, and eſpecially what is taken in hunting. The Emperors of the Tartar race are ſo fond of this ſport ſtill, that they go every year into Tartary to hunt. This country abounds in good horſes, and furniſhes the Emperor with many thouſands of them every year: They encourage the breed not only for ſervice, but for food, being great lovers of that ſort of fleſh, as they are alſo of mares milk. The famous plant ginſeng, already deſcribed, grows chiefly in this country; a body of ten thouſand Tartars are employed every year in the gathering it for the Emperor, and are allowed to ſell great quantities of it after the Emperor is ſupplied. This country alſo abounds in rich furs.

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Arts and ſciences the Tartars are not famous for; nor do we hear much of their laws: the will of the Prince ſeems to be the only meaſure of their obedience: nor have they any books or hiſtories among them which give any light into their original. As to their religion, which is downright Paganiſm, it has been treated of already; they ſeem no otherwiſe to differ from the Chineſe than in the names of their idols, except that their great LAMA is a living man, upon whoſe death they find another as like him as they can to ſet up in his room, and give him the title of The Eternal Father. As to their funerals, the Tartar nations burn their dead, and do not bury them as the Chineſe do; and the beloved wife formerly burnt herſelf with her husband's corps; but the late Emperors have aboliſhed that practice.

THE

THE PRESENT STATE OF JAPAN.

CHAP. I.

Treats of the ſituation and extent of this kingdom; and of their cities, palaces, buildings, and furniture.

CHAP. I.

Situation.

THIS kingdom is compoſed of ſeveral iſlands which lie about a hundred leagues to the eaſtward of the empire of China, and extend from the 30th to 38th degree of north latitude, and ſome ſay to the fortieth, and are about 130 degrees to the eaſtward of London. The largeſt of theſe iſlands, and from whence the kingdom receives its name, is Japan, ſometimes called Niphon, which is about 600 miles in length, and between 100 and 150 in breadth, and contains fifty five provinces, the chief towns whereof are Meaco, Saccai and Jedo.

Iſland of Niphon.

Bongo.

Sacock, or Bongo, is the next largeſt iſland belonging to this empire, and lies to the ſouth weſt of Niphon, containing about 160 leagues in circumference; the capital city whereof is Bongo. On the weſt ſide of this iſland lies the city of Nangaſaque, to which the little iſland of Kiſma (where the Dutch have their factory) is joined by a bridge; but the Dutch are ſeldom allowed to paſs over it.

Tonſa.

The next iſland in magnitude is Tonſa, or Tokoeſy, which lies to the ſouthward of Niphon, at a very ſmall diſtance, and contains about 120 leagues in compaſs; the capital city whereof is Nava.

There are a multitude of other iſlands which lie intermixed with theſe, and are ſubject to the King of Japan; but are not particularly deſcribed by travellers.

Temperature of the air.

From the ſituation of theſe iſlands it may be expected the air ſhould be moderately warm; but to the north of the mountains which run through the midſt of Japan, their winters are very ſevere, and they have great quantities of ſnow. The air is reckoned healthful, and neither plague, gout or ſtone have ever been heard of amongſt them: but the ſmall-pox and fluxes are very frequent.

CHAP. I.

From whence peopled.

It is generally held that theſe iſlands were peopled from China; but from their burning their dead, ſitting on the ground, and ſhaving their heads, the laſt of which the Chineſe never did till lately, and then by compulſion, it is much more probable that this people are deſcended from the eaſtern Tartars, from whoſe country they are not farther diſtant than they are from China, thoſe Tartars having ever uſed theſe cuſtoms.

It is ſaid indeed, that the Japoneſe were baniſhed China above 600 years ago for their rebellion, and that thereupon they changed all their cuſtoms to expreſs their abhorrence of the nation which expelled them: but this appears to be a miſtake; for the Japoneſe have ſeveral cuſtoms among them which are uſed in China, as mourning in white, eating with chop-ſticks, &c. and we cannot ſuppoſe they ſhould retain theſe, and voluntarily part with their hair, in which it is agreed the Chineſe ever placed their greateſt pride; nor is it eaſy to imagine that a people who had always been uſed to ſit in chairs, ſhould condemn themſelves to ſit croſs-legged upon the ground only out of pique to the Prince who baniſh'd them.

City of Meaco.

The moſt conſiderable cities in this kingdom are, firſt, Meaco, anciently the ſeat of the empire, when the family of the Dairii were upon the throne, and here the Dairo, or high prieſt, ſtill reſides, and maintains the port of a Prince, though he be diveſted of all temporal power. This city lies in the latitude of 36, about the middle of the ſouth coaſt of the iſland of Niphon, upon a river which

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which divides it into two parts: it contains about 100,000 houſes, and is ſaid to be twenty miles and upwards in compaſs.

Saccai. 2. Saccai, a very large and populous city, ſituate alſo on the ſouth part of the iſland of Niphon, on the bay of Meaco; its walls are waſhed by the ſea on one ſide, and on the other it is defended by a wall and ditch.

Jedo. 3. Jedo, which lies about 300 miles to the eaſtward of Saccai, on an arm of the ſea. This city is at preſent the ſeat of the empire: the palace, which is a large ſquare of five miles in compaſs, ſtands in the middle of the city, and is ſurrounded by three walls, there being courts, gardens and canals between the walls: within the innermoſt wall are the royal apartments and the ſeraglio.

Palace. The furniture, gildings and carvings of theſe are much enlarged on by travellers, every thing, it is ſaid, appears grand and magnificent, and this may reaſonably be conjectured from the palaces that ſtand in the outward courts: but it is ſome queſtion whether ever any European has been admitted to view the ſeraglio.

Within the ſecond wall are the palaces of the Princes of the blood and privy counſellors, and within the outward wall the palaces of the petty kings, who are obliged to reſide at court half the year. Theſe buildings are ſaid to be roofed with gold, and if there be that vaſt plenty of gold in this iſland as travellers relate, the thing is not impoſſible; tho' I am inclined to believe the roofs conſiſt of ſuch yellow ſhining tiles as the Emperor of China's palaces are covered with, and which look like gold plates when the ſun ſhines on them.

Without the palace ſtand the houſes of the inferior nobility, which are alſo as magnificent as poſſible, every one endeavouring to excel; for by the ſumptuouſneſs of their buildings they recommend themſelves to their Prince's favour; directly contrary to the humour of the Chineſe, who look upon a houſe built with more grandeur than uſual, to be an inſult on the government.

Buildings. The Japoneſe build with wood, and generally upon one floor; but their apartments are very commodious: the partitions of their rooms are made to fold up like a skreen, ſo that they can lay ſeveral rooms into one, as they have occaſion. The houſes of the nobility are wainſcoted with cedar, the floors paved and covered with fine mats. their ceilings are painted and gilded, and the doors finely varniſhed. The tradeſmen and inferior people content themſelves with thatched roofs and clay walls, though they have a little apartment built of ſtone or earth where they ſecure their moſt valuable goods from fire. They have no glaſs, or any thing like it in their windows, but only wooden ſhutters.

Furniture. They uſe neither tables, beds, or chairs; but ſit on matts when they eat, and lie on them when they ſleep. Their rooms are uſually hung with pictures or painted paper, the reſt of their furniture conſiſts in cabinets, skreens, china-ware, and fine ſwords, which they hang up in their rooms.

A ſtrict watch is kept every night, lanthorns hung out, and every ward or diviſion in their cities ſhut up; that in caſe of fire, it is ſaid, they are not ſuffered to break in upon one another.

CHAP. II.

Treats of the genius and temper of this people, their habits, diet, diverſions, feſtivals, forms of ſalutation, trade, manufactures and huſbandry.

CHAP. II.

THE Japoneſe are ſaid to be of a quick apprehenſion, good underſtanding, modeſt, patient and courteous; and ſo juſt in their dealings, that if a perſon makes a miſtake they will not take the advantage of it. On the other hand, we are told by the ſame authors, that they are cruel, ambitious and uncharitable; and have ſo little compaſſion for the poor, the ſick or the lame, that they will let them lie and periſh before they will relieve them; that they are intolerably proud, and ſo paſſionate, that they will kill themſelves if they cannot have their revenge. However inconſiſtent this character may ſeem to be, there are few books of travels where the reader will not be ſhocked with contradictions of this nature; and perhaps if we obſerve a medium here, as in other doubtful caſes where the writers are not competent judges, or give characters of a people from ſome few inſtances they have obſerved, we ſhall come nearer the truth, than by adhering ſtrictly to either. Theſe people probably are neither ſo exceeding courteous or patient as ſome relate, or ſo barbarous and paſſionate as others would have us believe; and Japan being a country not only the moſt diſtant from us, but the moſt inacceſſible to Europeans of any other upon the face of the earth; it may be ſome time before we are rightly informed of the temper and genius of this people. I proceed therefore to ſuch articles as we ſeem to have a greater certainty of.

Genius and temper.

Habits. And firſt, of their habits: they wear ſeveral veſts one upon another, with a looſe gown over all, not much unlike the Chineſe; they have drawers alſo which come down very low upon their legs, and ſlippers without heels, like the Chineſe; but wear no caps, tho' their heads are ſhaved: they have fans and umbrellas to defend them from the weather: they wear a crice or ſhort dagger in their girdle or ſaſh, and a heavy broad ſword on the right ſide.

Eating. They eat little beef or mutton, or of the fleſh of any tame beaſt; but chiefly that which they take in hunting: ſome ſects look upon themſelves to be prohibited by their religion to kill or eat any



Habits of the Japoneſe

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thing that has life, and will not ſo much as eat milk, butter or cheeſe; their common food is rice, pulſe and herbs, as it is in moſt eaſtern nations.

Drinking. There is a ſect alſo which refrain from drinking any ſtrong drink; but the generality of the people drink a liquor made of wheat, not unlike the Chineſe hockſhue, and draw a ſpirit from rice like their ſamſhue; but the uſual liquor is tea. They eat with two little round ſticks, like the Chineſe, and uſe neither linen, knives, forks or ſpoons.

Diverſions. They delight much in maſquerades and plays, at which the King and court are often preſent: the ſubject of their plays is ſome part of the hiſtory of their own country, and their miniſters of ſtate and great men are frequently the principal actors. The court alſo encourage ſhooting matches, and other manly diverſions, at which the King and the quality are often preſent.

Feſtivals. There is a great feſtival celebrated every year, when they viſit the tombs of their anceſtors: at theſe ſolemnities every houſe is illuminated, and they march out of their towns at midnight in a ſolemn proceſſion to the graves of their dead friends, where they eat, and drink, and make merry for ſeveral nights ſucceſſively: at the concluſion of the feaſt they march round the town with flags, ſtreamers, and banners, beating upon braſs pans before the temples of their idols, and at the doors of their great men.

Muſick. Their inſtrumental muſick is not at all harmonious, but ſome of their voices are pretty tuneable. At the end of every play or maſquerade there is always a noble entertainment provided at the charge of the company: theſe people, it is obſerved, ſpend great part of their night in eating and drinking, which others ſpend in ſleep; and becauſe their manners and cuſtoms are acknowledged to be different from the reſt of the world in many inſtances, ſome people carry it ſo far as to affirm they reſemble us in nothing; and particularly, that inſtead of bowing to ſhew their reſpect to their betters, they ſtand up as ſtiffly as they can: but I find by the beſt writers that they bow their bodies as we do, and never approach their magiſtrates but upon their knees. As for putting off their ſhoes or ſlippers inſtead of hats, the people of the other eaſtern nations always put off their ſhoes when they enter their temples, or the houſes of thoſe for whom they have any reſpect; which appears to be a cuſtom almoſt as ancient as the world, and therefore need not be thought ſtrange in the Japoneſe. And as for their not putting off their hats, this need not occaſion any wonder, ſince they wear none.

Sacrifices of women to bury their dead. When a great man makes an entertainment, it is uſual at the end of the feaſt to call his ſervants together, it is ſaid, and demand which of them will kill themſelves before the gueſts for his ſake; and that thereupon they contend who ſhall firſt rip up their bowels. That this is alſo common upon the death of their maſters, or upon the laying the foundation of a palace, or any magnificent building.

Roads. They keep their roads in very good repair, and ſhew the diſtances of places by placing trees at every three miles end. But there are no inns or publick houſes for the entertainment of travellers: and what is a very great nuſance in them is, the carcaſſes of their malefactors, whom they generally crucify with their heads downwards, and place them upon the roads in terrorem.

Trade. As to their trade, they have none at preſent but with Jeſſo, the Chineſe and the Dutch. The Portugueſe Chriſtians about the year 1622, being accuſed of forming a conſpiracy againſt the crown and government, the Chriſtians were all cut in pieces, and a decree made againſt having any commerce with them, or any nation that profeſſed Chriſtianity. The Dutch, to convince the Japoneſe that they were not Chriſtians, did not refuſe to trample upon the croſs of our Saviour; and the Japoneſe are ſo well ſatisfied of their infidelity, that they are permitted to have a factory there to this day; which all other nations, who abhor their impious hypocriſy, are excluded from: but the Japoneſe are ſo jealous even of the Dutch, that when any of their ſhips arrive, a magiſtrate goes on board and takes an account of the number of their men, and carries their ſails, ammunition, guns and rudder aſhore, till they are ready to ſail. Nor have the Dutch factory, which ſtands on the point of a rock, and is ſeparated from the city by a river and a wall, any communication with it for eight or nine months in the year.

How the Dutch eſtabliſhed themſelves and debar all other nations of it.

THEVENOT gives the following deſcription of the iſland of Diſnia in the Dutch poſſeſſion:

Iſle of Diſnia. This iſland (he ſays) is not more than two miles in circumference; and no Dutchman can ſtir out of it, or come into the town of Nanguaſaque (to which it is joined with a bridge) without hazarding his being cut to pieces by the guards, who are appointed to watch their motions: nor are the Dutch ſo much as ſuffered to have a lighted candle in their houſes in the night-time. If the centinels perceive the leaſt noiſe, they blow a horn, and the governor immediately ſends a party to learn the reaſon of it, which does not return till the occaſion is diſcovered, and then the authors are ſeverely threatned, if not puniſhed. In this ſlaviſh condition the Dutch remain eight months in the year.

Dutch under great reſtraint there.

Caution uſed on the arrival of the Dutch ſhipping. At the ſeaſon the Dutch fleet is expected, the Governor of Nanguaſaque places centinels on the hills, to give notice of the approach of any ſhips. When they appear, a boat is ſent off to every ſhip with a waiter, or officer, and as ſoon as the ſhips come to an anchor, an expreſs is immediately diſpatched

patched to court, before whoſe return the Dutch may not diſpoſe of any thing.

In the mean time a particular of every ſhip's cargo is taken, with the name, age, ſtature and office of every man on board, which is tranſlated and printed in the Japoneſe language. When the expreſs is returned, the ſhip's crew are permitted to come on ſhore, and are all muſtered before a Japoneſe commiſſary, and every perſon is called over aloud, and made to give account of his age, quality and office, to ſee if it agrees with the particular given in by the Dutch; after this examination they are ſent on board again, and the ſails of the ſhip, with the guns, arms and ammunition are brought on ſhore, and the hatches ſealed down by a Japoneſe officer; nor can they be opened, whatever the ſhip's crew want, without a permiſſion from the Governor, who always ſends a perſon to ſee what is taken out, and ſeal them down again: nor dare the Dutch ſailors light a candle, or make any noiſe on board their ſhips any more than on ſhore. The ſhips are allowed no communication with one another; nor is any officer or ſailor ſuffered to go on ſhore, except the perſon who is appointed to carry the company's preſent to the King at Yeddo. His Majeſty having accepted the preſent and prepared another for the company, the Dutch officer is conveyed to Nanguaſaque under a ſtrong guard, as he came. This journey uſually takes up about three months and an half.

A yearly preſent made the King.

The Dutch who attend the King on this occaſion, approach him on their knees, with their hands joined together; as do alſo the Japoneſe governors and miniſters.

Bow the knee to the Prince, &c.

While the Dutch ſhips lie in the road, none of the Japoneſe are allowed to go on board them to trade with the ſailors; and thoſe that carry proviſions on board are not ſuffered to take any money for them till the permiſſion to trade comes from court, and then they deliver in their accompts and are paid; and then the Japoneſe permit ſix perſons from every veſſel to come aſhore and buy and ſell for themſelves, and ſtay four days, either in Diſnia, or in the city, as they ſee fit: when theſe ſix men return on board, ſix others are allowed to go on ſhore and traffick in like manner, and ſo on.

Dutch permitted to trade ſix weeks with the Japoneſe every year.

As for the merchandizes belonging to the company, the Dutch make a particular or invoice of them, with their price; which being tranſlated into the Japoneſe language, is affixed to the gate of the town which leads to the Dutch factory, and then for ſix weeks the Dutch are allowed to trade with the citizens of Nanguaſaque.

The goods are generally paid for in bullion, or pieces of ſilver of ten or five crowns value, or ſmaller pieces, by weight, for they have no coin except ſome little pieces of copper.

After ſix weeks free trade, there is no further communication allowed of between the city of Nanguaſaque and the Dutch in the iſland of Diſnia, or with the ſhipping; whereupon the fleet prepares to return, and the factory in Diſnia are confined to their little iſland again, till the ſeaſon of the year for traffick returns; nor have they any farther converſation with the men of Japan; they hire wenches indeed, with whom they divert themſelves during the abſence of their fleet: every Dutchman bargains for as many as he thinks he has occaſion for, with the lords and great men, who do not think it any reflection there to deal in this kind of merchandize.

Dutch hire Japan girls

In the report made to the States General by DANIEL BRAMES, book-keeper general in Batavia, concerning the ſtate of their Eaſt-India-company, he tells us, that they are in poſſeſſion of a little iſland joined to the town of Nanguaſaque by a bridge, but that the Japoneſe are ſo jealous of them that none of their people may go into the town; that they are obliged to make uſe of truckmen, or broakers, who tranſact all matters between them and the merchant: and that the Governor of Nanguaſaque, whom he believes ingroſſes the greateſt part of the trade to himſelf, compells them to deal with him upon what terms he pleaſes.

Goods carried to Japan.

The Dutch tranſport to Japan raw and wrought ſilks in great quantities, cloth, deer skins, raw hides, hemp, linen, wool, quick-ſilver, cloves, pepper, ſugar, musk, camphire and borax; Siampan and brazil-wood, china-ware, calembac, elephants teeth, and ſmall wares (ſuch as the Chineſe uſed to bring thither) for which they receive gold, ſilver, fine copper, cabinets, and other Japan and lackered ware.

Advantage of the Dutch trade to Japan.

This trade is more advantageous to the Dutch than it is generally imagined, or indeed than it can be to any other nation; becauſe with the ſpices which they have monopolized and robbed their European neighbours of, they purchaſe almoſt every thing they carry to Japan; whereas all other nations muſt purchaſe thoſe goods with treaſure. How it comes to paſs that the Engliſh tamely ſuffer this people ſtill to retain the ſpice-iſlands, which they treacherouſly and barbarouſly diſpoſſeſſed them of, and which alone could render the India trade beneficial to this kingdom, is very ſurprizing. Had we our ſhare of the ſpice trade, we ſhould have occaſion to ſend very little treaſure to India, whereas now we ſend hardly any thing elſe. Spices are as much valued in Aſia as in Europe, and perhaps the Dutch ſell more on the other ſide the Cape of Good Hope than on this. With theſe it is they purchaſe the merchandizes of one kingdom to tranſport to another: bullion itſelf is not ſo valuable as the ſpices they have taken from us. And of theſe precious commodities do they root up and deſtroy vaſt quantities every year, to enhance the prices; ſo that in this reſpect they may

CHAP. II.

be looked upon as the common enemies of mankind: God has bountifully furniſhed the world with ſpices as well as oil and wine, to render his creatures happy; and theſe monopolizers would deprive mankind of them, and defeat the deſign of the creation. Two thirds of the world at leaſt, never taſt or ſmell thoſe fragrant fruits; our Dutch neighbours chooſing rather to deſtroy them than they ſhould become common. And could they ingroſs all corn and wine into their hands, no doubt but they would deſtroy thoſe too, if they had the like proſpect of gain. It is happy for the world in ſome reſpects, it muſt be acknowledged, that ſo ſordid a ſpirit poſſeſſes that people; had their ambition been equal to their covetouſneſs, and private merchants did not openly cheat the publick, and connive at each other's frauds to advance their private intereſts, they would by this time have been maſters of the world.

The trade and wealth of the world they had amongſt them, and power would have followed, had not every man regarded himſelf before his country. The company of merchants who trade to India, are poſſeſſed of that immenſe wealth, that they frequently influence, and even controul the reſolutions of the States General; or that ſtate would probably have extended its dominions in proportion to the treaſures they are maſters of.

Cattle and poultry.

To proceed, the Japoneſe have almoſt all ſorts of cattle and poultry that are found in Europe; but their horſes are very ſmall. Rice is the principal grain the country affords, which is managed in the ſame manner as in China, and always grows in water till it is ripe. They have alſo very good red wheat, but not in ſo great quantities as rice. Their husbandmen are little better than ſlaves; they plow and manure the ground for the great lords, but have no properties of their own.

Gardens.

Their gardens ſeem to be in much greater perfection here than in China; they have a handſome large court uſually before their houſes, and a garden behind them, laid out into fine walks, mounts and terraſes, and adorned with greens and flowers, which are ſeen from the ſtreet, there being always a large viſto from the outward gate through the houſe into the gardens.

Nature.

There is a prodigious high mountain in Japan, by ſome thought higher than the pique of Teneriffe; for though it ſtands 18 leagues within the land, it is ſeen above 40 leagues at ſea: but I am miſtaken if Teneriffe may not be ſeen much farther. There are alſo eight volcanoes, or mountains which vomit fire and ſmoak.

Fish made.

The Japoneſe being famous for nothing more than their fine varniſh and lacker, I ſhall inſert the following account of it taken from the philoſophical tranſactions:

The Japan and China varniſh is made of turpentine and a curious ſort of oil they have, which they mix and boil to a convenient conſiſtence, which never cauſes any ſwelling in the hands or face, &c. of thoſe that make or work it. The ſwelling that often happens to thoſe that work the lackered ware, and ſometimes to thoſe that paſs only by the ſhops and look on them at work, is from the lack and not the varniſh, which lack is the ſap or juice of a tree, which runs out ſlowly by cutting the tree, and is catched by pots faſtened to the tree; it is of the colour and ſubſtance of cream, the top that is expoſed to the air immediately turns black, and the way that they make it black and fit for uſe, is to put a ſmall quantity into a bowl and ſtir it continually with a piece of ſmooth iron for twenty four or thirty hours, which will both thicken it and make it black; to which they put a quantity of very fine powder of any ſort of burnt boughs, and mix it very well together, and then with a bruſh lay it ſmooth on any thing they deſign to lack, then let it dry very well in the ſun, and it will be harder than the board it is laid on; when it is thoroughly dry you muſt rub it with a ſmooth ſtone and water till it is as ſmooth as glaſs, and on that lay your varniſh made of turpentine and oil boiled to a due conſiſtence for black lack; but if you would have red or any other coloured lack, you muſt mix your colour in fine powder with your varniſh, and take care to lay your varniſh on as ſmooth as poſſibly you can, for therein lies the art of lacking well. If you would paint in gold or ſilver, &c. you muſt with a fine pencil dipped in the ſaid varniſh, draw what flowers, birds, &c. you pleaſe, and let it lie till it begins to be dry; then lay on your leaf-gold and ſilver, or pin-duſt, &c.

A different thing from lack.

CHAP. III.

Treats of their learning, arts and ſciences, laws and puniſhments, and of the revenues, forces and prerogative of the crown.

CHAP. III.

THEIR learning conſiſts only in reading and writing, and underſtanding the hiſtory of their own country, the myſteries of their religion, and ſome few rules of morality: they are excellent mechanicks, as appears by their cabinets and other fine works imported from thence: their arms alſo exceed any thing made in Europe: And, it is ſaid, one of their broad ſwords will cut one of our blades in two at a ſtroke.

Learning, arts and ſciences.

Characters.

Their characters are the ſame with the Chineſe, and their writing underſtood by them, tho' their language be very different. They have ſeveral degrees of nobility; and honours, it is ſaid, are conferred by the Dairo, or high prieſt, which is the only mark of ſovereignty he has left him. They have no figures to caſt up their accompts with, but uſe a little board with parallel lines and a bead,

CHAP. III.

which they ſlide from one to the other like the Chineſe.

Phyſick.

There are many medicinal waters and hot ſprings which the inhabitants uſe in their diſtempers. They underſtand but little of phyſick, and never let blood: but the preſcriptions are either ſalt, or ſharp; and cauterizing is much practiſed, they apply to ſome nerve the powder of artemiſia, or mugwort, and cotton, which they ſet on fire: they drink cold water when they are ill, tho' they never do it any other time; and ſeldom deny the patient any thing he has a mind to eat or drink.

Printing.

Printing and gunpowder they pretend to have found out long before the Europeans, though I do not find they underſtand how to uſe their great guns or ſmall arms to any great purpoſe to this day.

Their hiſtory and geography were ſo very defective, that before the Europeans came amongſt them, they divided the world into three parts; namely, China, Japan, and Siam; and had no notion of any thing beyond.

Aſtrology is no leſs ſtudied here than in China, and no man undertakes an enterprize before he has conſulted ſome pretender in this art.

Government.

Theſe iſlands are under the government of fifty or ſixty petty kings, veſted with ſovereign power in their reſpective territories, but ſubject to one grand Monarch, who can depoſe and puniſh them as he ſees fit. Antiently this great King was high prieſt as well as ſovereign of theſe iſlands; and the preſent Dairo, or high prieſt, who is a deſcendant of the former kings, enjoys ſtill the ſtile and ſtate of a King, notwithſtanding another family poſſeſſes the throne: and, it is ſaid, the reigning Prince is obliged to marry one of his daughters, and do him homage once in three years, and acknowledge he holds his crown of that family: but this ſeems to be done rather on a religious, than civil account.

The King commits the adminiſtration of the government to four of his principal miniſters, and has no favourite or prime miniſter: he has a privy-council alſo, conſiſting of twenty eight members, of which four are petty kings. The vaſſal kings are obliged to attend at court one half of the year, and have each of them a houſe in the King's palace at Jedo, as has been hinted already. The eldeſt ſons of the principal nobility are alſo kept at court till they are preferred to ſome poſt; and for the farther ſecurity of the government, oaths of allegiance are alſo adminiſtred every year; and ſo jealous is the Prince of his ſubjects, that he has ſpies throughout all the country: but the better to divert them from ſeditious practices, it is ſaid, he employs 100,000 of his ſubjects by turns in erecting palaces and publick buildings, or beautifying them, and in throwing up high ways through the country.

CHAP. III.

When this Prince goes abroad, he is attended by no leſs than five or ſix thouſand of his guards, and his ſtanding forces are ſaid to amount to 20,000 horſe and 100,000 foot in time of peace: in time of war each of the petty ſovereigns is obliged to furniſh his quota, which increaſes the army to 38,000 horſe, and 368,000 foot: but againſt whom ſuch numerous forces ſhould be raiſed is not eaſy to conceive; we having no account of any foreign wars they were ever engaged in.

Forces.

Revenues.

This Prince's revenues are alſo ſaid to amount to an incredible ſum, far exceeding the revenues of all the Princes in the world beſides; which inclines me to think there is a miſtake of a figure or two; and that the writers, who agree pretty near in the ſum, have only copied after one another: tho' it is obſervable, that the revenues and forces of diſtant kingdoms are often magnified beyond all belief.

Laws and puniſhments.

Not only the petty kings, but every lord of a diſtrict, and father of a family, has the power of life and death, and tries and condemns his dependents according to his own arbitrary will; there being few written laws, if any, and no publick courts of juſtice in this country; the ſmalleſt theft, or a bare aſſault, gaming, and even lying, as it is ſaid, is often puniſhed with death; and for defrauding the King of his revenue, murder or treaſon, and ſuch enormous crimes, the offender's relations, parents and children ſuffer with him; except the female relations, who are ſold for ſlaves. The petty kings are ſeldom put to death, but baniſhed to a certain iſland, where they are put to ſervile employments during the remainder of their lives. Their uſual puniſhments for great offences are burning, crucifying with the head downwards, tearing them to pieces with horſes, and boiling them in oil; and where an offender refuſes to come in and ſubmit, he is ordered to be cut in pieces wherever he is found. A gentleman or ſoldier convicted of any capital crime, has the favour of dying by his own hands; and it is reckoned very ignominious if he waits for the executioner to diſpatch him in that caſe.

CHAP. IV.

Treats of their religion, temples, and ſuperſtition.

CHAP. IV.

Religion.

THE Japoneſe are idolaters, and worſhip the heavens and the planets, with ſeveral monſtrous idols; but the gods they principally adore are Xaca and Amida, to whom they chiefly apply in their diſtreſs: they give no account of the creation of the world, but generally believe the immortality of the ſoul, and a ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, and moſt of them believe tranſmigration, or that their ſouls ſhall animate other bodies after death. They have abundance of cloyſters



The Idol Diabo

sters and nunneries, where their priests and devotees live unmarried, and perform such penances as their religion requires; and confession, the Jesuits tell us, is practised amongst them, in which their priests are so strict, that if they apprehend any thing is concealed, it is as much as the poor sinner's life is worth; for they throw him down from the top of the rocks, where their stools of confession are placed, to create the greater dread, and induce their disciples to be sincere.

There is a stately temple at Meaco, built of free-stone, which capt. SARIS tells us, is as long as the body of St. Paul's was before it was burnt, and as lofty, with an arched roof, supported by mighty pillars, in which stands an idol of copper, which reaches as high as the roof, and according to Sir THOMAS HERBERT, his chair is seventy foot high and eighty broad, his head big enough to hold fifteen men, and his thumb was forty inches round, by which we may form a judgment of the whole; this temple stands upon a high hill, and on each side of the ascent are fifty pillars of free-stone, ten paces from each other, and on the top of every pillar a lanthorn, which make a fine show in the night. There are no less than sixty other temples in Meaco, and between three and four thousand gilded idols in them. In the road between Surungo and Jedo stands the idol Dabis, made of copper, in the form of a man sitting upon his legs and extending his arms, and is two and twenty foot high. At Tencheda the Bonzes pretend, their god appears in human shape to a young virgin whom they bring every new moon into the temple there; having placed her before the great image they illuminate the place with golden lamps and burn perfumes, when on a sudden the lights are miraculously put out, and something in human form immediately embraces, and sometimes impregnates the young damsel, but whether the phantom they worship, or one of his priests do her the favour, is left to the reader to conjecture: however that be, the quondam maid is from thenceforward highly honoured, and at her coming out of the temple is entertained with songs and musick, and so inspired, says Sir THOMAS HERBERT, is the enthusiastick girl, that she takes upon her to resolve the most difficult questions that are propounded to her. The Bonzes, or priests, are so respected by their Prince that he rises up to salute them, and suffers them to sit in his presence; they preach up great austerities, and teach morality and a contempt of the world. But the Romish priests will have it, that they are lewd fellows, and do not live according to their doctrine.

Christianity was first preached in this island in the year 1552, by some Portuguese priests, sent thither by father XAVIER from Macao; and the Christian religion so encreased, that before the year 1622 three petty kings, and several other great men, with multitudes of people, made profession of the Christian religion, if we may credit the missionaries. But about that time, a decree was made for extirpating all Christians under the Japonese government; whereupon there followed so terrible a persecution, that there is not now one Christian left in Japan, nor are any people who acknowledge themselves Christians suffered to come into their ports. The Dutch, to convince them that they were no Christians, and that they had no other god but gain, trampled upon the cross of Christ, and used all methods to express their detestation of the Christian religion; and they are suffered to trade to Japan to this day, when all other nations, who abhor their impious hypocrisy, are excluded. And it is said, it was the emissaries of the Dutch that charged the Portuguese, and the rest of the Christians with this conspiracy for this very end. They would rather see Christianity abolished, than any nation should have a share of the Indian trade. On the other hand, the Dutch tell us, that upon the great increase of Christians in those islands, the Portuguese clergy really began to preach up the independence of the Church, and that they were not subject to any temporal Prince, which alarmed the King of Japan, and made him apprehend they had a design to dethrone him. But however the Portuguese, and other nations, may have suffered in India, by the misrepresentations and robberies of the Dutch, it is very certain, that the Portuguese, first practised these base arts, and taught them the way, giving out, that all other people who came to trade thither were pirates, and enemies of mankind. To proceed, the Christians, who were very numerous at this time, finding that no remonstrances against the injustice of the charge had any effect upon their Prince, rather than suffer themselves and their families to be cut to pieces, had recourse to arms, and defeated a body of the King's troops; but his Majesty marching against them in person with a numerous army, engaged them in a general battle, which lasted three days, and at length the Christians were entirely routed: this obstinate resistance occasioned all manner of cruelties to be exercised upon them, and not less than 60,000 of them perished, either in battle or by torture, in the space of a few days; nor did the government afterwards spare either men, women or children, who had any relation to the Christians: If a Christian priest was taken in any house, not only the people of the same house, but the whole neighbourhood was involved in his ruin for not discovering him; all suspected persons also were required to sign an instrument declaring that they were not Christians, but abhorred their religion, as being dangerous to all government.

Extirpated.

CHAP. V.

Treats of their marriages, women and children; and of their funeral rites.

CHAP. V.

Marriages.

THE marriages of people of diſtinction are ſolemnized in their temples by the Bonzes, or Prieſts, before ſome of their images. The bridegroom and bride have each of them a lighted torch in their hands, while the Bonze repeats the contract; after which their friends wiſh them happineſs, and make preſents to the bride, who throws all her childiſh toys into the fire. Then they ſacrifice oxen, &c. to their idol; after which they return home with great ſolemnity, as they came, to the bridegroom's houſe, which is richly furniſh'd and prepared on theſe occaſions, and the rejoycing laſts ſeveral days. The men are permitted to have as many concubines as they can keep, and have an abſolute power over their women, to kill or divorce them as they ſee fit; but receive no portion with their wives or concubines. Adultery is puniſhed with death: and they allow houſes for lewd women, in order to prevent it. It is reckoned no crime to procure abortion, or for poor people, or thoſe who are unmarried, to deſtroy their female children; but the males are taken care of by the government, and bred up in the ſervice of their country, where the parents are not able to provide for them. They waſh their new-born infants in cold water, and never ſwaddle them up in blankets, as in Europe; and as they grow up they commit their education to the care of the Bonzes.

Funerals.

In Japan they burn their dead bodies as in India. On the day appointed for the funeral, a large ſquare pile of wood is erected without the town; and the friends and relations of the deceaſed being aſſembled, the women firſt move forward cloathed in white, which is the colour of mourning here as well as in China. The women of any quality are carried in palanquins, or litters of cedar. After theſe follow the men richly dreſſed, as 'tis ſaid; then come the Bonzes, cloathed alſo in linen, one of them with a lighted torch, ſinging with his brethren all the way they march: Some carry braſs baſons, which they beat upon, and others baskets of flowers, which they ſtrow in the way, ſignifying, ſays our author, that the ſoul is gone to paradiſe. Several banners with the names of their idols, and lanthorns full of lights are carried before the corps, which is ſet upright on a ſort of a couch cloathed in white, and his hands joined together in a praying poſture, and is followed by his children, the eldeſt carrying a torch to light the fire: having three times ſurrounded the funeral pile, about which are placed tables with meat and drink upon them, the chief Bonze begins a hymn, and having waved a lighted torch three times about his head, ſignifying, ſays my author, that the ſoul is without beginning or end, he flings the torch away, which the children of the deceaſed taking up, kindle the funeral pile, throwing on oil and coſtly ſweet woods, till the corps is burnt to aſhes: after which, the children offer incenſe, and adore their father, as being become one of the heavenly inhabitants. The next day they return to the place, and put up the aſhes and bones into a gilded urn, which is hung up in the houſe for ſome time, and afterwards interred with much ſolemnity: and every ſeventh day, ſeventh month, and ſeventh year, the children offer incenſe, and pay their devotion to their deceaſed parents.

CHAP V.

CHAP. VI.

Treats of the land of Jeſſo, ſaid to be tributary to Japan, and of the various opinions concerning its joining to America.

CHAP VI.

The land of Jeſſo, or Yedſo.

TO the northward of Japan lies the land of Jeſſo, or Yedſo, extending from the latitude of 40 N. to the American continent, as ſome have conjectured. Whether it doth not join to the north part of Japan, which is but little known to the Japoneſe themſelves, is not yet determined; but the Dutch make it at leaſt two degrees between the north coaſt of Japan and the Land of Jeſſo. The inhabitants of Jeſſo, as of all countries upon the firſt diſcovery, are repreſented very unlike the reſt of their ſpecies; they are perfectly wild, 'tis ſaid, and their bodies all over hairy; and that they live more like brutes than men. They cloath themſelves with the skins of wild beaſts (which, if they had coats of natural hair, one would think was needleſs) and are very much dreaded by the Japoneſe. They have their women in common, like the antient Britons, and are great lovers of wine. They adore the heavens, but have no ſacred rites, 'tis ſaid. But the account captain SARIS gives us of theſe people is very different from this: he ſays, a Japoneſe, who had been twice at Jeſſo, told him, that it lies about ten leagues north weſt of Japan, and that the people were fair and civilized; that thoſe of the ſouth part underſtood commerce, of which the inland country was ignorant; that thoſe of Jeſſo were of the ſame ſtature with the Japoneſe, from whom they had their cloathing and rice, and made payments in ſilver and gold duſt. That at their chief town of Matzimay, the King of Japan has a Governor and garriſon, and receives tribute in ſilver, feathers, and fine furs; and that the people of Jeſſo frequently come over to the north part of Japan to trade, in veſſels ſewed together with cordage, without any iron work about them.

Nothing

CHAP. VI.

Whether Jeſſo join to America.

Nothing has more perplexed the curious and inquiſitive than the peopling of America. Some have held that the firſt inhabitants were driven thither by tempeſt and ſtreſs of weather; but tho' we carry the ſuppoſition farther, and ſuppoſe alſo that there were women as well as men on board ſuch veſſels, how ſhall we account for the cattle and other animals which were found in that part of the world? It muſt be a veſſel as well inhabited as NOAH's ark, that ſhould carry ſome of every ſpecies to that continent; and we muſt imagine too, that there was proviſion laid in for them ſuitable to the length of the voyage, or they muſt have periſhed in the tranſportation.

The various opinions how that continent came to be peopled.

To obviate all theſe difficulties, others held, that Aſia and America were contiguous, and that there is a paſſage from the one to the other by land, though we have not yet been ſo lucky to diſcover it; and that if it ſhould be admitted they are at this day ſeparated by wide ſeas, yet they may have been disjoined, as England is ſuppoſed to be from France, or Sicily from Naples, by earthquakes, or raging ſeas: neither are we now under a neceſſity, 'tis ſaid, of having recourſe to earthquakes, or any ſuch extraordinary ruptures, ſince the land of Jeſſo has been diſcovered: For, not only from the reſemblance of the people to thoſe of north America, but from the ſituation of Jeſſo, it is very natural to conclude it runs as far as America, no adventurers having been able yet to diſcover a paſſage between the two continents if there be one.

But ſtill 'tis objected, if there was really a communication between Aſia and America by this country of Jeſſo, or any other land, then we ſhould have found the ſame beaſts, fowls, and other animals in both; whereas 'tis evident, that we have ſeveral ſorts which America wants, and they have many that we never ſaw here. It is alſo obſerved, that there are ſeveral animals, both in Aſia and America, that will not live in ſo cold a climate as the north of Jeſſo muſt be, if it joins to America, and conſequently thoſe animals could never paſs that way. If it be ſaid, that when the earth was firſt repleniſhed with living creatures, there were animals created ſuitable to every climate, this will not be a ſufficient anſwer to the objection; for according to holy writ, all living creatures were deſtroyed, but thoſe which were with Noah in the ark; and from theſe alone muſt the world be repleniſhed again, or there muſt have been a new creation.

But farther, if all parts of the world had a communication with one another by land, how came it to paſs there was no ſuch thing as a black man to be found in all America? In ſo long a tract of time, 'tis very reaſonable to ſuppoſe ſome of that complexion would have ſtraggled thither as well as the white, if they could have found a paſſage. To proceed, we yet know very little of this land of Jeſſo, only that the people are neither ſo deformed or barbarous as the firſt diſcoverers made them: they are not hairy like the brutes, nor to be dreaded as the wild beaſts, but converſe and trade with the Japoneſe, as other nations do: but it is a misfortune that our adventurers ſeldom think their relations acceptable, unleſs they preſent us with a new race of monſters at their coming home. I ſhall here add ſome obſervations of the Dutch concerning this land of Jeſſo, and iſland of Japan, from whence we ſhall be the better able to conjecture, whether the land of Jeſſo be contiguous to America: But whether it be or not, thus much ſeems agreed, that Tartary or Jeſſo run ſo far north, that no ſhips have been yet able to ſail beyond them, and there is reaſon to believe no ſhips ever will, the difficulties being invincible. The Dutch relation is extracted from the Philoſophical Tranſactions, and is as follows, viz.

CHAP. VI.

Summary of the diſcoveries of the north-eaſt paſſage.

The Eaſt-India-Company of the United Netherlands, about the year 1652, omitted neither ſtudy nor care to find out a paſſage through the north-eaſtern-ſea, for thoſe that were to return into Europe from the Eaſt-Indies. There was then much diſcourſe of the gulph of Anian, by which a paſſage was ſaid to be open into the Tartarian-ſea, and ſomething they underſtood from the people of Japan, and the Portugueze of the country of Jezzo, which lay above Japan. But not reſting ſatisfied with the bare relation, in the years 52 and 53 they ſent out ſome dextrous perſons to diſcover thoſe coaſts, who paſſing beyond Japan in the 50th degree of northern latitude, arrived upon the coaſt of Jezzo, where they fell into a narrow ſea, yet broad and convenient enough to lead into the northern Ocean. The oppoſite ſhore they called Het Compaigne land, and an iſland ſeated in the middle of the gulph they called Het Staten Eyland.

Whether the land of Jeſſo be annexed to Japan or not, the inhabitants of both countries doubt, becauſe vaſt and inacceſſible mountains interpoſe, which hinder the communication. Neither doth it as yet clearly appear, whether this land of Jeſſo is a part of Tartary, or whether by any arm of the ſea divided from it. The Chineſe affirm, that Tartary runs 300 leagues eaſtward beyond their famous wall; ſo that if we follow theſe, the country of Jeſſo and Japan may ſeem to be annexed to Tartary. But thoſe of Jeſſo ſay, that there runs an arm of the ſea betwixt them and Tartary; which opinion may ſeem to receive ſome confirmation from what thoſe Hollanders affirm, who were ſhipwreck'd (ſome years ſince) upon Corea, a peninſula of China; they ſay they ſaw there a whale, upon whoſe back ſtuck an harping-iron of Gaſcony; and the credit of this aſſertion not being queſtioned by any, it is moſt probable to be conjectured, that this whale paſſed from Spitzberg through

through the neareſt arm of the ſea, rather than through the more remote. Be it how it will, we may hence ſafely conclude, that the ſea which lies beyound Japan and Spitzberg is paſſable, and that through more, perhaps, than one arm, or channel, by which they communicate.

But to go on, after the experiments made by the Governors of the Eaſt-India-Company in the years 52 and 53, they reſolved to proceed no farther upon the diſcovery, as well becauſe the Emperor of Japan interdicted the navigation of foreigners into Jeſſo, in regard, as they ſay, of the vaſt tribute which he raiſeth annually upon the ſilver mines there, as becauſe they think it may little conduce to their advantage to have this compendious way of navigation diſcovered. And therefore they have thought fit to prohibit all farther ſearch into the navigation to Jeſſo, and the countries adjacent; upon which very reaſon they have endeavoured to conceal their Auſtral plantations.

Now concerning that tract or ſpace which lieth betwixt Spitzberg, Nova Zembla, and the ſtreights of Jeſſo, we have no reaſon, for ought I ſee, to entertain any doubt; becauſe many of the Muſcovite itineraries aſſure us, that the coaſt of Tartary runs not northward from Nova Zembla, but turns up very much towards the eaſt; ſo that the head land of Nova Zembla is far the moſt northern part of all Tartary. This may likewiſe be collected out of the hiſtories and maps of China, which affirm, that thoſe who paſs from the wall of China northward, may in the ſpace of fourteen days reach the ſea. And the coaſt of Tartary, which lies beyond the Samoides, ſufficiently teſtifieth the neighbourhood of the ſea; foraſmuch as the farther any man advanceth towards the eaſt, the Muſcovites have there obſerved large and navigable rivers. Summary of the diſcoveries about the north eaſt paſſages. Philoſ. Tranſ. No. 118. p. 417.

But we find in the ſame Philoſophical Tranſactions, a paragraph which ſeems to contradict the above-mentioned conjectures. It is an extract of a letter ſent from Mr. WITSEN, viz.

'I formerly thought Nova Zembla had been a 'continent; but I have ſince been better informed 'and retracted that error. And whereas the late 'M. VOSSIUS would needs perſuade himſelf, as 'well as he did others, that there was a paſſage 'to Japan by the north, and that the Tartarian 'countries behind Nova Zembla did decline im'mediately towards the ſouth, I did always oppoſe 'it, and think I can even demonſtrate the impoſſi'bility thereof; ſo that what we wrote to en'courage mariners to that attempt, was even di'recting them to the point of death, as it after'wards enſued.' Philoſ. Tranſact. No. 193. p. 494.

So that if it ſhould be admitted, that the continent of Aſia and America are ſeparated by the ocean, yet we may now reſt ſatisfied, that the difficulties to be met with in a north eaſt paſſage to Japan are not to be ſurmounted, and poſſibly will never be attempted again.

THE

Vol. I. P. 55. 90 | 100 Degrees East from London 110

INDIA beyond Ganges. Agreable to Modern History.

By H. Moll Geographer

60 120 180 240 300
English Miles

INDEPENDENT TARTARY
Barantola
Chamdara
Guerguon
Asem or Achan
MOGUL
YUNAN PART OF CHINA
Yunan
QUAMSI
Quansi
North Province
Cinchen
Laquia R.
Chamay L.
Mentin
Tipra
Ariano
Osul
Pomea R.
Rockbo R.
Meng
See
Bao
East Pr.
BENGAL
Chatigan
AVA
Asia R.
Leng
Lee
TUNQUIN
Tropick of Cancer
Cachao P.
Kehov
Cachao
st P.
Badego
South Pr.
Tenan
Ketru
CANTON
Lientcheou
Dianga
Dutch Factory
Lactora
Aracan
Ava
Kemarat
Menang
Lang
LAOS
Kiangsung
Kiang con ai
Lake
Cuabie
Tenhoa
Cuadag
Mouth of the River Ganges
Sundiva
Mesi
Laco
Bakan
Chele
Brama
Prom
Pegu
Pegu
Pittchia
Campengpet
Cainai
Corozena
Outattain
Prabat
Chrenat
Lovuo
Siam
Mergui
Tenasserim
Deschelling
Tonc
Bangen
Iunsalan
Iusalan
Borde long
Junda
Patana
Old Jeda
Pera
MALACCA
Trinjan
Paha
Malacca
Ihor
Singapora
Str. of Singapora
Lancha ng
Prose louc
Cuaba ng
Ngeam
Guasay
Sinua
Cochin
China
Touran
Faifo
Cachiam
Pulo Canton
Baubaan
Quamgum
Rok nang
Pul Hocambi
Quinan
Strimob
Cambodia
CHAMPA
Chiampa
Chiampa Pt.
P. de Mar
Tar
rana
Carol
Bansae
Tabequaume R.
Pulo Condore
HAYNAN
Gulf of Tonquin
P. Campelo
I. de Parcel
The Shoales of Parcel
SEA OF CHINA
Ambra
The Brothers
Andaman Islands
St. Clara I.
Hatly I.
Canicubar I.
Razo I.
Nicobar I.
Sombrire
Nicobar
Aracan P.
Tonquemal
Cabube
Negrais P.
Diamond I.
Cosmin
Dala
Cocos Isle
Martaban
Mirsovi
Achin
P. of SUMATRA
Bancalis
TRA I.
Siaqua Caupir
Str. of Malacca
P. Cosin
P. Ridoan
P. Capas
Nantua I.
Anambaba I.
P. Timon
P. Ore
C. Romania
Borneo
PART OF BORNEO I.
THE INDIAN OCEAN
BAY OF BENGAL
BENGAL

90 Equinoctial Line 100 110

THE PRESENT STATE OF TONQUIN.

CHAP. I.

Contains an account of the ſituation and extent of this kingdom; and of the bounds of the ſeveral provinces. A deſcription of the bay of Tonquin, and the principal rivers; with a particular account of the wet and dry ſeaſons, and the Tuffoons, or periodical hurricanes upon theſe coaſts.

CHAP. I.

Situation and extent.

THE kingdom of Tonquin is bounded by the province of Yunam in China towards the north; by the province of Canton and the bay of Tonquin towards the eaſt; by Cochin-China on the ſouth, and the kingdom of Laos on the weſt; and extends from the latitude of 17 to the latitude of 23 and an half north; ſo that it contains about 400 miles in length, and in breadth 150, in ſome places; but the breadth from eaſt to weſt is very unequal.

Provinces.

It is divided into eight provinces, viz. 1. Tenan, 2. Eaſt Province, 3. South Province, 4. Tenhoa, 5. Ngeam, 6. Weſt Province, 7. North Province, and 8. the province of Cachao; which are thus deſcribed by Mr. DAMPIER, who was ſome time in that country.

1. The province of Tenan is bounded by China and the ſea of Aynam towards the ſouth and eaſt, and the province called the Eaſt Province on the weſt and north; it is but a ſmall province, and the chief produce thereof is rice.

2. Eaſt Province, which ſtretches away from Tenan to the North Province, having the province of Cachao on the weſt, and the bay of Tonquin or Aynam on the ſouth: this is a large province, conſiſting chiefly in low lands and iſlands, eſpecially to the ſouth-eaſt. It is inhabited for the moſt part by fiſhermen; has good meadow and paſturage, abounds in cattle, and produces great quantities of rice. Hean is the chief town of this province, and the ſeat of the Governor.

3. South Province, which is a triangular iſland made by the ſea and the rivers Domea and Rockbo. This province alſo is very low land, and has fine meadow and paſture grounds, and abounds in rice.

CHAP. I.

4. Tenhoa, bounded by the river Rockbo on the eaſt, Weſt Province on the north, and the bay of Tonquin on the ſouth: this alſo is low land, produces rice, and the inhabitants of the ſouth parts drive a great trade in fiſhing, as do all thoſe of the ſea coaſts in general.

5. Ngeam, bounded by Tenhoa on the eaſt, Cochin-China on the ſouth and weſt, and Weſt Province on the north: this is a large province, abounding with rice, paſturage and cattle, and being the frontier againſt Cochin-China, there is always a body of troops quartered there.

6. Weſt Province, bounded by Ngeam on the ſouth, the kingdom of Laos on the weſt, the province of Cachao on the eaſt, and by the North Province on the north: this is a large champain country, a rich ſoil, and does not want wood and paſture grounds.

7. North Province, which is a large tract of land, making almoſt all the northern part of that kingdom, having Laos on the weſt, China on the eaſt, and Weſt Province, Cachao, and Eaſt Province on the ſouth: in this province there is a great variety of mountains and plains, champain and woodlands, and here the wild elephants are chiefly found. It produces alſo great quantities of ſilk and lack.

8. The province of Cachao, which lies in the heart of the kingdom, and is bounded by the eaſt, weſt, north, and ſouth provinces: this province alſo has great variety of mountains and low lands, woods,

CHAP. I.

woods and champain, and is an exceeding pleaſant country; the ſoil generally a yellow earth, and abounds in rice, ſilk, and lack, which none of the provinces are quite deſtitute of, tho' they have them not in the ſame proportion.

Bay of Tonquin deſcribed.

The bay of Tonquin, by which the Europeans approach this kingdom, according to DAMPIER, is made by the ſouth eaſt point of Champa, which lies in the latitude of 12 degrees on the weſt ſide of it, and the iſland of Aynam, which is about 18 or 19 degrees north: this bay is about 30 leagues wide in the broadeſt place: in the middle there is about 46 fathom water, and good anchoring all over it. There are two great rivers at the bottom of the bay, or rather one great river divided into two channels; one of them is called Rockbo, the mouth of which lies in about 20 degrees 6 minutes north latitude; the other river, which is much larger and deeper, is called Domea by DAMPIER, from the firſt town on the banks of it, and lies in 20 degrees 45 minutes north latitude. The mouth of this river is twenty leagues to the north-eaſt of the mouth of Rockbo. There are many dangerous ſhoals between theſe two rivers, which ſtretch two leagues or more into the ſea: and all that coaſt, from Cochin-China upon the weſt to China in the eaſt, is full of ſhoals. By the river Domea the European ſhips enter the kingdom of Tonquin. There is a bar of near two miles broad at the mouth of it; the channel is about half a mile over, having ſands on each ſide. When ſhips come hither, they wait for a pilot to direct them; but they will not come off to take charge of any ſhip until there is a ſpring tide. The mark of this river is a high ridgy mountain, called the Elephant, which muſt be brought to bear north-weſt and by north; then ſteering towards the ſhore, until you come into ſix fathom water, which will be about two or three miles from the foot of the bar, and about as much from a little iſland called Pearl Iſland, which will then bear north, north-eaſt, it will be proper to caſt anchor, and wait for a pilot, who will come off upon firing a gun, if the tides ſerve.

River Rockbo.

River Domea.

Bar at the entrance of it.

On paſſing over the bar at half flood, DAMPIER obſerved, they had 14 foot and a half water; and being got over the bar, he found it deeper, and a ſoft ooze: the river at the mouth was about a mile over; and when they had ſailed about five or ſix leagues up it, they paſſed by the village called Domea, lying on the right or ſtarboard ſide, where the Dutch ſhips who trade hither always lie, never going higher: their ſeamen are very intimate with the natives, having taught them the art of gardening, and live here with their occaſional wives, as if they were at home: but the Engliſh chooſe to anchor three miles higher, where the tide does not run ſo ſtrong. When ſhipping arrives, the natives immediately build a tower of huts, and bring down their women to let out, with ſuch other proviſion as the ſeamen want: but the principal trade of the kingdom is carried on at Cachao, the capital city, where the Engliſh and Dutch Eaſt-India companies have each of them their factories. This city, DAMPIER tells us, lies about 100 miles up the river, and about 80 from the place where they came to anchor. There is a delightful proſpect all the way up the river, of a large, level, fruitful country; conſiſting either of paſture or rice fields: but there are no trees to be ſeen, unleſs about their villages, which are always encompaſſed with them on all ſides, unleſs towards the river, to which they lie open. They are very numerous, and extremely pleaſant in the dry ſeaſons.

Station of the Engliſh ſhips.

CHAP. I.

Cachao the capital city.

Pleaſant country on both ſides the river.

The town of Hean ſtands on the eaſt ſide of this river, about ſixty miles from the place where the ſhips lie at anchor, and about eighty from the ſea. A little below this it is that the rivers Domea and Rockbo divide, and running into the the ſea twenty leagues aſunder, form an iſland. The town of Hean has about 2000 houſes, inhabited chiefly by poor people, and ſoldiers who keep garriſon here: but the town has neither walls nor great guns to defend it. Here is one ſtreet of Chineſe merchants, who formerly lived at Cachao, but being too ſharp for the natives in their dealings, were ordered to remove from thence: whereupon moſt of them left the country, there being no conſiderable trade but at Cachao, ſome few of them only ſettling themſelves at Hean; they are ſuffer'd ſtill to go to Cachao now and then, to buy and ſell goods, but not to reſide there any time. Some of theſe China merchants trade to Japan with raw and wrought ſilks, bringing back chiefly bullion in return.

Hean town.

Chineſe at Hean.

The Siameſe and Chineſe bring up their ſhips as high as Hean by the river Rockbo: but DAMPIER ſays, he could never learn that any European ſhips came up ſo far.

From Hean to Cachao, which is not above twenty miles, the boats are uſually two days getting up, the ſtream running ſo very ſtrong againſt them, and no tide to favour them.

Healthful country.

The kingdom of Tonquin is for the moſt part healthful, eſpecially in the dry ſeaſons, when it is alſo very pleaſant. The ſeaſons of the year, as well there as in other countries between the tropicks, are divided into wet and dry, inſtead of winter and ſummer.

Seaſons diſtinguiſhed into wet and dry inſtead of ſummer and winter.

The weather does not alter all at once, but at the end of the dry ſeaſon there are now and then gentle ſhowers, which precede the violent rains; and towards the end of the wet months there will be ſeveral fair days, which ſhew the dry time is coming on. Theſe ſeaſons are generally much alike, DAMPIER obſerves, in all the parts of the Torrid Zone, on the ſame ſide the line, and in the ſame latitudes; except within two or three degrees

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grees of the equator, where the winds and weather are always variable and uncertain. But as to the heat and cold, it is obſervable, that thoſe countries which lie near the tropicks, eſpecially three or four degrees within them, are much hotter than thoſe that lie under the line; for which DAMPIER aſſigns theſe reaſons, firſt, the longeſt day under the equator is but twelve hours, and the night anſwerable: but near the tropicks the longeſt day is thirteen hours and a half, and an hour and a half being taken from the night, the length of the day and the ſhortneſs of the night make a difference of three hours. Secondly, ſuch places as lie three degrees within the tropick, the ſun comes within two or three degrees of the zenith in the beginning of May, and having paſſed the zenith, does not go above three degrees before it returns again: ſo that it is at leaſt three months within four degrees of the zenith: and thus the ſun is vertical almoſt from the beginning of May to the latter end of July; whereas when the ſun comes into the equator it immediately haſtens away north or ſouth; and his ſtay being ſo ſhort, the heat cannot be ſo intenſe as near the tropick, where he continues ſo long almoſt vertical, and is ſo much longer above the horizon every day, and the nights are ſo much ſhorter than they are under the line. There is this farther reaſon DAMPIER gives, why Tonquin and ſome other countries are ſo exceſſive hot, namely, that it lies in a bay where there are not thoſe cool breezes that frequently blow in other places.

Countries near the tropicks hotter than thoſe under the line.

The wet ſeaſon begins here the latter end of April or the beginning of May, and continues to the latter end of Auguſt; in which time there are violent rains, ſometimes for many hours, and at others for two or three days without ceaſing; but there are conſiderable intervals of fair weather. By theſe rains are occaſioned great land-floods in all countries between the tropicks at their annual period; and this is the cauſe of the overflowing of the Nile, which runs a great way within the torrid zone; the river being ſwelled by ſuch rains, muſt of neceſſity overflow the low lands of Egypt which lie in its way. And the antients might as well have wondered at the overflowing of any other river annually which riſes far within the tropicks.

Wet ſeaſons [illegible] April or [illegible] and continue till Auguſt.

The occaſion of the [illegible] near [illegible].

In Auguſt the weather begins to be more moderate, both as to rain and heat; though there then falls ſome ſhowers. In September and October it is more temperate ſtill; and yet between the beginning of Auguſt and the latter end of October are thoſe violent ſtorms called tuffoons (typhones) which are ſo very fierce, that the Chineſe dare not ſtir out of their harbours till they are paſſed; afterwards there is no danger of ſtorms till the return of the ſeaſon. It is further obſervable, that theſe tuffoons uſually happen about the full or change of the moon, and are preceded by very fair weather, ſmall winds, and a clear ſky. Theſe ſmall winds vere from the common trade, which is at this time ſouth-weſt, and ſhuffle about to the north or north-eaſt. Before the ſtorm there appears a boding cloud very dreadful to look at, and is ſeen ſometimes twelve hours before-hand: when the cloud begins to move apace the ſtorm may be expected ſuddenly. It uſually blows about twelve hours very fiercely at north-eaſt, and is attended with claps of thunder, great flaſhes of lightning, and exceſſive rains. It abates on a ſudden and falls quite calm, and having continued ſo about an hour, the wind comes about to the ſouth-weſt, and blows as violently from that quarter as it did from the other.

Storms or [illegible] periodical [illegible] on [illegible] coaſts of [illegible] China.

The months of November and December are dry and healthful, and exceeding pleaſant. January, February and March are for the moſt part dry; but there are thick fogs in the mornings, and ſometimes cold drilling rains: the air is alſo very ſharp in January and February, eſpecially if the wind be in the north eaſt. In April the weather is moderately dry; neither too hot nor too cold.

November and December dry and healthful.

But though this be the ordinary ſtate of their year, yet the ſeaſons ſometimes alter a month, or more; neither are they alike in all years, for the rains are ſome years more violent and laſting than others; nor have they always rain ſufficient to manure their rice: Tonquin, as well as other countries between the tropicks, depends much upon the annual rains, or floods, to moiſten and enrich their ground, for if theſe fail they have hardly any crop, and the poor are reduced to a ſtarving condition, and forced to ſell their children, as they do in many other parts of India in the like diſtreſs, to preſerve their own and their childrens lives. But this is not ſo often the caſe of Tonquin as it is of the coaſts of Malabar and Cormandel.

Seaſons not all years alike.

The lower part of this kingdom alſo ſometimes ſuffers by too great rains, eſpecially if they happen unſeaſonably; but then their dry lands yield the better crops; ſo that they are not in the ſame danger of famine as in the time of drought; and their poor, which, as has been obſerved already, are very numerous, oftner periſh for want of imployment and a proper care being taken of them, than from a ſcarcity of proviſions in this country.

CHAP. II.

Contains a deſcription of their towns, fortifications, palaces, buildings and furniture; and treats of the genius, temper, ſtature, complexion, and habits of the Tonquineſe; alſo of their diet, liquors, feſtivals, diverſions, roads and way of travelling.

City of Cachao deſcribed.

THE capital city of Cachao ſtands upon a riſing ground, but level, on the weſt ſide of the river

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ver Domea, having neither bank, wall, nor ditch to defend it. It conſiſts of about twenty-thouſand houſes, low built, with mud walls and thatched roofs, a very few of them only being built with brick and tile. The principal ſtreets are very wide, but ill pitched, and dirty in wet weather; and there are ſeveral ponds and ditches full of black mud, which in the dry ſeaſons are very offenſive; but the town is notwithſtanding looked upon to be healthful. Every man in his back yard, or ſome convenient part of his houſe, has a ſmall arched building of brick like an oven, about ſix foot high, to ſecure his beſt goods in caſe of fire, which their thatched tenements are very ſubject to; but the government, by way of prevention, obliges every man to keep a great jar of water at the top of his houſe, with buckets; and if the fire cannot be extinguiſhed this way, the thatch is ſo contrived in large panes of ſeven or eight foot ſquare, that they can throw it off all at once; and they keep hooks like thoſe uſed by our fire-men, to pull down the buildings that are in flames: whoever neglects to have his jar of water, his buckets and hooks in order, is ſeverely puniſhed.

Palaces.

There are three palaces in the city of Cachao, in the chief of which the Boua or King has his reſidence. It is ſaid to be about three leagues in circumference, and has a wall about fifteen foot high, and as many in thickneſs, faced on both ſides with brick; and within the palace, beſides the buildings and apartments of the King and his courtiers, there are parks, gardens and canals, as in the royal palaces of China.

There are two other palaces in Cachao, but very meanly built, in one of which the Choua or General reſides; before this there is a large ſquare parade, with a building running along one ſide of it, where the Generals and Mandarins ſit to ſee their ſoldiers perform their exerciſe: oppoſite to this is another low building, where the train of artillery is kept, which conſiſts of about fifty or ſixty iron guns, from faulcon to demiculverin, two or three whole culverin, and ſome iron mortars; but the carriages of their guns are for the moſt part ill contrived and out of repair.

Stables of elephants and horſes.

There is alſo near this palace a ſtable of two hundred elephants, kept for the war, or to carry the Generals and their baggage; and another ſtable of about three hundred horſes.

Engliſh factory.

There are no other buildings worth taking notice of in Cachao, unleſs it be the Engliſh factory, which ſtands at the north end of the city fronting the river; and though this be but an ordinary low built houſe, it is one of the beſt in town. The Dutch factory joins to it on the ſouth, but is not altogether ſo large.

Hean.

There are few cities in Tonquin beſides Cachao; Hean is one of the chief, which conſiſts of about two thouſand houſes, and like the reſt of them, lies open to the country, having neither wall nor ditch to defend it. Market towns they have none, but every five or ſix villages take it by turns to have the market held in one of them. Their villages conſiſt of thirty or forty houſes each, and ſtand very thick all over the country. Theſe villages are always ſurrounded by groves or trees in the flat country, and encompaſſed by large moats and high banks, thrown up beyond the groves, to prevent their houſes and gardens being overflowed in the wet ſeaſon; for all the land about them, at that time, lies two or three foot under water, and they are forced to go up to their knees to paſs from one village to another, or make uſe of boats, and their habitations are then very dirty and uncomfortable.

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Villages.

In the dry ſeaſons, the moats which ſurround the villages ſerve to fill the canals with water, which ſeparate their grounds; and every houſe ſtanding in the middle of a garden, thus ſurrounded by trees and water, are extreamly pleaſant. In the hilly country they have no moats or banks, thrown up about their villages, and therefore may be ſuppoſed to be much more healthful in the wet ſeaſon than thoſe in the flat country. The partitions in their houſes are made with ſplit cane, and their rooms have no other light than what they receive from a little ſquare hole. Their furniture conſiſts of tables, cabinets and ſtools, and an ordinary bed or two in their innermoſt rooms; every man alſo has a little altar in his houſe, with an image and two incenſe-pots upon it, before which he performs his devotions. They dreſs their meat uſually in their yards, or before their doors, but in the rainy ſeaſon make uſe of one of their outward rooms, where they are almoſt blinded with ſmoak for want of chimneys. This people are courteous and obliging to ſtrangers, eſpecially the trading part of them, and mighty fair dealers, they are not given to tricking and cheating, like the Chineſe: However, their Mandarins, or magiſtrates, are ſaid to be proud and imperious; their ſoldiery inſolent; and their poor, who are very numerous, given to thieving, inſomuch that ſtrangers are forced to keep a very ſtrict watch over their goods.

Furniture.

Genius and temper.

They are reckoned good mechanicks, faithful and diligent when they are retained in ſervice, and ſo ſubmiſſive, that ſome have looked upon them to be mean ſpirited, and of a ſlaviſh diſpoſition, produced by the tyranny of the government they live under; they are patient in labour, but ſeem much dejected in ſickneſs; univerſally addicted to gaming from the higheſt to the loweſt, from which nothing can reſtrain them; they will play away their very cloaths.

Given to gaming.

The natives of Tonquin are of a tawny complexion, but not ſo dark as moſt of their Indian neighbours; clean limb'd, and of a middle ſtature; they

Their perſons.



Habits of the Tonquinese.

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they have long lank black hair, which grows very thick, and hangs down upon their ſhoulders: their noſe and lips are proportionable and well made, but their faces are a little flattiſh and of an oval form. When they are about twelve or thirteen years old, they die their teeth of a black or very dark colour; this operation takes up three or four days, and they dare hardly take any nouriſhment, the compoſition being ſo nauſeous, or, as ſome ſay, poiſonous: it is obſerved, that they are aſhamed of having white teeth, like brutes, but the true reaſon of their blacking them, is, no doubt, the prevailing faſhion of the country, which, how ridiculous ſoever to foreigners, muſt ever be followed by the inhabitants, unleſs they would be pointed at and inſulted by the mob, as well as by people of better faſhion.

Their outward habit is a long gown, which is bound about with a faſh, and, 'tis ſaid, the ſexes are not diſtinguiſhable by their habits. The quality uſually wear ſilk, but they never think themſelves finer than in Engliſh broad cloth, either red or green, and have caps of the ſame ſtuff with their gowns. Inferior people and ſoldiers, generally wear cotton cloth, dyed of a dark colour; and the ſoldiers upper garments reach no farther than their knees, but they have drawers which come down to their mid-leg. Poor people generally go bare headed, except in the rainy ſeaſons, when the fiſhermen, and thoſe who are expoſed to the weather, wear ſtiff broad brim'd hats, made of reeds or palm-leaves. The poor people hardly ever wear any thing elſe but a doublet and pair of drawers, without either ſhirt, ſhoes or ſtockings. They ſit croſs-legged after the manner of the Aſiaticks; they have a ſort of couches or benches covered with fine matt, and raiſed about a foot from the ground all round the rooms where they make their entertainments; and on theſe their friends ſit with an alcove over their heads, having a cuſhion under them, and another at their backs. And no people, 'tis ſaid, are more ſociable or hoſpitable than the Tonquineſe.

The moſt common diſh next to boil'd rice is little bits of pork ſpitted together and roaſted. They eat alſo fowls, beef, buffaloes fleſh, and the fleſh of goats, horſes, dogs, cats and locuſts; with all ſorts of roots, herbs, eggs and fiſh; they ſometimes mince their raw pork, and make it up in balls like ſauſage-meat, and eat it without any other dreſſing. Their bullocks they ſinge like bacon-hogs, and having ſteeped ſlices of raw beef in vinegar three or four hours, will eat it with a particular guſt. Horſe-fleſh is eſteemed as good as beef, and the poor people will eat the fleſh of elephants that die a natural death; the trunk is often made a preſent to ſome great Mandarin as a delicious morſel. Frogs are another great diſh with them; ſea-turtle they have plenty of, as alſo crabs, craw-fiſh, ſhrimps and prawns; and they have a fiſh like an anchovy, which they pickle; their ſmall fiſh and ſhrimps they throw into a jar of ſalted water made very weak, which having ſtood a little time, is reduced to a maſh or pap, and this is called ballachaun: Afterwards they draw off the liquor from it, which they call neukmum; and both natives and Europeans uſe it as ſauce, and eſteem it equal to ſoy. The poor people eat the ballachaun with their rice, which gives it a very ſtrong hogo; and indeed their boiled rice, which is their uſual food, would be very inſipid without ſomething of this kind; therefore when they have no ballachaun, they eat dry'd fiſh or ſalted eggs with it.

People of quality are ſeldom without fleſh, fiſh, and fowl at their table every day; their meat is ſerved up in little plates of lackered wood, ten or twelve of which are brought in a ſort of a voider of the ſame lackered wood; the meat being cut into little ſquare pieces, they eat it with their chop-ſticks as in China, and uſe neither linen, knives, forks or ſpoons.

They have a way of keeping their eggs ſeveral years, by encloſing them in a paſte made with ſalt brine, and aſhes, and kept in an earthen pot that is ſtopt cloſe: theſe they eat with their rice when they live upon the water, taking about the quantity of a hazle-nut with every mouthful of rice.

Their uſual liquor is tea, which is commonly ſold by women in the market places; they have alſo a ſpirit called arrack, which they ſometimes drink with their tea, and ſometimes by itſelf; but it is the worſt and moſt unpalatable that is to be found in India: However they eſteem it a great cordial, eſpecially after they have infuſed ſnakes and ſcorpions in it. Thus rectified, they look upon it to be an antidote againſt poiſon, and think they ſhew the greateſt reſpect to their friends, when they treat them with this liquor.

But the firſt thing they entertain with when one comes to viſit them, is betel and arek: in the leaf betel they wrap up ſeveral ſlices of the arek nut, and having dawbed it over with chinam or lime, made into a mortar, it is chewed as our people do tobacco; every man keeps his box, with ſeveral of theſe betel leaves ready made up, and prepared for chewing. The great men have fine gilded lacquered boxes to keep theſe doſes of betel and arek in, which are conſtantly offered to the ſtranger as ſoon as he comes in, and muſt be accepted, on pain of being thought unmannerly: and this muſt be done with the right hand, the left being ſeldom employed but in the vileſt offices; nor can a man be more unfortunate than to be found left handed among this people, or indeed in any part of India: it would be impoſſible for ſuch a one to gain any eſteem amongſt them, if he were poſſeſſed of never ſo many valuable qualifications.

Dye their teeth black.

Habits.

Eng.

Drink.

Betel and arek.

Left handed men avoided.

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But to proceed, after a foreigner has ſome acquaintance with them, they will not fail once in two or three days to ſend him a preſent of betel, and enquire after his health, for which preſent the ſervant muſt have ſome ſmall gratification if you would oblige the maſter.

This betel or the arek which they eat with it, is a ſort of opiate which lulls people that uſe it into a pleaſing dream; and what makes the Indians delight in it the more, is, the red colour which it gives their lips, though the red ſtuff they are perpetually ſpitting when they chew it, is not a little nauſeous to ſtrangers, nor does it ſmell very agreeably. The better ſort of people in India have a ſervant whoſe ſole buſineſs it is to carry a pot after them to ſpit in when they chew betel and arek.

Feſtivals.

They have two publick feaſts which they obſerve annually, the chief of which is at the beginning of their new year, and this commences at the firſt new moon which happens after the middle of January, when they rejoice for ten or twelve days ſucceſſively; and there is a ceſſation from all buſineſs, all people put on their beſt cloaths, and ſpend their time in gaming, drinking, and other diverſions; and the common people will be exceeding drunk on theſe occaſions.

The other great feſtival is after the getting in their firſt harveſt. The firſt and fifteenth day of every moon alſo are holidays, when they perform their devotions with a more than ordinary zeal: at theſe times alſo they bring meat and drink to the ſepulchres of their deceaſed friends, which their bonzes or prieſts regale themſelves with when they are gone. Their magiſtrates and great men alſo ſolemnize their birth-days every year, as we do in this part of the world, when they are complimented by all their relations and friends.

Comedies.

A comedy is acted at every entertainment, and in this they are ſaid to excel, if we may rely upon the judgment of our travellers; they are uſually acted in the night-time, and laſt from ſun-ſetting to ſun-riſe. Their playing does not hinder the audience from eating and drinking; but they are uſually as intent upon the feaſt as the play that is acting.

other diverſions.

Their other diverſions are fiſhing and hunting, but principally fiſhing, their rivers and ſea-coaſts abounding with excellent fiſh: and the country not being ſo proper for hunting on account of the many rivers that run through it, and the little cover there is for game.

Travelling.

People generally travel by water, having the convenience of ſo many rivers; but their highways and bridges are kept in very good repair; and though they have no publick inns, yet by the road ſide the traveller is ſure to meet with water and fire, and other conveniences to dreſs his meat and refreſh himſelf.

The baggage of their generals and great men is uſually carried by elephants when they take the field; as for other carriages by land our writers do not mention any, poſſibly becauſe there are few places in the country that have not the conveniency of water carriage; but 'tis probable they make uſe of porters in the up-land countries, as their neighbours the Chineſe do; for they have very few beaſts of burthen.

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CHAP. III.

Treats of their manufactures, trade, ſhipping, navigation, ſoil, huſbandry, plants, animals and minerals.

CHAP. III.

THIS country produces great quantities of ſilk, ſuch as pelongs, ſooſees, hawkins, peniaſcoes and gawſe; the pelongs and gawſe are ſometimes plain and ſometimes flowered. They make alſo ſeveral other ſorts of ſilk, but theſe are chiefly bought up by the Engliſh and Dutch.

Manufacture of ſilk.

Lackered ware.

The lackered ware is another great manufacture in this kingdom, and eſteemed the beſt in the world next to that in Japan; and the difference between the one and the other is not ſo much in the paint and varniſh as in the wood, which is much better in Japan than here. The lack of Tonquin, DAMPIER tells us, is a gummy juice which drains out of the bodies or branches of trees, and is gathered in great quantities by the country people; it is of the thickneſs of cream, and the natural colour white: but the air changes it and makes it look blackiſh: the cabinets which are lackered with it are made of pine-tree, which is a wood ſomething like fir, but not ſo good, and their joyners are but indifferent artiſts. The lacker houſes are looked upon to be very unwholſome from a poiſonous quality which is ſaid to be in the lack, making the workmen break out in great botches and boils; and yet DAMPIER aſſures us, it has no ſtrong or unſavoury ſmell: the lack can only be laid on in dry weather, for as there muſt be ſeveral coats, every one muſt be thoroughly dried before the other is laid on; when the outward coat is dry, they poliſh their work to give it a gloſs, which is done chiefly by rubbing it. There is no better glew than this lack will make, and their varniſhes are alſo compoſed of it; it is very cheap in this country, but prohibited exportation.

Earthen ware.

They make great quantities of earthen ware of a grey colour, but coarſe; however it is exported to all the Malayan countries, and ſeveral other parts of India: from hence alſo is brought turpentine, musk, rhubarb, and ſeveral ſorts of drugs; but theſe, it is ſaid, come from China to them, which lies contiguous to their country. They have alſo very fine gold from thence; for they work no mines, either of gold or ſilver, or any other metal themſelves, if they have any; their ſilver is chiefly imported

Musk. Drugs.

No mines.

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imported from Japan. In this country alſo may be had lignum aloes: TAVERNIER tells us, there is ſo great a difference in the goodneſs and price of this wood, that it may be had from three crowns a pound, to a thouſand. If it be cloſe and oily, a piece of the bigneſs of a pea, thrown into the fire, will perfume a room as much as a dry piece as big as ones fiſt. In this country is alſo found wood for dying, not much unlike the campeachy logwood, but not ſo large.

Lignum aloes.

Red wood.

Though Tonquin be full of ſilk, they ſeldom apply themſelves to work it till the ſhipping arrives; the people are kept ſo miſerably poor by the great lords to whom the lands belong, and whoſe vaſſals they are, that they have not money to purchaſe materials, and therefore foreign merchants are often forced to advance them money, and wait ſeveral months till their goods are wrought. But the Dutch who trade hither, frequently contract a ſort of temporary marriage with the women of this country, and make them their factors to buy up ſilk and materials at the dead time of the year: and employ the poor people when work is cheapeſt, and by this means have their goods ready when the ſhips arrive. Many of the Dutch have raiſed good eſtates, it is ſaid, by theſe female factors, who are faithful to them; and the women have alſo enriched themſelves, and been matches afterwards for the greateſt lords, when their Dutch husbands have left trading thither.

Trade ill managed, the people get little better than ſlaves.

Dutch make their occaſional wives factors.

The Tonquineſe make no long voyages, or export any merchandize in their own bottoms, except fiſh and rice to ſome neighbouring countries; moſt of the trade is carried on by foreign ſhipping; and indeed they have very few veſſels that will bear the ſea. Goods imported into Tonquin, are ſalt-petre, ſulphur, Engliſh broad cloth, cloth raſhes, pepper, and other ſpices, lead, and great guns, of which the long ſaker is moſt eſteemed.

Trade carried on by foreigners.

Theſe people ſeem much fairer in their dealing than the Chineſe, and perform their contracts punctually; only the merchant, as has been obſerved already, is forced to wait ſeveral months for the making his goods, after he has advanced great ſums of money. The King, who buys the guns and ſome broad cloth, is much worſe pay than his ſubjects, inſomuch, that no merchants care to deal with him, if they can help it.

Their dealers.

Shipping they have hardly any that deſerves the name; their veſſels are chiefly fiſher-boats, or a ſort of long gallies, which are only fit for their rivers or ſea coaſts in very fair weather: and as they have a very large ſea coaſt, and many fine rivers well ſtocked with fiſh, their fiſhery employs a great number of hands, and many of them live with their whole families upon the water. Sea turtle or tortoiſes are very plentiful upon their ſhores.

Great fiſheries.

They abound in rice, but have little other grain, nor have they any vines in their country. Their uplands, DAMPIER obſerves, are over-run with purſlane, which they are forced to weed out of their grounds, becauſe it hinders the growth of other herbs and plants. They have two crops of rice every year, if the rains are ſeaſonable, and the floods ſave them the labour of watering their rice fields; this grain, as has been obſerved in China, being planted in grounds that are reduced to a hotch-pot or pulp, and growing in water till it is ripe; nor are they much concerned, if their grounds are overflowed in harveſt, for they will reap their corn notwithſtanding, and hang up the rice in little bundles till it is dry, which it will ſoon be in this hot country. They have yams, potatoes, and onions in their gardens: and for fruits they have plantons, bonano's, mango's, oranges, limes, cocoa nuts, guava's and pine apples. Their oranges are of two ſorts, large and ſmall; their large oranges have a fragrant ſmell, and moſt delicious taſte, and may be eaten freely without danger; they are admired by ſome travellers as the beſt in the world. The other orange is a ſmall round fruit, with a ſmooth thin rind, and a deep red both inſide and out; and though they taſte almoſt as well as the other, are accounted a very unwholeſome fruit, and occaſion the flux. Oranges are in ſeaſon in this country from October to February. Their limes are round, and have thin ſmooth skins, and are as big as an ordinary lemon: they are full of juice, but not near ſo ſharp as the leſſer limes of other countries.

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No vines and little grain, but rice.

Garden ſtuff.

Fruits.

The betel leaf, which is ſo much valued all over India, is very common in this country. Mulberry-trees they abound with, and plant young ſlips every year, the leaves whereof are reckoned much better for the ſilk worms than thoſe of full grown trees; they ſeldom mind the fruit of this tree, and indeed it is a ſmall hungry fruit, not worth their care, our merchants obſerve. They have the fruit Lichea here, which has been deſcribed in China. Here is alſo good timber for ſhipping, as well as for houſes, and the pine-tree will ſerve for maſts.

Timber.

In the woody mountainous part of this country, towards the north, are found elephants of an extraordinary ſize. Horſes they have not many, cows and buffaloes enough, and hogs in abundance; but neither lions, aſſes, or ſheep, except ſome few of the laſt, that are kept for the King's uſe: neither do they abound in deer or hares, but have great plenty of fowls both wild and tame, as geeſe, ducks, hens, &c. Their wild ducks they uſed to take only with nets, till the Engliſh and Dutch came amongſt them, and taught the natives to ſhoot them. They have a ſort of locuſts about as big as a man's finger, which breed in the banks of their rivers and ditches, and they are eſteemed good food by the natives. There are no ſweet flowers found in their gardens except one, which

Animals.

in

is called Bange, which grows like a large noſegay upon a ſhrub that creeps upon the ground. There are very few ſmall birds in the country, but ſwarms of gnats, which are very troubleſome, as well as their ants, who are ſo miſchievous, TAVERNIER tells us, that they will eat through a bale of ſilk in twenty-four hours, and it will look as if it had been ſawn aſunder.

CHAP. IV.

Treats of their learning, liberal and mechanick arts, language and characters; of their government, forces, coin, magiſtrates, laws and puniſhments.

NONE are capable of being preferred to any offices or poſts in the government, unleſs they have taken their degrees, and gone through a courſe of ſtudy here as well as in China, and their learning is pretty near the ſame pitch, and the manner of taking their degrees and their examinations are performed in much the ſame manner, and therefore I ſhall not take up the reader's time with repeating theſe things, but refer him to China.

Their learning.

Characters. The characters alſo uſed by the Tonquineſe are the ſame with thoſe of China, though they have a different dialect.

If we may believe DAMPIER, the Malayan language is not ſpoken here, as TAVERNIER affirms, but their language comes near the Chineſe, or rather is a dialect of it.

Writing. They do not ſit writing at a table, as the Europeans, but hold their paper with one hand, and write with the other with a pencil, beginning at the top and writing to the bottom, as the Chineſe do. Their mathematicks, geometry and aſtronomy does not exceed their neighbours, but the Jeſuits have a little improved them of late.

Phyſicians. Their phyſicians do not ſtudy books much, but ſpend their time in ſearching into the natures and qualities of roots and ſimples; and apply themſelves to underſtand the beating of the pulſe. They never let blood, but uſe cauterizing as in China.

Good mechanicks. The people of Tonquin are pretty good mechanicks, and have almoſt all kind of handicrafts men among them, ſuch as ſmiths, carpenters, turners, weavers, taylors, potters, painters, paper-makers, workers on lacker, bell-founders, &c. One ſort of their paper is made of ſilk, and the other of the bark of a tree, which is pounded in large troughs with wooden peſtles, and makes the beſt writing paper. Money-changing is a great profeſſion here, and managed by the women, who are very dextrous at it, and will raiſe and fall the price of their caſh as artfully as our ſtock-jobbers do their ſtocks.

Government. This is one of the oddeſt conſtituted governments we have heard of: the rightful Prince, it ſeems, enjoys little more than the title of King; the General, or Prime Miniſter is maſter of all the treaſure and forces of the kingdom, and to him all men make their court; and thus it has been for the laſt hundred years. The King of Boua has been ſucceeded in the title by one of his ſons, and the heir of the General or Prime Miniſter ſucceeds to the power and adminiſtration of the government, and is called the Choua. The firſt of the family of the Choua who depoſed his ſovereign, thought fit to let him however retain the ſtile and title of King, that the leſs notice might be taken of his uſurpation. The King of Tonquin, it ſeems, was antiently King of Cochin-China too, and uſed to conſtitute a General in each kingdom with an almoſt unlimited command.

The General of Cochin-China, either prompted by his ambition, or having taken ſome diſguſt, threw off his allegiance, and ſet up for himſelf. The Tonquin general obſerving his ſucceſs, ſoon followed his example, and poſſeſſed himſelf of all the revenues and forces of the crown, making the King, or Boua, a kind of priſoner of ſtate in his own palace, where he is allowed to take his diverſions with his women and children, and at certain ſeaſons receive the mock-homage of the Mandarins, and the acclamations of the people; who are ſtill ſo devoted to him as to pray for his proſperity, and think nothing can be of worſe conſequence to them than his dying without iſſue: even the Choua pays him the profoundeſt reſpect before the people, and declares that he takes upon him the adminiſtration of the government only to eaſe his Prince of the trouble, and that he may enjoy his pleaſure without interruption or reſtraint. Foreign Ambaſſadors alſo conſtantly addreſs themſelves to the Boua, as if he was ſtill veſted with ſovereign power; but except this ſhadow of royalty which he receives on certain ſpecial occaſions, he has very little reaſon to look upon himſelf as a King: his attendants are not very numerous, and all of them put about him by the Choua: theſe are inſtructed alſo not to ſuffer any of his ſubjects to approach him who are not in the General's intereſt, neither is the Boua ſo much as allowed a guard; while all offices, civil and military, the forces and the revenue, are at the diſpoſal of the Choua, who has his guards of horſe and foot and elephants to the number of two or three hundred, always in readineſs, with an army of thirty thouſand men quartered in and about the capital city of Cachao, and not leſs than ſeventy or eighty thouſand in pay in other parts of the kingdom. Theſe are moſt of them foot, and armed with match-locks and broad ſwords. The ſoldiers are taught to make their own gunpowder themſelves, in little hand mills that are given them for that purpoſe, but they are ignorant of the art of corning it here, as well as in other parts of India. Every ſoldier carries a cartouch-box, in which he has little hollow canes filled

Forces.

CHAP. IV.

filled with powder, which hold juſt a charge; and no people, it is ſaid, will load and fire quicker than theſe. They keep their arms very bright, and cover them with a lackered cane in bad weather. Every file conſiſts of ten men, which is led by an officer when they march, but how deep their files are when they engage our travellers do not inform us: it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that they do not obſerve much better order than their neighbours, who are eaſily broke if you can ſuſtain the firſt ſhock. Their ſoldiers are uſually good bodies of men, every village being obliged to ſend the beſt men they can pick out; and DAMPIER tells us, the way of trying which are like to prove the braveſt fellows is by their ſtomachs, and that the greateſt eaters are choſen for the General's guard.

Shooting matches are frequently appointed to make them good markſmen, and every one is rewarded according to the ſhot he makes, and he that makes the worſt of the file is obliged to do double duty the next time he mounts the guard.

The greateſt part of their forces are kept upon the frontiers of Cochin-China, who are almoſt their only enemies, and between the out-guards of each kingdom there happens frequent ſkirmiſhes, but it is very rarely they come to a general engagement.

March of the army.

The army can never take the field but in the dry ſeaſon, there is no marching or encamping during the rains. When the army marches, the generals and principal officers are mounted upon elephants in little wooden apartments, they carry no field-pieces with them, but ſome long guns about ſix or ſeven foot in the barrel, which are reſted upon crutches when they fire them, and are uſed to clear a paſs, or fire croſs their rivers; they take little baggage with them, and ſeem prepared rather for light ſkirmiſhes than a pitched battle.

...ies.

This Prince's naval forces are inconſiderable, conſiſting only of gallies about ſixty or ſeventy foot long, and very narrow; the head and ſtern are raiſed ten or twelve foot above the water, but the middle is not above two foot from it; the captain ſits in the ſtern, which is finely painted and gilded, and the ſoldiers, who are always the rowers, have a covering over them to keep them dry; they puſh their oars from them, and plunge them all into the water at once, there being a perſon that keeps time and gives the word, whom the rowers anſwer in a hoarſe voice. Theſe veſſels do not draw above two foot and a half water, and are of no ſervice at ſea but in very calm weather. They employ their ſoldiers both upon their rivers and roads, to prevent the running of goods; they alſo ſerve to keep watch in their towns and villages, and particularly at Cachao; while they are on the watch they are only armed with long ſtaves; they are very inſolent and troubleſome to thoſe who paſs them, and it is in vain to complain of ill uſage, their officers, to whom only they are accountable, not being very ready to receive complaints againſt them, but will rather extort a fine from ſuch perſons as are brought before them; however for a little money a man may paſs their watch in the night pretty quietly.

CHAP. IV.

No courts of juſtice.

Here are *no courts* of judicature, but any ſingle magiſtrate may cauſe an offender to be brought before him, and inflict ſuch puniſhments upon him as are agreeable to the laws of their country, without any formal proceſs, nor is any time allowed for an appeal, but ſentence is executed immediately.

Puniſhments.

Beheading is the uſual puniſhment for murder and other capital crimes, and this is uſually performed before the offender's own door, or where the fact was committed: the criminal is ſat upon the ground with his legs ſtretched out, and the executioner with a back-ſword ſtrikes off his head at a blow. Theft is not puniſhed with death, but by cutting off a member, or part of one, according to the nature of the offence; ſometimes one joint of a finger, and ſometimes the whole finger; and for greater offences the whole hand. A woman for adultery is thrown to an elephant, who tramples her to pieces.

For other offences criminals are loaded with iron-chains and great wooden clogs; and ſometimes have heavy boards made like a pillory and hung about their necks for a month together: but the common puniſhment is a certain number of ſtrokes with a ſplit bambou upon their naked bodies. When a perſon has undergone any of theſe puniſhments, he is looked upon as infamous. Debtors are often condemned to become priſoners to their creditors, and work for them till their debts are paid; during which time they live on rice and water, and undergo ſuch other diſcipline as the creditor pleaſes.

Eunuch Mandarins.

Moſt of their magiſtrates are eunuchs, and few can have acceſs to their Prince without their leave. Every governor or Mandarin is abſolute in his province; they are ſaid to be imperious and covetous beyond meaſure. When an eunuch Mandarin dies, all his wealth falls to the government, which is one reaſon their extortions are ſo little taken notice of. To the oppreſſion and injuſtice of theſe Mandarins, is imputed that general poverty and want of trade ſo remarkable in this country; notwithſtanding it is ſtocked with all materials and merchantable goods: if they would allow the people money enough to furniſh themſelves with goods to work on, few countries would be richer.

There is another vice, if it may be called ſo, which the eunuch Mandarins are given to, not much leſs abſurd than the other, and that is, their playing with young wenches: and as their own careſſes muſt be very inſipid, they will frequently recommend

CHAP. IV.

recommend their girls to the Europeans who trade thither, and take it kindly if they will accept them. Moſt of the greateſt poſts being given to eunuchs, DAMPIER tells us of ſome who have caſtrated themſelves, that they might be qualified for an office.

Oaths.

Once a year an oath of fidelity is adminiſtered in every province to the ſubject, and upon this occaſion every one drinks a cup of blood of ſome fowl mixt with arrack, which is eſteemed the moſt ſolemn tie they can lay themſelves under.

Coin.

I can't learn they have any coin of their own, but they make uſe of foreign coins here, particularly Spaniſh reals; they make payments alſo with little pieces of ſilver like the Chineſe, which paſs by weight, and have always their ſcales about them.

CHAP. V.

Of their religion, temples and ſuperſtition.

CHAP. V.

Religion, Pagan.

THEIR religion is much the ſame with that of the Chineſe, and they expreſs the ſame reverence for CONFUCIUS, which is not to be wondered at, having been antiently a province of that kingdom. They have a great variety of images, of which the moſt common are the horſe and the elephant. Their pagodes, or temples, in the country are mean wooden buildings covered with thatch, and ſometimes but juſt big enough to hold the image that is placed in them; they are ſomething better in their great towns. Their prieſts lead a very auſtere life, which their poverty in ſome meaſure compels them to; having little to ſubſiſt on, but the offerings of the poor people, which are frequently no more than two or three handfuls of rice, a little betel, or ſome ſuch trivial preſent. They live in poor houſes near their temples, where they attend to offer up the prayers of the people, who bring them their petitions in writing: theſe the prieſt reads aloud before the idol, and afterwards burns them in the incenſe pot, the petitioner lying all the time proſtrate on the ground.

People of quality ſeldom come to their pagodes, DAMPIER informs us, but chooſe ſome open court about their own houſes to offer up their prayers in, one of their attendants reading the petition inſtead of a prieſt, while the maſter lies proſtrate on the earth: in this paper is recited an account of all the bleſſings the perſon has received, ſuch as health, riches, honour, the Prince's favour, and long life, if he be old; and concludes with a prayer for a continuance and increaſe of them; after which the reader ſets the paper on fire with the burning ruſhes which ſtand lighted in an incenſe pot, and afterwards flings three or four little parcels of fine gilded paper into the fire, which are conſumed with it. But, from the incenſe pot which DAMPIER mentions, I make no queſtion but this worſhip is performed before their houſhold gods before whom an altar is always erected. To proceed, there being great ſtore of good proviſions dreſſed on theſe occaſions, the maſter riſes up and orders his ſervants to fall to and make their hearts merry; ſo that theſe people ſeldom perform any act of worſhip, but the poor or their dependants have reaſon to bleſs them; their devotion is always attended with acts of charity and benevolence, the genuine fruits of true piety.

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They ſtudy aſtrology much in this country, and conſult the pretenders to this art on every occaſion. They are mighty obſervers of times and ſeaſons, of lucky or unlucky days; and as they give names to every hour in the day, ſuch as the tyger, bear, horſe, &c. the beaſt which deſcribes the hour any perſon happens to be born in is always avoided, under an apprehenſion that this beaſt will ſome time prove fatal to him. TAVERNIER tells us of a Prince that would never give audience, or ſtir out of his palace in the hour of the horſe, in which he was born, for fear of ſome unlucky accident. The meeting a woman when they firſt go out in a morning is eſteemed ominous, and they will go back again on ſuch an occaſion, and not ſtir out for ſeveral hours. The Chriſtian religion, we are told by the Jeſuits, has made a conſiderable progreſs in this kingdom of late years, that they have built ſeveral churches, and made many thouſand converts. But DAMPIER informs us, that when he was at the Biſhop's palace at Hean, which ſtands at the north end of that town on the ſide of the river, the miſſionaries told him, that the King and court were very averſe to their religion, though the poorer people were inclined to embrace the Chriſtian faith. And DAMPIER thinks theſe were only brought over by the rice that was diſtributed amongſt them by the miſſioners. Thoſe fathers, it ſeems, durſt not openly own their miſſion, but lived here as merchants, and were not ſuffered to reſide at Cachao, but when the Mandarins ſent for them to inſtruct them in the mathematicks, or to mend their clocks and watches; and they frequently took thoſe opportunities to make converts.

Superſtition.

Chriſtianity.

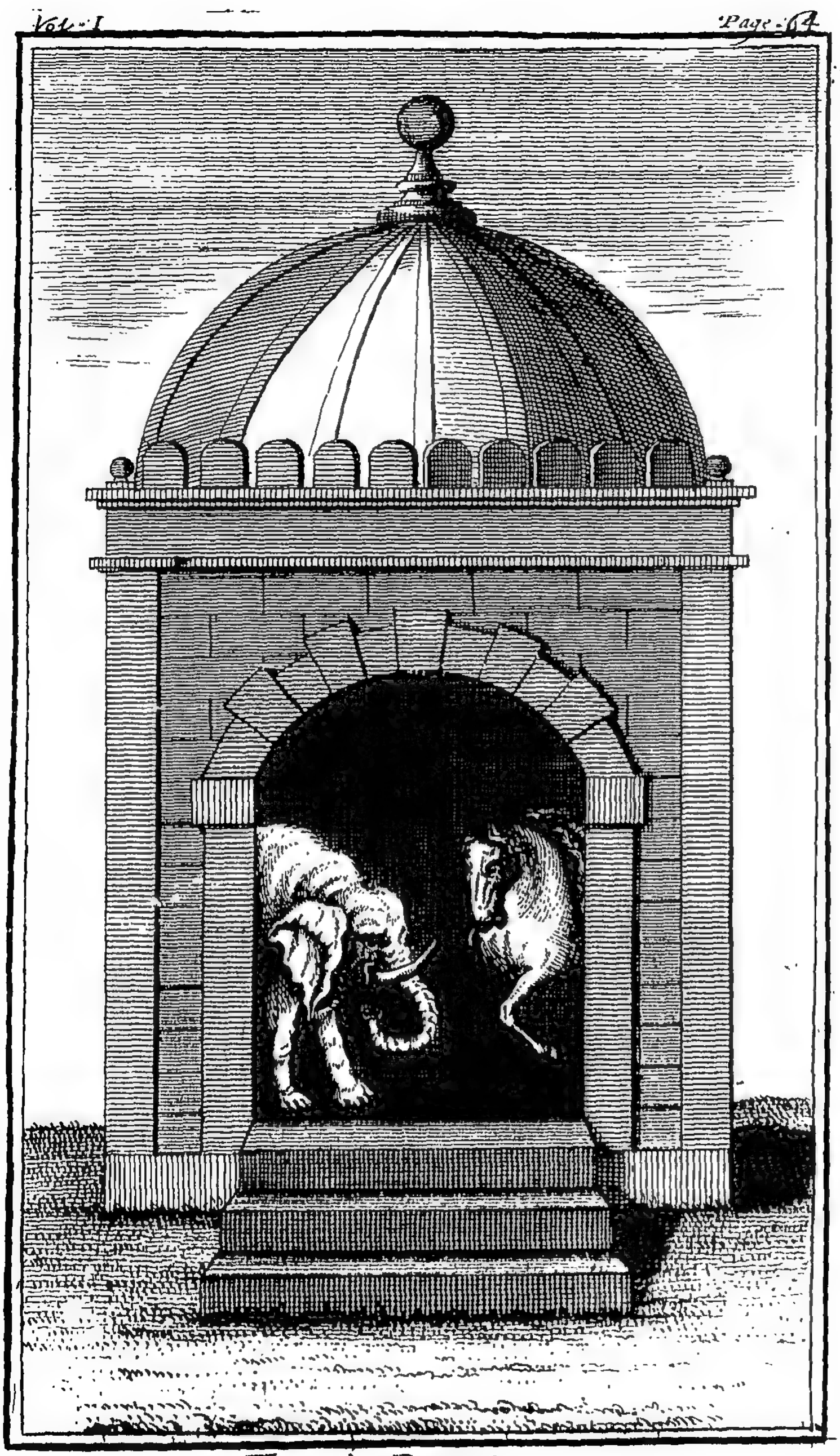
CHAP. VI.

Treats of their women, marriages, mourning and funeral rites.

CHAP. VI.

Marriages.

WIVES are purchaſed here as in China, and the people are not ſtinted to any number, unleſs by their poverty; and in time of ſcarcity the poor are often compelled to ſell both their wives and children for food. Men of the beſt quality in Tonquin, DAMPIER aſſures us, will offer their daughters



Tonquin Pagoda

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daughters to the merchants and officers who come to trade there, though they know their ſtay will be but a few months. One great inducement to this is the hopes of mending the breed, and that their poſterity may be of a whiter caſt than themſelves: for however the blacks may value themſelves upon the darkneſs of their complexion, this tawny generation think the nearer they approach to white the greater is their beauty; beſides, it ſeems the women think this as lawful a way of getting money as any other, and ſome of them lay up fortunes by it; but if it ſhould beotherwiſe, and their children ſhould prove burthenſome, they have the liberty of ſelling them. As this is cuſtomary there, it muſt be preſumed to be practiſed with leſs reluctance than it would be in this part of the world; and if women amongſt us, to hide their failings, make no ſcruple to procure abortion, or even to murder their infants, it is not much to be wonder'd at, that other nations ſhould ſometimes ſell them to preſerve their own and their childrens lives.

They are very profuſe in their weddings, and it muſt be a poor man when the feaſt does not laſt three days. One may divorce his wife for a very ſlight cauſe; but the woman has not the ſame privilege, unleſs for ſome very notorious crime: all the ceremony that is uſed at theſe divorces is taking one of the husband's, and another of the wife's chop-ſticks which they eat with, and breaking them in half, one half is given to the wife, and the other the husband keeps; but the man is bound to reſtore the goods he had with his wife, and to keep the children. If a woman be convicted of adultery, ſhe is thrown to an elephant who is bred up for theſe executions; the beaſt having toſſed her up in the air, ſtamps her to pieces when ſhe falls on the ground.

Funerals.

The Tonquineſe bury, and do not burn their dead. There are no common burying places, but every one is buried in his own ground, and within a month afterwards a great feaſt is made at the grave, at which ſolemnity the prieſt by his office aſſiſts: if the deceaſed was a man of quality, a tower of wood is built over his grave, ſeven or eight foot ſquare, and about five and twenty foot high; hither the country people of the neighbourhood reſort, and find great plenty of proviſion of all ſorts in little ſheds or houſes, built up at about twenty yards diſtance from the tower: the people being aſſembled, the prieſt aſcends the tower, and makes a ſpeech upon the occaſion, after which he comes down, and the people ſet fire to the tower, which being ſlightly built, and covered with thin painted boards, is ſoon conſumed to aſhes; after which the people fall to eating and drinking, and are very merry upon theſe occaſions. DAMPIER tells us he was at one of theſe ſolemnities, where he ſaw fifty or ſixty hogs cut out, and the greateſt quantity of oranges for the entertainment of the gueſts that he had ever ſeen together while he was at Tonquin.

Funeral of the King.

When the King of Tonquin dies he is laid in ſtate for ſixty-five days, and meat is ſerved up to his table every day as if he was alive, which the Bonzes and the poor people have divided amongſt them. At the end of the 65 days the corps is interred with great pomp at the burying place of the royal family, the ground being ſpread all the way with violet coloured callicoe, which is the King's colour: and though the tombs are not above two days journey from Cachao, the march uſually takes up ſeventeen days. The Mandarins both civil and military wear mourning, TAVERNIER tells us, for three years, thoſe of the houſhold nine months, the nobility ſix, and the common people three months; but there are no ſhows or diverſions allowed for three years, except at the coronation of the ſucceeding Prince.

THE PRESENT STATE OF COCHIN-CHINA.

CHAP. I.

CHAP. I.

Situation and extent.

COCHIN-CHINA, if we take in Chiampa, which is looked upon to be a province (or at leaſt tributary to it) extends from the eighth degree of north latitude to the ſeventeenth, and conſequently is upwards of 400 miles in length, and it is about 150 in breadth. It is bounded on the north by Tonquin; by the ſea of China on the eaſt; the Indian ocean on the ſouth; and the mountains of the Kemois, and the kingdom of Cambodia on the weſt: it is called by the natives Anam, or the weſt country, lying to the weſtward of China. Some will have this country more temperate than Tonquin, which if it be, muſt proceed from its lying more open to the ſea, and being refreſhed with ſea breezes. Both countries lie upon a flat, and are annually overflowed about the ſame time; conſequently the ſeaſons are the ſame, and the lands equally fruitful in rice; which requires no other manure but the mud the waters leave behind.

Provinces.

It is divided into five provinces, viz. Sinuva, Cachiam, Quamgum, Pulocambi, and Renan. The King keeps his court in the province of Sinuva, which lies contiguous to Tonquin; but travellers do not acquaint us with the ſituation of the other provinces, nor do they take upon them to deſcribe any of their towns, only we are told, that the city where the King reſides, lies in about ſixteen degrees north latitude, and that the chief town of the little tributary kingdom, or province of Chiampa, bears the ſame name with the province, and is ſituate on the ſea coaſt, in the twelfth degree of north latitude.

Buildings.

They build their houſes two ſtories high, and in the time of the floods retire into their upper rooms, having a communication with one another by boats. They ſit croſslegged upon the floor, which is covered with matts, and the better ſort have couches or ſeats, which ſtand againſt the wall, raiſed two or three foot above the floor, with tables before them when they eat.

CHAP. I.

Cuſtoms not different from the Tonquineſe.

They are ſaid to reſemble the Chineſe in ſtature, features and complexion, but wear their hair at full length, like their neighbours of Tonquin.

Habits.

They wear ſilk gowns or veſts of various colours one upon another, and ſwathe their legs and thighs with ſilk inſtead of breeches, and have a ſort of ſlippers, or ſandals.

Diet.

Their diet and manner of eating and drinking is the ſame with the Tonquineſe, and therefore I ſhall not weary the reader with the repetition of them; only mention their birds neſts, which are reckoned ſo great a rarity in Europe as well as the Indies.

Birds neſts.

Theſe neſts are built by a ſmall bird like a ſwallow, in the rocks upon the ſea coaſts, and are compoſed of the ſea froth and a juice from the birds ſtomach, which hardens with the ſun, and is almoſt tranſparent: this being ſoftned in warm water, is pulled in pieces and put into broth, and is mighty nouriſhing, and by many people is ſaid to be of a moſt delicious taſte; but in this I perceive all are not agreed.

Animals. Manufactures. Plants.

Animals both wild and tame they have the ſame here as in Tonquin, and plenty of good ſilk: they have alſo the ſame kind of trees and plants, and one ſort of timber which is not mentioned to be in Tonquin; it is ſo heavy and ſolid that it ſerves for anchors.

Calamba, or lignum aloes.

They have alſo the aquila tree, a wood of a fine ſweet ſcent, which grows upon the mountains of Kemois: the wood of the old trees has much the moſt fragrant ſmell, and is called Calamba, which the King reſerves to himſelf: this is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with lignum aloes, and is highly valued in China and Japan, where they

CHAP. I.

they uſe a block of it for a pillow; among thoſe Indian nations which burn their dead, they conſume great quantities of it in the funeral pile.

Temper of the people.

The people of Cochin-China are ſaid to be very courteous and obliging to ſtrangers, but from their uſage of the Engliſh (which will be ſhewn hereafter) this ſeems to be a miſtake, unleſs the barbarous uſage our countrymen met with, proceeded from ſome very high provocation: but however that might be, certain it is, that what is told us of their excelling in arts and ſciences, and particularly in gunnery, is not much to be depended on. The Jeſuits aſſure us, that they will hit a mark with a great gun as exactly as an European can with his fire-lock; which if it was true, none of their neighbours would be able to ſtand before them; for he is reckoned a bold fellow in that part of the world, that dare fire a great gun without a train. By the way, whenever we ſpeak of the ſtrength of any of our European fortifications in India, it is not that they would be able to hold out againſt European engineers, but they do well enough in a country where a few great guns mounted on a ſlight wall, is ſufficient to denominate the place impregnable. And when our writers tell us, that their gallies, which are ſo narrow and ſlightly built, are mounted with cannon like our men of war, they certainly make but little uſe of their own judgments, and only tranſcribe father BORRI, or ſome of his driveling brethren, who will lie for lying ſake; for it is not to be imagined what advantage the fathers can propoſe to themſelves or their religion, by propagating theſe fooliſh ſtories. To proceed, the New Eaſt-India-Company having erected a fort on the iſland of Condore, which belongs to Cochin-China, and continued two or three years in poſſeſſion of it, we have received a more exact account of that iſland than of any other part of the Cochin Chineſe dominions, and are let into a better notion of that people than we received from the Jeſuits.

Arts and ſciences.

Pulo Condore deſcribed.

Pulo Condore, or the iſlands of Condore, lie in the latitude of 8 degrees 40 minutes north, and are 20 leagues ſouth and by eaſt from the mouth of the river Combodia; the largeſt, which is the only inhabited iſland, is between four and five leagues long, and three broad, in the wideſt part of it; the largeſt next is about three miles broad, and half a mile over, and with the other forms a commodious harbour.

Trees.

Theſe iſlands have very great quantities of timber in them, fit for any uſe, and there is one tree called the damar tree, about three or four foot diameter, from which is drawn a kind of turpentine or tar.

Fruits.

Their fruits are mangoes, a fruit like a grape, which grows on trees; and wild nutmegs, which are like the true only in ſhape: there is alſo the cabbage tree, which Mr. LOCKYER takes to be only a wild coco.

Animals.

For animals, there are hogs, lizards and guanoes; there are alſo parrots, parakites, pigeons, and wild cocks and hens about the bigneſs of a crow; they have alſo limpits and muſſels, and plenty of green turtle or tortoiſe.

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There are ſeveral ſmall brooks of freſh water in theſe iſlands, which are full ten months in the year; they are dried up in April, but filled again in May, when the rains fall. DAMPIER recommended theſe iſlands as a proper place for the Engliſh to eſtabliſh a factory.

Produce.

The inhabitants are Cochin-Chineſe, and ſpeak the Malayan language; their chief employment is to draw off tar from the damar trees above-mentioned, and to catch turtle, of which they make oil, and ſell in Cochin China. They brought their women on board, DAMPIER tells us, and offered them to the ſailors; and this is a common thing, he obſerves, in this and the neighbouring countries. As to their religion, DAMPIER ſays he obſerved a little idol temple in the iſland, with the image of an elephant, above five foot high, on one ſide of the Pagoda, and the figure of a horſe on the other ſide, not quite ſo large. The temple was a low built wooden building, and thatched like their other houſes.

The new Eaſt-India-Company, in the year 1702, encouraged, I preſume, from what Mr. DAMPIER had related of the commodiouſneſs of this place for a factory, built a fort of earth here, mounted ſome great guns, and fenced it in with paliſadoes inſtead of a ditch.

Settlement of the Eaſt-India-Company at Condore.

Mr. LOCKYER in his voyage to Canton, touched at this ſettlement in the year 1704. He ſays they found about 45 Europeans there, companies ſervants and ſoldiers; 7 or 8 Topazes, which are a tawny mingled breed the company entertain in their ſervice; and 15 Bugoſſes, natives of Macaſſar, or the Celebes, who are the beſt ſoldiers the company can meet with in India, but have more than once proved treacherous to the Engliſh.

There are two or three ſmall villages in the iſland, it ſeems, with whom the Engliſh were not in very good terms, and therefore would not ſuffer the inhabitants to have any arms in their houſes on any pretence. There is no doubt but the Cochin-Chineſe would have driven the Engliſh from this ſettlement, or rather never ſuffered them to build a fort there, if they had been thoſe able ſoldiers the Jeſuits repreſent them; and their ſubmitting to it is a demonſtration that their skill in military affairs is not much greater than their neighbours; they muſt be a very warlike people, and ſpecial engineers, that durſt not attempt an inconſiderable redoubt, defended by 40 or 50 men, whoſe skill in military affairs was not very conſiderable, how well ſoever they might underſtand trade; and yet, had it not been for the treachery of the Bugoſſes, who ſet the factory on fire, and maſſacred the Engliſh in their beds, (3 March 1705.) the Cochin-Chineſe never durſt have attacked the Engliſh; the advantage they took of that diſtreſs, and

CHAP. I.

Deſtruction of the Engliſh ſettlement at Pulo Condore.

their cruelty to thoſe that ſurviv'd, is a ſufficient evidence they would have fallen upon them before, if they had not been ſenſible of their own weakneſs. The account of this tragedy we have in a letter from Mr. CUNNINGHAM to the Engliſh ſupercargoes in China, which I ſhall take liberty to tranſcribe, viz.

Gentlemen,

'BEFORE this comes to your hands, you 'may have heard of the overthrow of the ſettlement at Condore, whereof I ſhall here give 'you a farther account, and what relates thereto, 'that you may impart the ſame to our honourable 'maſters. Our Maccaſſar ſoldiers had been threatened for letting two of our ſlaves eſcape their 'cuſtody, whereupon, it ſeems, they did meditate 'a cruel revenge; for on the 2d of March, at 'midnight, they ſet fire to the fort, and at the 'ſame time killed the Governor, Mr. LLOYD, 'Capt. RASHWELL, Mr. FULLER, and others, 'to the number of nineteen; Dr. POUND, Mr. 'CHITTY and Capt. DENNET, with eight or 'nine more, made their eſcape in a ſloop to Ma'lacca, I ſuppoſe, and from thence to Batavia: 'thoſe that remained were ſo diſperſed, that there 'were ſcarce two together: I took to the Cochin-'Chineſe for their aſſiſtance, but their fear was 'ſo great, that they only went about to barricado 'themſelves. The Maccaſſars having perpetrated 'this villany, got into a Cochin-Chineſe prow to 'put to ſea, but were aſſaulted by the people of a 'Cambodia veſſel, which was then at the iſland, 'with the aſſiſtance of our armourer, who killed 'one of them, and mortally wounded two more, 'which made them put aſhore again, and make 'their eſcape into the woods. In the morning be'times the Cochin-Chineſe took poſſeſſion of the 'fort, fearing, I ſuppoſe, we ſhould have joined 'with the Cambodians, to carry away what the 'fire had not deſtroyed; for being got together, 'we were ſixteen Engliſh, four of which were 'dangerouſly wounded, ſix Topazes, and about 'twenty ſlaves, too ſmall a number to cope with 'them who were above two hundred, the Chineſe 'being like ſo many cyphers, and the Madraſs 'ſloop in Cochin-China obliged us to deſire their 'friendly aſſiſtance, whereupon the money was all 'put into cheſts, and the moſt part weighed, and 'carried into their cuſtody; during which time 'the Maccaſſars thought to have ſeized another 'prow to eſcape in, but were frighted away by 'the Cochin-Chineſe, who promiſed in a few days 'to bring them all dead or alive. Moſt of us were 'dubious of their friendſhip, but did not know 'how to anſwer it to our honourable maſters, to 'leave ſo much money while they pretended to 'be our friends, and we had not deſerved other'wiſe at their hands; for we could have got 'away in the Cambodia veſſel, which ſailed the 'ſeventh following, being unwilling to ſtay any 'longer, in which went Mr. BALDWIN and 'Mr. WINGATE to Cambodia, to make the beſt 'of their way to Batavia. The next day after 'they went away, the Cochin-Chineſe caught one 'of the Maccaſſars, and that very night cut off 'his head, whereby we thought their friendſhip 'had been ſecure to us; yet on the tenth, with'out any provocation, but to make ſure of their 'prey, they barbarouſly murdered all the Engliſh, 'of which were Mr. POTTINGER, Mr. TOWNS'END, Mr. JOSEPH RIDGES, and Mr. St. 'PAUL, with four Topazes, and ſix ſlaves; only 'me they ſaved alive, after they had given me 'two wounds, one ſlight in the arm, and the 'other more dangerous in my left ſide, whereof 'I am now well, God be thanked, with two 'Topazes and fifteen ſlaves. On the 18th arrived 'there from Borea four Cochin-Chineſe gallies 'with prows, which amounted to in all 65, and 'in them about 300 ſoldiers, the other Cochin-'Chineſe making above 300 more, wherewith 'they embarked every thing worth the carrying 'away. During their ſtay there, they went 'three or four times in ſearch of the Maccaſſars, 'and lighting on them at laſt. killed four. On 'the 7th of April I was ordered on board one of 'their gallies, not having leave to go any where 'without a ſoldier along with me. I ſaw and un'derſtood, that all the people belonging to the 'Madraſs ſloop were under confinement in ſepa'rate houſes, and alſo in congas, except Capt. RID-'LEY. I deſired ſeveral times to wait upon the 'Governor, but could not; he was taken up in 'over-halling the goods that came from Pulo Con'dore, and weighing the money, which was found 'to amount to 21300 tale. At laſt, upon the '28th, I was obliged to appear as a criminal in 'congas, before the Governor and his grand 'Council, attended with all the ſlaves in congas 'alſo. There I was charged with three crimes: 'the firſt, that the Engliſh, when they arrived 'at Pulo Condore, ſaid they would ſtay there, 'whether the King of Cochin-China would or 'not. The ſecond, that there were no Eng'liſh ſent along with the preſent to court laſt year. 'The third, that we ſent a ſhip to Cambodia, 'and did not acquaint the Governor of Borea 'therewith. To the firſt I replied, that we had 'never heard of any ſuch thing, for at our arrival 'there we did not know any body lived upon the 'iſland, and that as ſoon as our Governor had diſ'patched the ſhips to China, he preſently ſent an 'embaſſy to Cochin-China, whereby he had his 'grant to ſtay there. To the ſecond, that all the 'Engliſh were ſo ſickly that we had not one of 'any port to ſend, and therefore ſpoke to a Chi'neſe captain then preſent, who agreed to go,

Shackles.

'but

Interpreter.

'but that the Caifou did take it upon himſelf to 'carry the preſent and excuſe us to the King. 'Whereto they replied, that the ſending a Chi-'neſe was all one as ſending the Caifou, and that 'an Engliſhman would have done better. I an-'ſwered, that was the Caifou's fault, who ſhould 'have informed us better. Then further, why 'we did not get ſome out of the ſhips to ſend where 'there were ſo many? To which I replied, it 'was not in our power to demand them out of 'their ſhips. To the third, that never any body 'told us we were to acquaint the Governor of 'Borea, before we ſent any ſhips to Cambodia. 'Then he inſiſted, that there did not any Engliſh 'come aboard the ſhip to him at the mouth of 'Cambodia river, when he ſent thither by one to 'ſpeak with them: to which I replied, that the 'ſhip had not returned to Pulo Condore, and there-'fore could not poſitively tell the reaſon for ſo 'doing: then I was diſmiſſed, and returned home, 'where I had the congas taken off again. The 'next day I was at the Governor's ſon's houſe, by 'which the Governor paſſing, accidentally ſaw me, 'whereupon he ſent for me to his houſe; he asked 'me nothing of moment, but why I ſent two 'Engliſhmen to Cambodia, and how much I had 'given them? Having anſwered this, I deſired to 'know what he had reſolved to do with us; he 'anſwered, that we muſt ſtay here till he had a 'return from court, which would take up two 'months; and being asked for captain RIDLEY, 'who was ſick at Danquai about twenty leagues 'from hence, and to take his people out of the 'congas; he only replied, he would ſee to it ſhort-'ly. And thus matters ſtand at preſent, and what 'will the reſult thereof be, God knows: I know 'not what our honourable maſters will be willing 'to do, and therefore cannot tell how to adviſe 'them herein. I am with reſpect,

SIRS,

Yours, &c.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM afterwards was ſet at liberty, and was made preſident of Banjar in the iſland of Borneo. That ſettlement Mr. LOCKYEER tells us, was alſo ruined by the natives before he had been there ten days, but not in ſo tragical a manner as that at Condore; of which I ſhall give the reader ſome account when I come to Borneo.

THE

THE PRESENT STATE OF SIAM.

CHAP. I.

Treats of the ſituation and extent of this country, the provinces it is divided into, and of their principal rivers, monſons, winds, tides and climate.

CHAP. I.

Countries included in it, the deſcription of Siam.

UNDER Siam we may comprehend not only proper Siam, but Malacca, Cambodia and Laos; for theſe were lately provinces, and are great part of them yet tributary to this kingdom: and though the Dutch have encroached on the dominions of this Prince, particularly in Malacca; and other remote provinces, have rebelled and thrown off their allegiance, and are now ſet up for petty ſovereigns, this cannot be ſuppoſed to have extinguiſhed the right of the lawful Prince. There is this farther reaſon alſo for treating of them together, namely, that their religion, laws and policy, perſons, manners and cuſtoms, have very little to diſtinguiſh them.

The name.

But firſt, of the general name of this kingdom: The Portugueſe, and after them the reſt of the Europeans, call it Siam; but the natives ſtile it the country of Tai, or of freemen, according to LOUBIERE; though he obſerves they have long ſince loſt their liberties as well as his countrymen the French, who were once called Franks, for the ſame reaſon the Siameſe were called Tai, namely for oppoſing all encroachments on their liberties.

Extent.

This country extends from the firſt degree of north latitude to the 25th, if we reckon from the ſouthermoſt point of Malacca to the northermoſt part of Laos; the longitude is not altogether ſo certain. This city of Siam heretofore being reckoned to be in the 145th degree of longitude, and by late obſervations in 121, and ſtill greater miſtakes have been diſcovered in the ſituation of China, which is now found to be 500 leagues nearer us than former accounts made it.

Siam including Malacca, Cambodia and Laos, is bounded by Tonquin and Cochin-China, towards the eaſt, by the gulph of Siam, and the Indian ſea towards the ſouth, by the bay of Bengal towards the weſt, and by the kingdoms of Pegu and Ava, towards the north and weſt. CHAP. I. Boundaries

Form.

The kingdom of Siam is ſaid to reſemble a creſcent, of which proper Siam and Laos may be reckoned the body, and Malacca and Cambodia the two horns; but then Malacca, or the weſtern horn, is much the longeſt, extending ſeveral degrees further ſouthward than Cambodia, or the eaſtern horn.

Proper Siam.

Proper or upper Siam contains ſeven provinces, which receive their names from their reſpective capital cities, viz. Proſelouc, Sanguelouc, Lacontai, Campengpet, Coconrepina, Pechebonne and Pitchia. Porſelouc includes ten little diſtricts or counties, Sanguelouc eight, Lacontai ſeven, Campengpet ten, Coconrepina five, Pechebonne two, and Pitchia ſeven; and beſides theſe, there are in the upper or proper Siam one and twenty other diſtricts or counties, which are not ſubject to the former, but are under the juriſdiction of the capital city and province of Siam.

Lower Siam or Malacca.

In the lower Siam are alſo reckoned ſeven provinces, viz. Jor, Patana, Ligor, Tenaſſerim, Chautebonne, Petelong or Bordelonge, and Tchai. The province of Jor contains ſeven counties or diſtricts, Patana eight, Ligor twenty, Tenaſſerim twelve, Chautebonne ſeven, Petelong eight, and Tchai two; but geographers do not take upon them to deſcribe the bounds of the reſpective provinces. I proceed therefore to deſcribe the ſituation

CHAP. I.

tion and extent of Cambodia and Laos, which are included under the general name of Siam.

Cambodia. Cambodia extends from the 8th degree of north latitude to the 15th, or thereabouts; it is bounded by Cochin-China, and Chiampa on the eaſt, the Indian ocean on the ſouth, the gulph of Siam on the weſt, and Laos on the north: the chief town thereof is Cambodia, ſituate on the river Mecon, in about the 12th degree of north latitude; Laweck or Ravecca is ſomething higher up the river Mecon: The port towns of Terrana, Langor and Caiol lie on the ſouth-weſt coaſt of Cambodia, but their latitudes are not aſcertained.

Laos. Laos extends from the 15th degree of north latitude to about the 25th, according to the opinion of moſt of our geographers; but they do not ſeem poſitive, it being an inland country very little reſorted to by Europeans: it is bounded by Tonquin towards the eaſt, by Cambodia towards the ſouth, by proper Siam, and Pegu towards the weſt, but what it is bounded by towards the north is not agreed on; and indeed thoſe countries which lie north of Laos, from the 25th to the 40th degree of north latitude ſeem to be filled up in our maps, as the reſt of the Terra Incognita uſually is, with fancied countries that have no exiſtence. And as China is now found to be 500 leagues nearer us than 'twas formerly thought, either ſeveral countries that have contributed to fill up that ſpace muſt be entirely left out, or we muſt reduce thoſe countries within narrower bounds than geographers have hitherto done.

But to return to Laos, it is by all agreed to be a very ſlender province, ſome ſay not more than 50 miles in breadth from eaſt to weſt, though it is reckoned to be ten degrees in length from north to ſouth: the capital city thereof is Langione or Lanchang, ſituate in the 20th degree of north latitude: there are ſeveral other towns mentioned in the map of this country, but we have no account of their ſituation or inhabitants.

Rivers. I proceed therefore to ſpeak of the principal rivers of Siam, which are firſt the Menan, and ſecondly the Mecon, both of them have their riſe in Tartary, as is ſuppoſed, and run from north to ſouth; the Menan diſcharges it ſelf into the gulph of Siam, in the latitude of 14 north, and the Mecon having paſſed through Laos, and Cambodia, falls into the Indian ſea, in the 9th degree of north latitude. There is alſo another river of note called Tenaſſerim, which falls into the bay of Bengal, in the latitude of 13 north; and forms an iſland called Merguy, where is one of the beſt harbours in India.

The principal towns ſtand either near the ſea coaſts, or upon ſome of theſe rivers; the mountainous part of the country being almoſt over-run with woods, and that which is not, is parched up with the ſun, and much leſs fit for tillage than the low lands; eſpecially for rice, which is the common food of the inhabitants.

From ſpeaking of the rivers, I come naturally to treat of the monſons, winds and tides, which have a great influence on them. Monſons, winds and tides.

The winds in March, April and May blow from the ſouth, upon the coaſt of Siam; in April the rains begin, and in June it rains almoſt continually; in July, Auguſt and September the winds blow from the weſt, and the rains continuing, the rivers overflow their banks to the breadth of nine or ten miles; and for above one hundred and fifty miles up the ſtream; during this time and eſpecially in July, the tides are ſo ſtrong that they come up as far as Siam, which ſtands ſixty miles up the river Menan, and ſometimes as high as Louvo, which is fifty miles higher: in October the winds blow from the weſt and north, when the rains ceaſe; in November and December the winds blow dry from the north, and in a few days the waters are reduced to their antient channels, and the tides are ſo inſenſible, that the waters are ſweet at the mouth of the river: at Siam there is never more than one flood and one ebb in 24 hours; in January the winds blow from the eaſt, and in February from the eaſt and ſouth; when the winds are at weſt, the currents alſo ſit to the eaſtward, and on the contrary when the wind is at eaſt, the currents run weſterly, according to LOUBIERE.

Climate. Beſides the river abovementioned, there are ſeveral others, and abundance of canals cut croſs, whereby they have a communication with one another, and were theſe people under a mild government, their country lies as well for navigation and commerce as any in the Indies; they have alſo a multitude of fine ports, whereas proper India, or the Mogul's country oppoſite to it, has hardly any.

This kingdom, extending almoſt from the equinoctial to the tropick, muſt certainly be very hot; but here, as in all other places between the tropicks, at the time the ſun is vertical, and ſhines with the moſt intenſe heat, they are ſo ſcreened by the cloudy weather, and there falls ſuch a deluge of rain, that the flat country where they chiefly inhabit is overflowed, and this renders the heats very ſupportable: hard winters are not to be expected ſo near the ſun, ſome reckon the rainy ſeaſon to be their winter, when the ſun is neareſt them, but their cooleſt winds blow in December and January there as well as here.

CHAP. II.

Treats of their towns, fortifications, palaces, prince's court, guards and ſeraglio; and of the buildings, houſes and furniture of the private people.

Cities. THE city of Siam, the metropolis of the kingdom, ſometimes called Odiou, and by the natives

tives Siyothiya, is ſituate on the river Menan in about 14 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, and is three leagues in circumference, fortified with a wall and towers, and ſurrounded by ſeveral branches of the river Menan, which render it almoſt an iſland, except towards the eaſt, where there is a cauſey to paſs out of the town by land without croſſing the water: that which is properly the town does not take up above a ſixth part of the ground within the walls. On the reſt of it are built between two and three hundred temples or Pagodas, ſurrounded by as many convents of Talapoins: about their temples alſo are their burying places, with pyramids erected over them, which with their ſpires and the towers of the Pagodas make a very agreeable proſpect.

The ſtreets of the town are large and ſtrait, and ſome of them paved with brick, and canals cut through them, over which are ſeveral high ill built bridges, which has occaſioned the comparing this city to Venice. The houſes are moſt of them built of bambou, or over-grown cane, and ſtand upon pillars of the ſame thirteen foot above the ground, the lower part underneath the houſe being put to no manner of uſe: the houſes are not contiguous, nor do all the family, if it be large, lodge under one roof, but every man's ground is paled in with bambou; and within this incloſure are ſeveral little tenements erected on pillars, according to the quality of the perſon and the number of his dependents and ſlaves: their cattle alſo are kept in upper rooms, 'tis ſaid, to prevent their being carried away in the time of the inundation: There are ſome few houſes in the town built by foreigners with brick; and the King has erected others of the ſame ſort for the uſe of foreign Ambaſſadors.

Palace. The King's palace ſtands on the north ſide of the city, it is built with brick and ſurrounded by a triple incloſure, with large courts between each wall: the inward court, or the King's apartment, is called Vang, in which is included ſeveral gardens, groves, canals, &c. The whole palace with all its incloſures is called Praſſat: the Siameſe proſtrate themſelves whenever they go in and out of the Vang, and never paſs by the gates of the outward palace but at a great diſtance.

Neither the King's palaces or private houſes are built more than one ſtory high, yet there is often a great difference in the height of the front and of the inward rooms, both in the floors and the roofs: the firſt or outward room is ever the loweſt, and from this you aſcend to another by two or three ſteps, and then to a third, and ſo on in a direct line; the roofs riſing proportionably, which being of ſhining tiles in the King's palace, looks very magnificent. In the palaces of the great officers of ſtate, there is uſually three floors and roofs riſing one higher than another; and in the King's palace at Siam there are ſeven at leaſt; the entrance to the firſt room is by a very ſtrait pair of ſtairs, and a door proportionably narrow to the right or left of the building, there being no door in the middle of the front.

The French Ambaſſador acquaints us, that when he had an audience at the palace of Siam or Louvo, it was always in the firſt room, and that when he was entertained at the palace it was in an open room encompaſſed with a wall no higher than a man might lean over, and the roof was ſupported by pillars fixed on the wall; that it was ſhaded by trees, and had plenty of water about it. And that here, as well as at the palace of Louvo, were a great many of theſe rooms diſperſed about the gardens of the palace, where the Mandarins, and great officers, uſually attended.

And as the King delights much in hunting, he has ſeveral other palaces in the woods, built ſlightly of bambou, and painted red, where he lies in the hunting ſeaſon. But to return to the palace of Siam: The furniture of the private apartments, travellers do not pretend to give any account of; but the room of audience is wainſcotted and coloured with a red varniſh, there are alſo ſome pannels of looking glaſs, and the floor is covered with carpets; the baſons, diſhes, drinking veſſels and other utenſils are all of plate.

The gates of the palace are kept ſhut, and if any one deſires admittance, the officer who commands the guard is acquainted with it; and he ſuffers no perſon to enter armed, or who has drank arrack or ſpirits; and therefore he ſmells the breath of every man who comes in.

Guards. Between the two firſt walls ſtand a guard of unarmed ſoldiers, who ſerve the King alſo in the office of executioners; there are arms ready for them in the palace, but they are never truſted with them but on ſpecial occaſions, and are about ſix hundred in number.

Antiently the King of Siam had a guard of ſix hundred Japoneſe; but theſe being obſerved to be able to awe the whole kingdom, have been diſmiſſed.

The horſe guards are compoſed of natives of Laos, and of another country called Meen, who are divided into two bodies commanded by their reſpective generals: the King has alſo another guard of horſe compoſed of one hundred and thirty gentlemen; two troops whereof conſiſting of thirty each, are Moors or Mahometans, natives of the Mogul's dominions; another troop conſiſts of twenty Chineſe Tartars, armed with bows and arrows; and two other troops of Rasboots, natives of proper India, and Pagans by religion; conſiſting of twenty five each: theſe alſo are habited like the Moors, and famous for their courage; but LOUBIERRE aſcribes it all to the effect of opium. All the horſe guards attend the King when he goes abroad, but none

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none of them are ever ſuffered to enter the gates of the palace: the King finds every trooper his horſe and arms, and each Moor has about 54 livres a year, and a red ſtuff veſt; their captains 840 livres each, and the rasboots pay is the ſame: the Chineſe Tartars have 45 livres per annum each, and their captain 112 livres 10 ſols.

Elephants ... and ...

Within the firſt wall of the palace are the ſtables of the elephants, and the King's beſt horſes, who have every one of them a particular name given them by his Majeſty.

Every elephant has ſeveral men to ſerve him, and is treated with more or leſs honour, according to the name he bears; they never ſtir out without their ſeveral trappings and ornaments: theſe creatures are ſo very teachable and quick of apprehenſion, if I may uſe the expreſſion, that the people imagine every one of them to be animated by an illuſtrious ſoul that has formerly poſſeſſed ſome great man: and the white elephant, which they pretend is only found at Siam, they believe has the ſoul of ſome Prince lodged in him; for which reaſon the King never rides upon him. This elephant is not quite white, but a ſort of a fleſh colour, and ſome call him therefore the white and red elephant; nor have they much leſs reſpect for a white horſe than a white elephant, as appears by the King of Siam's concern for one of them that was ſick. He deſired Mr. VINCENT, an European phyſician, to aſſiſt the creature with his advice, it ſeems; and being conſcious that the phyſician would think it a little beneath him to preſcribe to a horſe, he told him that this was no ordinary horſe, for he was deſcended from a ſire and dam who were both white, as their anceſtors had been for four generations, without any mixture. Next to the white elephants they eſteem thoſe that are black, becauſe they are the ſcarceſt except white, and they often colour them when they are not naturally ſo black as they would have them. The white elephant (for there is ſeldom more than one) is ſerved in gold plate, and treated as ſovereign of the reſt.

... ele- ... white ...

Barges, &c.

The King's barges and gallies are kept in an arſenal on the other ſide of the river oppoſite to the palace.

Hall of audience.

The King uſually ſhews himſelf from a window which looks into the hall of audience, at the entrance of the inward palace, and is ſo much above the hall, that the French Ambaſſador was forced to have three ſteps to raiſe him high enough to deliver the King's letter: it was preſented to him in a golden cup, as every thing elſe is which he receives from the hands of his officers.

... ges.

In this hall, or antichamber, wait 44 young gentlemen or pages, divided into 4 companies under their reſpective officers, proſtrate themſelves one half on the left hand and the other on the right at the time of audience; by theſe it is that the King diſpatches his orders to his officers. Theſe pages alſo have their ſeveral employments within doors; ſome ſerve his Majeſty with betel, ſome take care of his arms, and others read to him, and take care of his books; for that Prince of whom the French Ambaſſador ſpeaks, we are told, was very ſtudious: he had ordered *Quintus Curtius* to be tranſlated into Siameſe, and ſeveral other hiſtories, and underſtood the conſtitution of ſeveral European governments: he was conſcious, 'tis ſaid, that no Prince had the art of government by inſpiration, but that it is obtained by reading and experience.

King ſtudious.

Underſtands the conſtitution of the European kingdoms.

Palace officers.

One officer this Prince has who does not proſtrate himſelf in his preſence, and he has always his eyes fixed on the Prince to receive his orders, which he underſtands by certain ſigns, and communicates by ſigns to the officers who wait without.

Bed-chamber women.

The officers of the King of Siam's bed-chamber are his women, none elſe have the privilege of being admitted there; they make his bed and dreſs him, except his cap, which he puts on himſelf, for none may touch his ſacred head, or put any thing over it: His women alſo dreſs his meat, and wait on him at table; the proviſion is carried in to the eunuchs, and they deliver it to the women, and we are told the very ſalt and ſpices they uſe are all put in by weight.

Queen.

Only one of the King's women has the honour of being called Queen, and ſhe is generally of the royal family: The French Ambaſſador tells us; when he was there in the year 1668, the Queen was the King's daughter, which he had by his own ſiſter; and that the reſt of the women reſpected her as their ſovereign, that ſhe had the command of the eunuchs, who are not above ten or twelve in number, black and white, as well as of the women, and puniſhed both as ſhe ſaw fit.

Seraglio.

They take the daughter of any ſubject for the ſervice of the Vang or Seraglio, and ſometimes take them only to extort a ſum of money from their parents to redeem them; for the King's miſtreſſes do not amount to above a dozen at moſt, and theſe he keeps in conformity to cuſtom, and more for ſtate than any thing elſe.

The Queen has her elephants and her barges to attend her when ſhe goes abroad, but her chair, or rather apartment, is encloſed with curtains, through which ſhe may ſee every thing but cannot be ſeen; and all people get out of the way, or proſtrate themſelves as ſhe paſſes by.

Queen trades as well as other women.

This Queen has her magazines, her ſhips and treaſure diſtinct from the King's, and carries on a trade upon her own bottom: and the French Ambaſſador tells us, that the King and Queen had ſome miſunderſtanding when he was in the country, becauſe he had reſerved almoſt all the foreign trade to himſelf, whereby her Majeſty found herſelf deprived

prived of the uſual profits which the cuſtom of the kingdom allowed the Queen.

Succeſſion of the crown.

It is not the Queen's ſon that always inherits, but uſually the King's eldeſt ſon by the firſt woman that brings him a child; and if his Majeſty does not look upon him to be qualified to ſucceed him, he has the power of appointing another: and in all the eaſtern kingdoms, 'tis obſerved, that tho' they generally affect to be governed by one of the roval family, they are indifferent whether it be the eldeſt or not, or whether it be the iſſue of a wife of the firſt or ſecond claſs, or a concubine, as the latter are uſually called.

Wardrobe.

Although the women only are concerned in dreſſing his Majeſty; there are gentlemen who are officers of his wardrobe, the moſt conſiderable of whom is the perſon who has the care of the King's cap. This was lately a Prince of the blood of Cambodia, from which family his late Majeſty derived his deſcent, not being able to pretend any relation to the antient Kings of Siam; the throne having been uſurped by his father.

Pedigree.

That liberty of commerce which was formerly indulged at Siam, invited great numbers of foreigners to ſettle amongſt them; every nation poſſeſſes a different quarter of the town, and has its Chief or Conſul of their own chooſing, whom the Siameſe ſtile Nai, and a Mandarin aſſigned by the King to tranſact affairs with him; but nothing of conſequence is determined without the Barcalon or Prime Miniſter.

Foreign nations which inhabit Siam.

Moors moſt encouraged.

The Moors or Mahometans of the Mogul's dominions had formerly the beſt eſtabliſhment here, one of the Barcalons happening to be a Moor: the principal offices and governments were in their hands, and the King cauſed ſeveral moſques, or Mahometan temples, to be erected at his own expence, and ſtill is at the charges of their great feſtival kept in memory of Haly: the Siameſe who embraced Mahometiſm were alſo exempted from the ſix months perſonal ſervice; but this Mooriſh Barcalon falling into diſgrace, the credit of his nation ſunk with him, and all Mahometans were turned out of employment, and compelled to pay for their exemption from the ſix months ſervice, but are ſtill allowed their moſques, and the exerciſe of their religion. There are now reckoned to be about four thouſand Moors at Siam, as many

Portugueſe.

Indian Portugueſe, or the mixed breed, which are very numerous on all the Indian coaſts, nor are there fewer Chineſe, and about as many of the

Malays.

Malays; and ſome there are of other nations, but the richeſt merchants are retired from Siam ſince the King has engroſſed the foreign commerce.

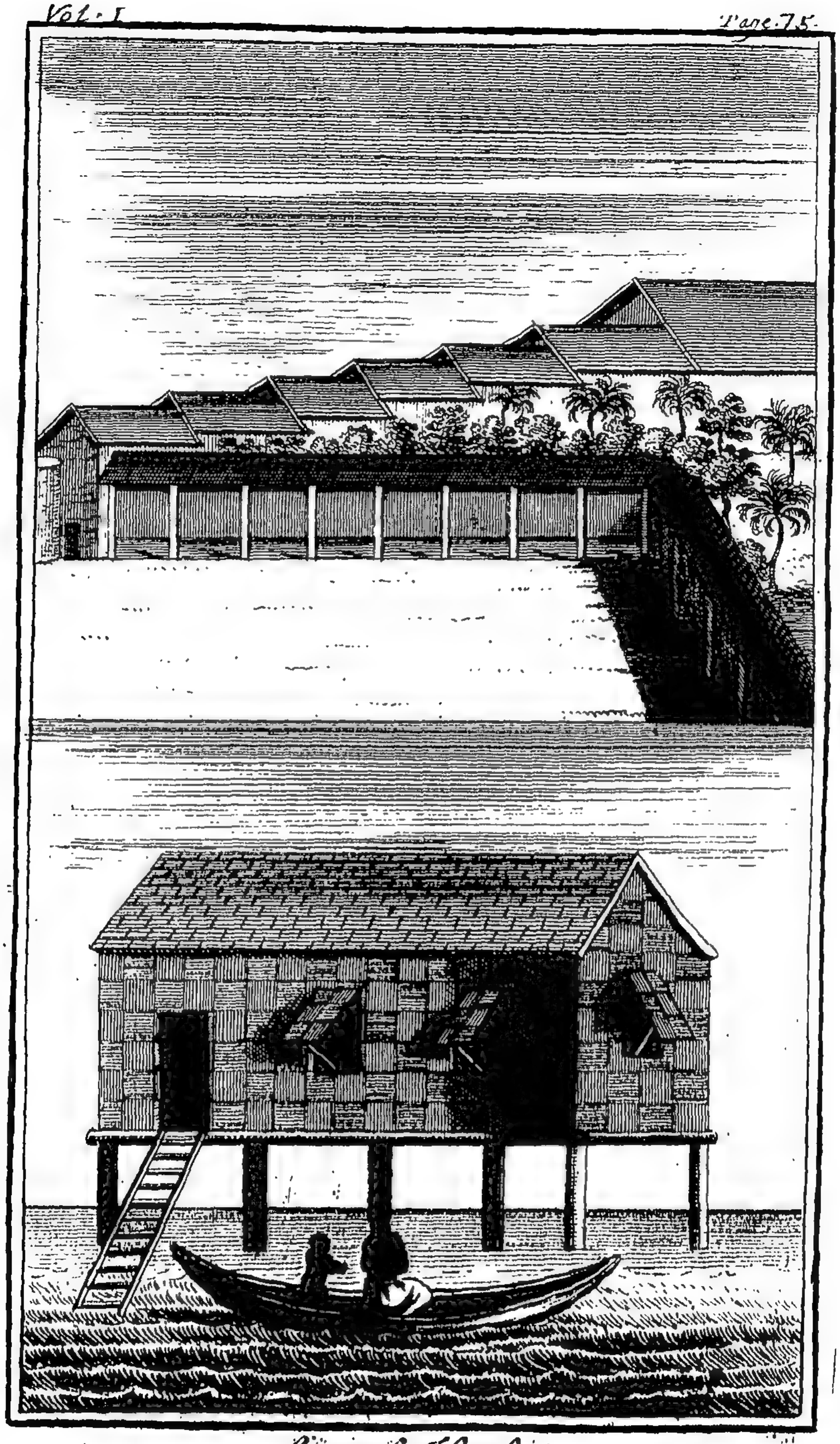
Having given an account of the city and palace of Siam, and of its inhabitants, I ſhall proceed to deſcribe the ſituation of the reſt of the conſiderable

Chief towns.

towns of this kingdom; and of theſe, 1. Menangfang lies the moſt northerly of any town in proper Siam, being ſituated in the 22d degree of north latitude, upon the river Menan. 2. Lacontai ſtands upon the ſame river, in about the 21ſt degree of north latitude. 3. Perſeloue is ſituated upon the ſame river, lat. 20. 4. Compengpet about the 18th degree. 5. Prabat about the 16th, and 6. Louvo about the Latitude of 15, 30 m. where the King uſually reſides in the hunting ſeaſon: theſe all, except Louvo, lie upon the ſame river, above the city of Siam. 7. Bancook, which lies about 50 miles below Siam, on the ſame river, and may be accounted the port town to Siam: here all ſhipping receive their permiſſion to trade, and their diſcharges when they leave the country. 8. Martaban, ſituated on the bay of Bengal, in about the 16th degree of north latitude. 9. Tenaſſarim, which lies on the ſame bay, at the mouth of the river Tenaſſarim, in about the latitude of 13 north. 10. Ligor, ſituate on the weſt ſide of the gulf of Siam, in the 8th degree of north latitude. 11. Cantebon or Liam is ſituated at the mouth of a river of the ſame name, in the 12th degree of north latitude, on the eaſt ſide of the gulf of Siam. 12. Patane, which lies on the eaſt ſide of the peninſula of Malacca, in 6 degrees 30 min. north latitude. 13. Queda, lies upon the weſtern ſide of Malacca, in about the 7th degree of north latitude. 14. The town of Malacca, which gives name to the peninſula, lies in the latitude of 2 degrees, 30 min. north. It was taken from the Portugueſe by the Dutch, October, 1640. When it was in the poſſeſſion of the crown of Portugal it was a place of great trade, and frequented more than any other town in India, except Goa, here being the rendezvous of their ſhipping from China, Japan, the Spice Iſlands, &c. They built the caſtle, and fortified the town with a wall, and it had five parochial churches, a college of Jeſuits, and was a Biſhop's ſee, but the Dutch have let all the churches run to ruin, except one; and the trade is removed to Batavia: it is now only inhabited by two or three hundred families of Dutch, Moors, Portugueſe, and Chineſe, with ſome Malays, who live in the ſuburbs, and has a garriſon of two or three hundred ſoldiers. This place is naturally very ſtrong, and by its ſituation, commands the ſtreights of Malacca: the Dutch, who are maſters of it, overawe all the little Princes on thoſe coaſts, and compel them to deal with them on their own terms; they look upon themſelves to be lords of that part of the world, and almoſt exclude all other Europeans from any ſhare of the trade, as will be obſerved in treating of the trade of this country. 15. Sincapora is ſituate in the firſt degree of north latitude, at the moſt ſoutherly cape of the continent of Aſia, and gives its name to the eaſtern part of the ſtreights of Malacca. 16. Johr, which lies to the eaſtward of Sincapora in about 1 degree, 30 m. This town, and the province it gives name

Malacca.

to,



Siamese House

CHAP. II.

to, have thrown off their allegiance to the King of Siam; but the Dutch are in a condition to give laws to them when they pleaſe, and it is only becauſe they don't think it worth their while that they have not a garriſon here. There are two other great towns mentioned by travellers, which lie to the north of Siam, viz. Cambori and Corozena, but their latitudes are not exactly aſcertained.

Thus I have given an account of the ſituation of moſt of the great towns on the coaſts of Siam, or which are capitals of the reſpective provinces, but as to the extent or boundaries of the ſeveral provinces, there is not any account yet taken which can entirely be relied on.

Fortifications. Their fortifications are but very mean, a ſlight wall and a ditch, and ſometimes only a paliſade of bambou is thought a ſufficient defence for ſome of their beſt towns, and ſuitable to their walls are their buildings.

Buildings. Their houſes, as has been obſerved in the deſcription of the city of Siam, are built upon pillars of bambou about thirteen feet above the ground; their floors are made of ſplit bambou and covered with mats. Their walls are of much the ſame ſlight ſtuff, and they have no glazed windows, but a ſhutter to lift up; the roofs are ſloped like a barn, and covered with palmeto leaves; they have a ladder inſtead of ſtairs to get up to their houſes; and in the time of the inundation, every man has a boat tied to his door, the whole nation being very expert in rowing: there are no chimnies in their houſes; the only occaſion they have for fires is to dreſs their meat, and for this, a basket of earth ſerves them inſtead of a hearth, and they generally do it abroad.

Furniture. As to their furniture, ſome of them have bedſteads or couches covered with a mat, broad enough only for one perſon to lie on, for they all lie ſingle, except the poorer ſort, who have no bedſteads, but pig together on the floor; they have no curtains round the bed, but one drawn before it, that they may not be ſeen ſleeping; they have no feather beds, but a mattreſs ſtuffed with cotton, and one ſheet upon it to lie on, with a quilt or coverlet over them, and a pillow.

As they ſit upon the ground they uſe little lacquered tables without feet, and a border round them, and every man at meals has one to himſelf; they have alſo cabinets and cheſts of drawers, and China ware, with copper and earthen veſſels; and this is the principal furniture of their houſes, unleſs we reckon their tools, for there being no particular trades, every family have their ſets of workmen's tools; but there being no ſuch things as iron nails, all their beams, rafters, boards and wooden work, is faſtened together with wooden pins: there are ſeveral brick buildings, particularly their temples, palaces, pyramids, &c. Their bricks are ſaid to be tolerably good, and their cement better than ours; a wall that is plaiſtered with it, looks like poliſhed marble; but none of their buildings will ſtand long, having no foundations; even the walls of their towns are built without any.

CHAP. II.

CHAP. III.

Contains an account of the genius, temper, ſtature, complexion, ſhape and habits of the Siameſe; with their ceremonies, viſits, entertainments, diet, diverſions and feſtivals.

CHAP. III.

Genius. THERE is an obſervation which monſieur LOUBIERE makes, in ſpeaking of the genius and temper of theſe people, which I will not anſwer for the juſtneſs of; and no doubt, he hoped to derive ſome honour to his own nation when he made it. (France being ſituate in a temperate clime, between the extremities of heat and cold) he ſays, in countries very hot or very cold, we may obſerve in the people a ſluggiſhneſs both of mind and body; and that in cold countries this degenerates into ſtupidity: in hot countries, he allows there is ſpirit and imagination enough, but it ſoon flags with the leaſt application. To which it may be anſwered, that China, which lies part of it within the tropicks, and may very well therefore be denominated a hot country, is an exception to this rule; there being no people more active, or who uſe greater application in whatever they undertake. To proceed,

Quick wit. The Siameſe, he acknowledges have a ready and clear conception, and their repartees are quick and ſmart; they imitate any thing at ſight, and in one day become tollerable workmen; but ſtill, through their invincible lazineſs, he ſays, they never riſe to great perfection in any art or ſcience, not even in chymiſtry or aſtronomy, which they ſeem to delight in moſt.

Vertuous. The Siameſe are neither laſcivious or intemperate; theſe vices are in abhorrence amongſt them, nor will wanton diſcourſe paſs for wit, or be taken for ſublimity of genius; and the better ſort of people are ſo far from drunkenneſs, that the drinking arrack or brandy is counted infamous among them, and adultery is hardly heard of at Siam, which LOUBIERE imputes to the women's being conſtantly buſied in making a proviſion for their families: wantonneſs he looks upon to be in a great meaſure the effect of idleneſs.

Averſe to blood. They have, it ſeems, an averſion to blood, but if their revenge happens to extend ſo far, they do not care to hazard their own perſons by a ſet duel, but proceed by poiſon or aſſaſſination; moſt of their quarrels end in ill language; and ſometimes, but very ſeldom, they come to blows.

No duels.

Polite. According to LOUBIERE, they are polite and courteous; but timorous, careleſs and indolent; they will ſmother their reſentment a great while,

CHAP. III.

but when they are thoroughly provoked, act with as little diſcretion as an European: they are wedded to the cuſtoms of their anceſtors, have but little curioſity or inclinations to alter their faſhions, and do not admire the curioſities of foreign countries as we do: they are haughty towards thoſe who ſubmit to them, and ſubmiſſive to thoſe who treat them imperiouſly; when they would profeſs the ſincereſt friendſhip, they do it by drinking of the ſame cup.

Not curious.

Calm.

The ingenious LOUBIERE, in another place obſerves, that their moderation is greater than ours; that their minds are as calm as their heaven, which changes but twice a year, and that inſenſibly from rain to fair weather, and from fair to rainy weather again; that, in ſhort, they have the good fortune to be born philoſophers, and have naturally the command of their paſſions, which we find a difficulty to conquer with all our religion and philoſophy: and though we may impute to them want of curioſity or inſenſibility, they perhaps laugh at the diſquiet we give our ſelves, in making diſcoveries which tend ſo little to any real advantage.

They are great lovers of their wives and children, and as well beloved by them; their children are ſaid to be of a ſweet temper, and ſo very engaging, that the King himſelf makes it a great part of his diverſion to play with them till they are ſeven years old; but when they begin to grow cunning, and have loſt their childiſh innocence, he diſmiſſes them for others.

Reaſons of the puſillanimity of the Siameſe.

The want of courage in the Siameſe, the ingenious LOUBIERE aſſigns ſeveral reaſons for; firſt, the imagination he thinks in hot countries is very quick, and conſequently the people are more apprehenſive of danger than in colder climates, where the imagination is ſlower: a ſecond cauſe, he thinks to be their low diet, which conſiſts chiefly of rice and herbs; and 3dly, their doctrine of tranſmigration inſpires them with an abhorrence of blood. Laſtly, he ſays, they live under a tyrannical government, and their ſpirits are broken by the continual oppreſſions of their Princes; and, no doubt, there is a great deal in every one of theſe; but there may be another reaſon aſſigned, which poſſibly contributes as much to make them cowards as all the former; which is, their bordering upon nations ſo much like themſelves; for the greateſt coward that ever the world bred, if he was trained up in war, and enured to dangers for a few years, would become a brave fellow: but then let the natural or acquired courage of any people be never ſo great, if order and diſcipline be wanting, it is in vain to contend with regular veterans. A body which moves as one man, and does not break its own order upon any appearance of danger, or proſpect of ſucceſs, will perform wonders, and make no difficulty to drive ten times their number out of the field, even of the ſame nation of which this very body is compoſed; and under no other diſadvantages, but that of not being bred up in the trade of war: time and conſtant application are as requiſite to make a ſoldier as a mechanick or a ſcholar, and courage, or a contempt of danger, may be acquired and improved as well as any other virtue: on the contrary, it may be loſt again by converſing intimately with timorous and effeminate nations; it is not the being born, but the being educated and converſing in the Indies, where they ſeldom meet with any conſiderable oppoſition, that has rendred both the Portugueſe and Dutch as cowardly as the natives.

Reflections of courage and diſcipline.

But to return to LOUBIERE, he ſeems poſitive that every man born in India, whether of Aſiatick or European parents, muſt be deſtitute of all courage: he obſerves, that the Portugueſe being degenerated, were diſpoſſeſſed of their ſtrong places in India by a company of Dutch merchants; and that the Dutch are now as much degenerated, and may as eaſily be diſpoſſeſſed by others. But as to there being no ſuch thing as courage among the Indians, I muſt take leave to diſagree with LOUBIERE (for no argument, like matter of fact.) We have ſeen ſeveral of the natives of India, both friends and enemies, ſober and not intoxicated with wine or opium, behave themſelves with the greateſt courage in the face of the enemy, and upon other occaſions: he himſelf tells us alſo, of thoſe who were void of fear, even when they were upon the point of being torn in pieces by wild beaſts, and ſpeaks of it as of an ordinary thing in that part of the world: he obſerves alſo, that a Siameſe, a Chineſe or Indian will ſacrifice their lives to gratify their revenge, to avoid a miſerable life or a cruel death; and were ſuch people bred to arms and diſcipline, we ſhould not find a vaſt difference between Europeans and Aſiaticks: it may be obſerved alſo, that the Grecians and Carthaginians did not poſſeſs the coldeſt climates, and yet we find them ſeverally contending for the empire of the world. But to come nearer our own times, we may remember alſo with what contempt we once uſed to talk of Iriſh courage; and yet there were not better troops in the world than the Iriſh, when they had ſpent ſome time in the ſervice abroad; and of the various nations the late confederacy was compoſed of, perhaps it might be difficult to ſay which of them excelled in valour: I queſtion whether there was any other difference, after they were thoroughly diſciplined, than in the ſtrength and ſize of men and horſes. We may lay it down as a maxim, that that body whoſe ſtrength is greateſt generally carries its point, and that the crying up the courage of one nation before another at this day, is ridiculous: but farther to illuſtrate this matter, and ſhew that courage or an inſenſi-

The heat of the climate makes the inhabitants cowards.

Inſtances in the country.

They want diſcipline more than natural courage.



Habits of the Siamese

CHAP. III.

Mens courage suitable to their education and employments.

bility of danger (which is much the same thing in an army) may be obtained by time and use; we see men of the same town and village, whose courage is always suitable to the several professions they are of; one that is bred to the water, fears hardly any dangers on the water; he that is used to climbing will walk over a plank of a hundred foot from the ground, which shall make a man of the greatest natural courage, who is not used to such exploits, tremble: and he that has been used to have the bullets whiz about his ears for several campaigns, stands intrepid as if there was no danger in them, or, as if death was not to be dreaded. This, it must be acknowledged, proceeds more from insensibility or want of apprehension of the danger, than from any justness of reasoning, even in the wisest; but where one man has got above the fear of death by philosophising, ten thousand have done it by enuring themselves to dangers, without ever making a single reflection on the nature of courage, or the reason of exposing their lives. This digression may be something of the longest, but I hope the reader will not think it altogether foreign, when we had so fair an occasion to treat of courage in general, and that of the Indians in particular. To return,

Stature.

The Siamese are of a small stature but well proportioned, which LOUBIERE imputes to their not being swaddled and bound up in their infancy like our children; and he apprehends no other inconveniency from the women's going without stays, but their breasts hanging down to their girdles as the women of Siam do.

Complexions, features.

Their complexions are swarthy enough, and the faces both of men and women are of the broadest, with high cheek-bones, and their foreheads suddenly contract and terminate in a point as well as their chins: they have dark small eyes, not very brisk, their jaws hollow, large mouths and thick pale lips,

Teeth.

and their teeth died black; their noses are short and round at the end, and their ears large, which they account a beauty; long nails growing an inch or two beyond their fingers ends is looked upon

Hair.

also as an ornament. They have thick lank hair which both men and women cut so short that it reaches no lower than their ears, and the women make it stand up on their foreheads: the men shave their beards, and do not leave so much as whiskers.

Bathing.

They bath themselves two or three times a day, or oftner, and never make a visit before they have bathed; sometimes they go into the water as we do, but at others they have water poured on their heads, which they will continue an hour together; they afterwards perfume their bodies, and use a sweet pomatum which makes their lips look paler than they naturally are.

Habits of the men.

The habit of a man of quality is a piece of calicoe tied about his loins, which reaches down to his knees; this is called the pagne. He has also a muslin shirt without a collar, with a wide sleeve and no wrist-bands, and the bosom open. In winter they wear a breadth of stuff or painted linen over their shoulders like a mantle, and wind it about their arms. The King of Siam wears a vest of brocaded sattin with strait sleeves, which reach down to the wrist, under such a shirt as is described above, and it is not lawful for any subject to wear this vest, unless the King presents him with it. Slippers are worn with picqued toes turned up; but stockings they are strangers to. To the Generals the King sometimes presents a military vest, which is buttoned before and reaches to the knees, the sleeves whereof are wide and come no lower than the elbows: and either in war or hunting the Prince and all his retinue are clothed in red. The King wears a cap in the form of a sugar-loaf, ending in a point, with a circle or coronet of precious stones about it; and those of his officers have circles of gold, silver or vermilion gilt, to distinguish their quality, which are fastened with a stay under the chin. These caps are only worn in the King's presence, or when they preside in courts of justice, and on other extraordinary occasions; but their slippers are always left off when they enter a person's house for whom they have any respect. They have hats also for travelling; but very few people will be at the trouble of covering their heads tho' the sun shines with that scorching heat.

Womens habits.

The women also wrap a cloth or pagne about their middles, which hangs down to the calf of their legs; the men bring up the end of this cloth strait between their legs and truck it into their girdles, which makes it something resemble a pair of breeches.

The women have also another cloth with which they cover their breasts, and throw the ends over their shoulders; the rest of their bodies they leave naked, having no shift on as the men have, nor any covering for their heads but their hair.

The common people go almost naked, and wear neither shoes nor slippers.

Bathing.

The women bathe in the rivers, and swim as the men do, but never without their pagne about them, and are much commended by LOUBIERE for their modesty; and smutty songs, he says, are prohibited by law.

Habit.

Such pagnes as are made of fine linen and make a great show, and those that are made of embroidered silk, are only worn by those the Prince presents them to. The women wear as many rings on the three last fingers of each hand as they can keep on, and bracelets or rings of gold, &c. upon their wrists and ancles, with pendants in their ears fashioned like a pear.

Politeness of the Siamese.

Those who have the education of the youth teach them to express all the modesty and submission imaginable towards their superiors, and particularly instruct them not to be too noisy or talkative; for in

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in the King's court there is always obſerved a profound ſilence, and no leſs in the houſes of great men. The Siameſe are alſo ſo cautious of ſaying any thing that is ſhocking, that they will not willingly relate a known truth which they apprehend may diſguſt any of the company. They ſeem deſirous rather to learn and be inſtructed by their ſuperiors, than rudely to offer their opinion without being in a manner compelled to give it. It is reckoned very ill manners to pretend to be wiſer than the company, ſo far are they from inſulting any for their ignorance. They ſeldom ſpeak in the firſt perſon here, any more than in China; the words I and you ſeem to be baniſhed converſation; and when they ſpeak to women, or their ſuperiors, they always uſe ſome reſpectful epithet, particularly in their addreſſes to the ſofter ſex: they do not only ſtile her lady, or princeſs, but add young to it, of what age ſoever ſhe be; it not being imaginable that any of the ſex can with patience think themſelves old, or which is the ſame thing, ſubject to thoſe infirmities which render them diſagreeable to the other. The King's daughter is called Young Heaven, thoſe of leſs quality Young Jewel, Young Flower, &c. a lady ſhould never hear ſhe is paſſed her bloom.

Rules of civility.

It is reckoned inſolent to ſtand before a perſon of quality, or before their maſters, and therefore ſlaves, &c. ſit upon their heels, with their heads a little inclined, and their hands joined and lifted up to their foreheads; and in paſſing by a ſuperior they bend their bodies, joining their hands, and lifting them towards their heads, in proportion to the reſpect they would pay. When an inferior makes a viſit, he comes ſtooping into the room, then proſtrates himſelf, and remains afterwards upon his knees, ſitting upon his heels without ſpeaking a word, until the perſon he viſits ſpeaks to him; for it is a rule, that the perſon of the higheſt quality ever ſpeaks firſt. If a man of quality viſits his inferior he walks upright, and the maſter of the houſe receives him at the door of the houſe, and waits on him ſo far when he goes away, but never farther.

Entertainments.

The ſtranger is always offered betel and arrack when he comes in by the maſter himſelf, and it is preſented and taken with both hands: they treat alſo with tea, and ſometimes rice and fiſh is brought out.

The higheſt place.

The higheſt part of the houſe is always the moſt honourable, and no perſon cares to lodge under another's feet. Indeed the Siameſe have but one ſtory, but, as has been obſerved, the rooms of the palace riſe gradually, and the innermoſt, which are the higheſt, are ever the moſt honourable; and though their houſes are built on pillars, they will never make uſe of that part which is underneath. When an Ambaſſador came from the King of Siam to the French court, LOUBIERE tells us ſome of his retinue being lodged in a floor over the Ambaſſador's head, they were in the greateſt conſternation, when they underſtood they were in a room above the King their maſter's litter, and run down, tearing their hair like madmen, for being guilty of ſo unpardonable a crime.

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Place and poſtures to be obſerved at viſits.

The right hand is reckoned the moſt honourable in Siam, as well as in Europe, and that part of the room which is oppoſite to the door is eſteemed the firſt place, and always offered to the ſtranger. When a perſon comes unexpectedly into company, it often occaſions a general remove, for every one muſt ſit in the place appropriated to his quality; and the poſture alſo is different according to the reſpect they are to pay. In ſome caſes they may ſit ſtrait, in others their bodies muſt bend a little; ſometimes they may advance one foot, at others both, and ſit croſs-legged; but if the perſon is much inferior to his company, he muſt remain upon his knees, reſting himſelf on his heels: before the King they fall upon their knees, bowing their faces to the ground, and lie in that poſture reſting upon their elbows, and a man would be cudgelled in any company who ſhould not obſerve the poſture preſcribed him. They never allow of thoſe familiarities gentlemen do in Europe. Affability to inferiors, and eaſineſs of acceſs, is looked upon as a ſign of weakneſs in that part of the world; and yet ſome things which would be looked upon as the height of ill-breeding here, are taken no notice of; ſuch as belching in company; no man endeavours to prevent it, or ſo much as hold his hand before his mouth on ſuch an occaſion. But I preſume we are not to underſtand this of thoſe who are in the King's preſence; for there we are told it would be unpardonable to ſpit, or cough, or chew betel. In other places they have their ſpitting-pots, becauſe they would not ſoil the carpets or matts they ſit on; but as they uſe no handkerchiefs, they do not ſcruple to wipe the ſweat off their faces with their fingers before their betters.

Great reſpect for their heads.

They have more than ordinary reſpect for their heads, and it is a mortal affront to touch or ſtroke them: nay, even their cap muſt not be uſed too familiarly; but when a ſervant carries it, it is put on a ſtick above his head, and hung upon the ſtick, when the maſter ſtands ſtill, having a foot for that purpoſe; for as has been obſerved, the cap is a badge of authority, and not worn but on ſolemn occaſions.

Cap a badge of authority.

They ſhew their reſpect alſo, by lifting their hands to their head; and therefore when they receive a commiſſion, or but a letter from one they have reſpect for, they firſt hold it up to their heads, and ſometimes lay it upon their heads, as Mr. LOUBIERE tells us, he did the King of Siam's letter ſent to the French King, when he received it, in conformity to their cuſtoms; and that Ambaſſador obſerves, that the French King having admitted the Siameſe Ambaſſador to his audience ſtanding, the French were

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permitted alſo to ſtand at their audience in Siam, and were not obliged to ſit upon their heels, after the cuſtom of that country.

Salutation

When they ſalute en paſſant, it is with both hands joined tegether lifted towards their head, or the right hand at leaſt. Whenever they anſwer any thing the King ſays to them, it is introduced with the uſual preface, viz. High and mighty Lord of me thy ſlave, ſuffer me to take thy royal word, and fix it in my mind, and preſerve it on the crown of my head. An infinite number of other ceremonies and rules of behaviour are preſcribed them, but this is ſufficient to give the reader a tolerable notion of that people.

Diverſions

Amongſt their diverſions, hunting the elephant is one: the male is taken by leading a female elephant into the wood, who with her noiſe entices him to a narrow ſtrait between two high banks of earth, fortified with the bodies of trees, and the place gradually grows leſs and leſs, until the wild elephant is ſo wedged in that he cannot turn himſelf; then the huntſmen contrive to hamper his legs with great ropes, and bring two or three tame elephants who compel him to march between them, and by fair or foul means, in a few days, he is content to ſubmit to diſcipline.

There is another way of ſurrounding the elephants with fire, to drive them into the ſnare; but this will be deſcribed in the hiſtory of Ceylon.

Mock-fights.

They have mock-fights with elephants; but they are kept at too great a diſtance to hurt one another; and they neither expoſe the lives of men or beaſts at Siam by way of ſport.

Cock-fighting

They were great lovers of cock-fighting; but the prieſts have procured an order to prohibit it, looking on killing of a cock as little leſs than murder, and threatened the promoters of this ſport, that they ſhould be baſtinadoed with bars of iron in the other world.

Comedies, &c.

They have alſo the diverſion of comedies, rope-dancing, and tumbling; and their tumblers LOUBIERE thinks to be ſome of the beſt in the world.

Feſtivals.

A feſtival is celebrated annually; when the waters begin to retire, they go out in their barges in the evening, and the whole river is covered with floating lanterns made of painted paper; and they return thanks for ſeveral nights together, for that fertility which the waters bring with them. They alſo make another magnificent illumination to expreſs their gratitude to heaven for the fruits of the earth after harveſt, and not only their barges, but their houſes and ſtreets, are all illuminated, and ſeveral curious fire-works are made on theſe occaſions.

The Siameſe alſo, as well as ſome other eaſtern people, are fond of that boyiſh diverſion of flying the paper-kite. The King of Siam, LOUBIERE tells us, comes abroad every night, during the two winter months, to ſee the flying of this kite with a lantern tied to it, and his Mandarins take it by turns to hold the ſtring.

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Diverſions of the cone, laycone, and rabam.

There are three other kinds of diverſions which LOUBIERE mentions, namely, the cone, the laycone, and the rabam. The cone is a figure-dance, at which they uſe a violin, and ſome other muſical inſtruments; thoſe who dance are armed and masked, and ſeem to be acting a fight rather than a dance, and their masks repreſent the figures of monſtrous beaſts or devils. In the laycone the actors reciprocally ſing verſes containing the hiſtories of their country, and all the actors are men. The rabam is a double dance of men and women, not martial but gallant, and they have all of them long falſe nails made of copper; they ſing in the dance, which is only a ſimple ſlow march without any high motion, but with a great many contortions of the body and arms. Thoſe who dance in the rabam and cone have high gilded paper caps in the form of a ſugar loaf, and thoſe perſons who act in the cone and rabam always perform at funerals; thoſe who act at the laycone perform their parts at the dedication of their temples, when a new ſtatue of their Sommona Codom is ſet up: at this feſtival alſo there is the diverſion of wreſtling, and mock-fights, and races with oxen that run round a ring; ſometimes only one ox runs againſt another, each of them being led by a man who runs on foot; but moſt commonly they run a yoke of oxen faſtened to a plow, which run againſt another yoke, and a perſon holds each plow ſo that it does not touch the ground. They do not ſtand together, but oppoſite to each other, and looking different ways, being half the compaſs of the circle aſunder, and that yoke of oxen which gains ground of the other after a certain number of rounds, wins the plate.

Races of oxen.

Rowing wagers.

One of the moſt common diverſions among them is the rowing for wagers upon the rivers in their barges, being very expert at the oar from their youth.

Gaming.

They love gaming alſo to ſuch a degree, that they will play away their own liberty and their children's; one of their chiefeſt plays is cheſs, which is not very different from ours, but they do not play either at cards or hazard.

New and full moons. Holidays.

The new and full moon are holy days, or rather days of faſting; for neither prieſts or people eat any thing in the afternoon of thoſe days: the people alſo then abſtain from fiſhing, not that they are obliged to ceaſe from their labours on theſe days; but it ſeems fiſhing is not deemed an employment altogether innocent. The people alſo at theſe times preſent their alms, or rather offerings, to the prieſts in their convents, conſiſting of money, linen, cloths and cattle, if they be dead cattle the Talapoins eat them. Beſides theſe holidays of the new and full moon, there is a feaſt obſerved, which LOUBIERE takes to be the feaſt of the dedication of their reſpective temples, but is not poſi-

tive

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tive in it: on all holidays the people aſſiſt in their beſt cloaths, and as a great act of charity to releaſe ſome wild animals, which they buy of thoſe that take them. Their offerings are preſented by the prieſt to their idol, who either holds it in both his hands before the ſhrine, or lays it upon the altar, and ſome time after it is converted to the prieſt's uſe: lighted tapers are ſometimes offered, but never any bloody ſacrifice, the killing of animals being prohibited them.

Releaſing animals deemed an act of great charity

Diet.

The principal food of the Siamiſe is rice, and fiſh; the ſea affords them good ſmall oyſters, turtles or tortoiſe, and lobſters, and ſeveral other excellent kinds of fiſh, unknown in Europe: they have alſo great plenty of river fiſh, eſpecially eels, but they make no great account of them. Balachaun, which is made of ſmall fiſh, corrupted and reduced to a maſh, has been already deſcribed in Tonquin, and is in much eſteem amongſt them.

They chooſe to eat dried ſalt-fiſh, tho' it ſtinks, rather than freſh; nor will they refuſe rats, mice, locuſts, lizards, or almoſt any inſects, any more than the Chineſe.

Proviſions cheap.

A pound of rice will ſerve a Siameſe a whole day, which may be bought for a farthing, and with as much ſalt-fiſh as he can purchaſe for a farthing more he is very well ſatisfied, and a pint of arrack or ſpirits is not worth above two pence; ſo that the meaner ſort of people having but little care to take for a ſubſiſtence, nothing but ſinging is heard in their houſes of an evening.

Arrack.

Their ſauces are made only of water, with a little ſpice, garlick and ſweet herbs, or cupi made of decayed ſhell-fiſh, the ſame with the nukemum of Tonquin.

They have neither olives or eating oil but what is made of coco nuts, and that is hardly eatable by ſtrangers when it has been kept any time; however the natives uſe it on all occaſions: it is fitter for lamps than any thing; and LOUBIERE very well obſerves, that when travellers repreſent things as good and excellent, great regard muſt be had to the judgment or taſte of the perſon who makes the relation, or we ſhall be in danger of entertaining very wrong notions in many inſtances; he juſtly obſerves alſo, that there is nothing, how nauſeous ſoever, but cuſtom will render it tolerable, if not pleaſant; and thoſe things which we were once fond of, by uſing ourſelves to a different regimen, become nauſeous.

Milk.

Diet.

They milk the female buffalo, and this milk, it is ſaid, affords more cream than cow's milk; but they make no ſort of cheeſe, and very little butter: they ſeldom eat fleſh, but when they do they chooſe the guts and inteſtines, and what is moſt nauſeous to us; and inſects are their only roaſt-meat.

Their land fowls, and all their butcher's meat, is tough and dry; and the Europeans themſelves who inhabit Siam, in time, leave off eating them.

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Poultry.

There are no good grapes at Siam, thoſe that are planted in the King's garden at Louvo, produce a poor ſmall grape of a bitteriſh taſte.

Grapes.

Liquor.

River water is their ordinary drink, there being few ſprings in the flat country, which is moſt inhabited, and they love to drink it perfumed; it is not wholeſome until it has ſtood to ſettle ſome days, according to the heighth of the inundation: when the waters retire, their ſtreams are filled with mud, and the water cannot be drunk without ſtanding in jarrs three weeks or a month; it occaſions dyſenteries and other diſeaſes in thoſe that drink it freſh taken up: the water the King of Siam drinks is taken out of a great ciſtern which ſtands in the fields, and is continually guarded by ſoldiers: there is alſo a great pond or baſon of about three leagues in circumference, near the Louvo, which they call the rich ſea, where the rain water is preſerved; of which alſo the King drinks ſometimes; it being deep and ſettled, the waters are accounted very wholeſome.

Tea.

The people of the city of Siam drink tea at their entertainments, and uſe it alſo as a remedy againſt the head-ach: after five or ſix cups they will go to bed and ſweat off an ordinary indiſpoſition; and ſudorificks, it ſeems, are their general remedies.

They drink their tea with little bits of ſugar candy in their mouths, but put no ſugar into the diſhes.

Cold tea.

Tea may be made with cold water, LOUBIERE obſerves, and adviſes ciſtern water as the beſt to make it with, whether boiled or cold.

The Siameſe will drink wine or ſtrong drink freely when they can come at it, notwithſtanding their religion forbids it; but their country affords no ſtrong liquors except arrack, which they diſtil from rice, and toddy, which is drawn from the coco-tree.

The Moors at Siam drink coffee, the Portugueſe chocolate, and the Engliſh arrack punch, as Mr. LOUBIERE obſerves, here and all over the eaſt, which our countrymen underſtand the making of ſo well, that they will excuſe the omitting LOUBIERE's receipt for it.

The Siameſe admire fruit of all things, and eat it all day long; but they have none of the fruits known in Europe, unleſs oranges, lemons, citrons and pomegranates; they have alſo bonanos or Indian figs: theſe and the oranges of one kind or other continue all the year, but the other fruits have their ſeaſons.

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Treats of their trade, manufactures and mechanick arts, coins, weights and measures; and of their shipping and navigation.

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King engrosses the trade.

THE King engrosses most part of the trade of the kingdom to himself, and even descends to sell goods by retail in shops by his factors.

He sells to his subjects all their cotton cloths, which is the common wear of that people; he claims all the oar in the mines, which he sells to foreigners: his subjects are obliged to sell him all their ivory and arrack, which he disposes of to foreigners; saltpeter, lead and sapan wood also belongs to the King, and gunpowder, sulphur and arms can only be had at the King's magazines.

He sometimes also agrees with the Dutch to sell them all the skins and furrs the country affords at a certain price; and thereupon his subjects are obliged to sell them to him first: but brown sugar, sugar candy and amber-grease merchants may deal with his subjects for, without restraint.

Trade lost.

Formerly, not less than a thousand vessels annually traded to Siam, there are now hardly any but a few small Dutch barks; none care to deal with the King, who will make his own terms; and as the natural product or manufactures of the kingdom are not very considerable, and foreigners have not the liberty of trading with one another, or with the natives till the King has had the preference of all the best merchandize, it is not very advantageous trading thither; and had the natives of Siam a full liberty of trade yet are they so oppressed by the services and impositions that are exacted of them, that they have hardly money enough in many provinces to furnish themselves with necessaries, much less to lay out in trade: nor does the money that is raised by taxes circulate, but great part of it is hoarded up by the Prince and his Grandees; and if inferior people have any, they are forced to bury it to conceal it.

Money buried and hoarded up.

Mechanick arts.

Here are no particular handicraft trades, but every man understands something of all; for the King employs half his subjects for six months in the year in any business indifferently, and if any person should be perfectly ignorant in what he is set about, he would suffer the bastinado. On the other hand, none endeavour to excel, for fear of being retained in the King's service all their life time. Another thing, which is a discouragement to their industry, is the tyranny of the government, which will suffer no man to enjoy a fortune, if he should acquire one, but seizes on his effects, whenever he is thought to be rich. They are indifferent carpenters; but as they have no nails, fasten on their work well enough with pins. They know how to burn brick, and make the hardest cements, and are not unskilful in masonry. They know how to cast metals, and cover their idols, which are monstrous masses of brick and lime, with plates of gold, silver, and copper. They cover also the hilts of swords and daggers, and several of the King's moveables, with these plates; but they neither know how to polish or set precious stones. CHAP. IV.

They know how to beat gold, and can gild a vessel tolerably well. They make use only of cast iron, being very bad forgemen. Their horses are never shod; and they have but poor saddles and accoutrements, not having the art of tanning leather, yet they make a little ordinary cotton cloth, and paint it very coarsely. They make no kind of stuffs, either of wool, silk, or tapestry; but they embroider well enough. They have not the art of painting in oil, and delight much in monstrous figures. They affect an extravagance in painting, it is said, as we do in poetry, and represent animals that never were; and give men impossible proportions after the manner of the Chinese.

European artists encouraged.

All European artists and handicrafts are very acceptable to the Indian Princes; but though they give them great encouragement while they stay, an European is seldom permitted to bring much out of the service.

The usual employment of the common people is fishing, and those who have any stocks follow merchandize; but the King reserving almost all the advantages of foreign trade to himself, it is difficult for a subject to raise a fortune. It is observable also, that that simplicity of manners, and neglect of superfluities, so remarkable in the Siamese, restrains them from following several mechanick arts and employments, in which the Europeans busy themselves.

Honesty of the Siamese.

As to the retail traders in shops and markets, such is the honesty of the Siamese, LOUBIERE informs us, that the seller hardly counts the money he receives, or the buyer the goods he purchases by tale; and when they observe the Europeans buying every little thing with great caution, they laugh at their abundant care.

Markets.

Their markets begin at five in the evening, and last till eight or nine at night.

No measure for cloth.

They use no ell, but buy muslin and linen by the piece.

Those are very poor who buy it by the ken or cubit, for which they have no other measure but their own.

Fathom.

They have however a fathom which they use in building, and in the measuring their roads and canals, which is the length of a French toise within an inch; and the roads are marked with a stone at every mile's end.

Measure for grain and liquors.

They use the coco-nut-shell, as a measure for grain and liquors; but as these shells are very unequal, they measure the capacity by the number of coris, or shells they hold, which we call black-

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moor's teeth, and ſerve for ſmall money at Siam. Some cocoes hold a thouſand coris, ſome five hundred, and ſo more or leſs. They have alſo a kind of wicker meaſure, called a ſat, with which they meaſure corn, and a pitcher for liquids; but as there is no ſtandard for theſe, the buyer ſometimes meaſures the capacity of them by his coco-ſhell. Nor are their weights more certain than their meaſures; pieces of money are their uſual weights, and they are often falſe or light.

Weights.

Coins.

They have but one ſort of ſilver coin, called a tycall; they are all of the ſame faſhion, and have the ſame ſtamps; but ſome are leſs than others: they are of the figure of a cylinder, or roll bent both ends together, and have a ſtamp on each ſide, with odd characters, the meaning of which our travellers can give us no account of; thoſe on one ſide are included within a ring, and thoſe on the reverſe within a figure of the ſhape of a heart.

Tycall.

The tycall ſhould weigh half a French crown, and is worth three ſhillings and three halfpence. They have no gold or copper money: gold is reckoned among their merchantable commodities, and is twelve times the value of ſilver.

Coris.

The ſhells called coris ſerve to buy little matters; they are found chiefly at the Maldive iſlands, to the ſouth of India, and are current in all the countries thereabouts; they differ in their price as they are plentiful or ſcarce; but the value of them at Siam is generally eight hundred for a peny.

The principal trade of the Engliſh in this country is driven at the port of Malacca, in poſſeſſion of the Dutch: hither the Engliſh ſend two or three country ſhips yearly from the coaſt of Chormondel and bay of Bengal, with callicoes, ſlight ſilks, opium, &c. and make profitable returns in canes, rattans, benjamin, long pepper, ſugar, ſugarcandy, ſapan wood, and ſometimes gold may be had at a reaſonable rate; but this is a trade prohibited by the Dutch, and carried on by the connivance of the governor, council, and fiſcal. And 'tis obſerved, that the magiſtrates and principal officers in the Dutch ſettlements, being moſt of them friends or relations of thoſe who compoſe the ſtate, and ſent abroad to make their fortunes, will deal almoſt with any people to enrich their private families, notwithſtanding the prohibition of the company to the contrary. And were it not for this general connivance of the Dutch officers, almoſt all over the Indies, the trade of the Engliſh and other nations would be much more inconſiderable than it is. For the Dutch have fortified and planted garriſons in all parts of the Indies where it will countervail the charge, and where it will not, they have their guard-ſhips to prevent the natives dealing with other people. 'Tis a common thing with them, to pretend they have bought up all the pepper, or other merchandize, that ſuch a country has to diſpoſe of, to prevent foreigners going thither; when there has never been any ſuch contract; and under pretence of guarding the Maylay coaſt from pyrates, they will lie before their ports, and reſtrain them from dealing with any but themſelves: ſo that great part of that trade we have in the Indies, is either at ſecond hand from the Dutch, or only their leavings, and conſiſts in ſuch things as they do not think it worth while to meddle with. The Dutch are alſo ſo ſtrong in ſhipping in this part of the world, that in countries where they have no fortified towns or garriſons, they will block up the harbours of the moſt potent Prince in India, and compel him to accept of ſuch duties as they think fit to pay him; while other Europeans are forced oftentimes to ſubmit to ſuch terms as are impoſed upon them.

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But to return to Malacca: Mr. LOCKYER has given us the following account of their weights and the prices goods bore there in the year 1704.

The weights, he ſays, are 16 mace to 1 buncal of 1 ounce 9 pennyweight 12 grains troy; 100 catty are a pecul of 137 ½ l. is 5 ½ l. larger than the common China pecul, and 3 pecul are a bahar.

Price current July 1704.

	Rix dolls.	Sk.
Allum per pecul — — — — — —	02	06
Aquala wood ditto — — —	50 to 150	00
Benjamin head ditto — — — —	50	00
Benjamin foot ditto — — — —	14	00
Canes per mille — — — — —	60	00
Copper per pecul — — — — —	24	00
Coſſaes Bengall per corge — —	100	00
Gobars fine ditto — — — —	70	00
Gold Acheen per buncall — — —	24	00
Gold Bencallis ditto — — — —	24	00
Gold China ditto 93 ! touch — —	24	06
Gold China in ſhoes 94 touch — —	25	00
Long pepper per pecul — — — —	05	02
Lungees Bengall per corge — — —	12	00
Lungees fort St. David ditto — —	14	00
Lungees Madraſs ditto — — —	15	04
Morees blue ditto — — — —	35	00
Morees fine ditto — — — — —	60	00
Morees ordinary ditto — — —	30	00
Mulmuls ordinary ditto — — —	65	00
Nillaes ditto — — — — —	35	00
Nutmegs preſerved per 100 — —	05	00
Opium per cheſt — — — — — —	312	00
Putchuck or cuſtos duleis per pecul —	15	00
Quickſilver — — — — — —	80	00
Rattans per 100 bundles 14 foot long	16	00
Romals Bengall ordinary per corge —	26	00
Romals Mechlepatam ditto — —	40	00
Sago very cheap — — — — —	—	—
Silks from China about 28 per cent profit	—	—

Sugar

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Sugar per pecul	03	00
Sugarcandy ditto	05	03
Syraſhes per corge	48	00
Taffaties Bengall ditto	60	00
Tappees 4 to 6 coveds long ditto	10	00
Tappees fine ditto per corge	22	00
Tepois coarſe ditto	22	00
Tepois fine ditto	35	00
Tutanaque per pecul 7 to	09	00
Tyn per bahar	40	00

A farther account of the town and inhabitants of Malacca.

To this account of the trade of Malacca, I ſhall ſubjoin a farther deſcription of the place and inhabitants, extracted chiefly from Mr. DAMPIER and Mr. LOCKYER, who were both upon the place.

The town of Malacca ſtands on a low level ground, cloſe to the ſea ſide: on the eaſt ſide of the town there is a river, which at a ſpring tide will admit of ſmall veſſels; and on the eaſt ſide of this river ſtands a ſtrong fort, between which and the town, there is a communication by a drawbridge: this fort is built at the foot of a little ſteep hill, and is of a ſemi-circular form, like the adjacent hill: the walls are founded on a rock, very thick, and are carried up to a conſiderable height; and the lower part of them is waſhed by the ſea at every tide: on the other ſide of the hill, there is a large moat cut from the ſea to the aboveſaid river, which makes it an iſland; and that part next the land is ſtocked with great trees: on the hill, ſtands one little church which ſerves the Dutch inhabitants; and it is to be preſumed, the Portugueſe, who are pretty numerous, may have a chapel in the town; but travellers do not mention any temple for the reſt of the inhabitants.

In the town there are between two and three hundred families of Dutch, Portugueſe, Chineſe and Moors, and two or three great Armenian merchants. The Chineſe have the beſt ſhops, which are filled with the manufactures and produce of their country, and ſuch other goods as there is any demand for there: the houſes in the town are generally built with ſtone, and the ſtreets are wide and ſtrait, but not paved: the native Malayans, who inhabit the ſuburbs, live in poor mean cottages, and are kept in great ſubjection by their haughty Dutch maſters; but it is obſerved, they ſtill retain a deſperate ſullenneſs in their looks; and the Malayans of the neighbouring provinces have frequently revenged themſelves on the Dutch, for the tyranny and oppreſſion exerciſed on them, and that reſtraint the Hollanders put upon their trade all along the Malayan coaſt by their guard ſhips, inſomuch that it is very difficult for this people to trade with any but the Dutch.

The town of Malacca is healthful, conſidering the climate, and is neither ſubject to the hot winds of the coaſt of Chormondel, or thoſe chilling ones in Sumatra. It is not a place of any great trade at this day; but as the Dutch are maſters of the ſtreights of Sundy to the ſouth of Sumatra, and this town gives them the command of the ſtreights, which bear the name of Malacca, to the north, while they are in poſſeſſion of this place, they have in a manner the trade of China and Japan in their hands, and can exclude any other nation from it they happen to be at war with. Indeed ſhips may paſs the ſtreights of Malacca, without coming within the reach of the guns of their forts; but then they have guard ſhips there ready to intercept their enemies; and they actually make the Portugueſe pay toll for every ſhip that paſſes by at this day, as the Portugueſe formerly ſerved them. And it is obſerved, that this town is naturally ſo ſtrong, that the Dutch could never have taken it, if the Portugueſe had not been frighted out of it.

Shipping. The ſhipping of the Siameſe is very inconſiderable. The King has only five or ſix ſmall ſhips, which he uſes to trade with, and mans with Europeans, and ſometimes he ſends them to make reprizals on his neighbours, who have injured him; but his captains at ſea, as well as land, have orders to kill no body. He has alſo forty or fifty gallies, manned with about ſixty men each, which are of ſome ſervice in the gulf of Siam, in a ſmooth ſea, but of no great uſe elſewhere.

Barges. They have very fine balons or barges in their rivers, ſixteen or twenty foot long, and yet made out of the body of a ſingle tree. They firſt hollow the tree, and then by the heat of the fire enlarge the capacity of it; after which they raiſe the ſides with a board, and make both head and ſtern very high, adorning them with ſculpture, and gilding, and mother of pearl.

Theſe barges are no wider than two men may ſit croſs-legged on a bench by one another. There are ſometimes forty pegayeurs, or rowers, to one barge, ranged two and two, with their legs a-croſs, upon plank; they ſing as they row, and keep an exact time in every motion: the ſteerſman ſtands in the ſtern, and ſteers with an oar; and an apartment for the company is built with bambou, in the middle of the veſſel; the ſeveral orders of the Mandarins are diſtinguiſhed by the workmanſhip or colour of their barge. If any of them are upon the water when the King comes by, all the Mandarins proſtrate themſelves in their barges, and not a barge ſtirs till the King is out of ſight. As their veſſels are very narrow, and rowed by abundance of hands, they go with an incredible ſwiftneſs, even againſt the ſtream.

CHAP. V.

Treats of the nature of the soil, husbandry, and gardening, plants, animals, and minerals; and shews the manner of travelling in this country.

CHAP. V.

Soil.

THEIR soil has been gradually formed by the clay, and other earth, which the floods wash down from the mountains; they have very little stony ground, and there is hardly a flint to be found in the country.

It is the mud which the river leaves behind which makes the fertile earth, as far as it extends: all the higher grounds are dried and burnt up by the sun, soon after the rains are over; and tho' their lands, some of them, are naturally fruitful, yet they are so subject to droughts, insects, and other inconveniencies, that they are sometimes deprived of their harvest several years together, and such years are generally succeeded with pestilential distempers.

Upon the land which the inundation does not reach, they sometimes sow wheat, and water it like a garden, by little channels cut through the fields: they have two crops yearly, but not on the same ground.

They plow with oxen and buffaloes, and guide them with a rope run through their nose.

Tillage. Their plough is plain, and without wheels; they have a share and a staff to hold it by, and it is not much unlike our foot-ploughs in other respects, only instead of nails, the pieces are fastened together with thongs and pins.

They tread out the rice with cattle, instead of thrashing it; and to get the dust and chaff out, they pour it down by degrees from some high place, and the wind separates the one from the other; but the rice having still a hard thick skin about it, they beat it in a wooden mortar to get off this skin, and make it fit for boiling.

The Siamese prepare their lands for tillage, when the floods have sufficiently moistened the earth: they plant their rice before the waters come to any height, and as the water encreases slowly, the rice keeps pace with it; so that the ear is always above the water; and when the water retires, they reap the harvest, and sometimes go in boats to cut it, while the waters are upon the ground.

They sow rice also in several parts of the kingdom, which are not overflowed; and this is reckoned better relished, and will keep longer than the other; but they are forced to feed these fields constantly with water, while the rice is growing, from ponds and basons, which lie above them.

The King of Siam antiently set his hand to the plough on a certain day every year, as his neighbours of Tonquin and China also did; but this ceremony, is now annually performed by an officer in his Majesty's room, when a great sacrifice is made to Sommona Codom their god, and he is implored to be propitious to their labours.

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Garden.

The Siamese cultivate their gardens no less than their fields, and have pulse and roots; but for the most part different from ours: they have also garlick, potatoes, and radishes in them, but no onions, carrots, turnips, or parsnips, or any colworts or lettice, or any herbs of which our salads are composed. Cucumbers they have here, which LOUBIERE observes are much more innocent than ours, people eating freely of them without any inconvenience; and the garlick, he says, loses much of its rankness in this hot country.

After the time of the inundation, they cover the plants in their gardens from the heat of the sun, as we do from the cold.

Fruits. The Siamese have none of the fruits known in Europe, except oranges, lemons, citrons and pomegranates; the oranges of one kind or other continue all the year, but most other fruit has its season: they have also Indian figs, bananoes, goyvaes, jaques, durions, mangoes, mangostans, tamarinds, annanas, and coco-nuts; they abound also in pepper and sugar-canes, and great part of their food consisting of garden stuff, their kitchen gardens lie for several leagues together upon the river Menan, between Bancock and Siam. LOUBIERE observes of the Indian fruits in general, that they have so strong a taste and smell, that few foreigners like them till they have been used to them.

Flowers. As to flowers, they have the tuberose, gilly-flower, and some few roses; but they have much less scent than in Europe: they have also some jessemin, amaranthus and tricolets, but no other European flowers; tho' they have others peculiar to the country, agreeable enough for their beauty and fine smell; but it is observable, that some of them smell only in the night-time, the heat of the day entirely destroying the scent.

Wood. The hilly part of this country being almost wholly uncultivated, is covered with woods; but the tree, or rather reed, of the greatest use amongst them is the bambou, which grows chiefly in marshy soils, and, like reeds and sedge, is found on the sides of ponds and rivers. It appears also not unlike them when it is young, but grows to a prodigious bigness, and hardens, so that it may be applied to any use. When it is green and tender they pickle it for sauce. It is hollow, and the shoots are separated by knots; it has branches and thorns which our reeds have not, and each root shoots out several stems, so that nothing is thicker, or more difficult to pass, than a forest of bambou; and the more so, because the wood is hard and difficult to cut, tho' nothing will cleave easier: the Siamese, it is said, strike fire with it; and has, like other canes, a sugary pitch.

Bambou strikes fire. Sugar in it.

They

Trees.

They have timber fit for building ſhips and for maſts, but their cordage is made of the skin or husk which covers the coco-nut, whoſe fibres are twiſted like a thread.

They have alſo timber for houſes and wainſcotting, and a wood that will not cleave, called wood-mary by the Europeans, and ſaid to be very proper to make ribs of ſhips. They have another wood, which for its lightneſs and colour is thought to be fir by ſome; but LOUBIERE obſerves, that it takes the workman's chiſſel ſo many different ways without ſplitting, that he thinks we have not the like in Europe.

The Siameſe have cotton trees in great plenty, and another which yields capoc or cotton-wool extremely fine, but ſo ſhort, that there is no ſpinning of it; and therefore it is uſed in ſtuffing mattreſſes and pillows: they extract alſo an oil from ſome of their trees, which they mix with their cements; and there are other trees which yield lacker and gums: cinnamon trees alſo are found here, inferior only to thoſe of Ceylon; and they have the ſapan and other woods proper for dying.

The lignum aloes, or aquila, may be had here alſo, but it is not ſo good as that in Cochin-China: this wood is found only in little pieces in the rotteneſt part of the tree, and every tree of the ſame ſpecies has it not; but it requires a very tedious ſearch to find it.

Beaſts.

Of their elephants I have ſpoken under another head: they have few horſes, ſheep or goats, and thoſe not good eating any more than their oxen and buffaloes; the latter are kept chiefly for tillage. Their hogs are ſmall, but fat, and the wholeſomeſt food that is eaten. Hares are ſcarce, and there are no rabbits.

A cow is not worth more than ten ſols in the country, and about a crown in the city of Siam; a ſheep four crowns, and a goat three; a pig ſeven ſols, hens twenty pence a dozen, and ducks a crown a dozen; veniſon is not wanting, though a great deal is deſtroyed by wild beaſts; the inhabitants kill deer only for their skins, which are ſold to the Dutch, and carried by them to Japan.

Fowls.

Ducks are plentiful and very good; peacocks and pigeons are wild here; their partridges are grey, and both pigeons and partridges perch upon trees to avoid the inundation: they have excellent ſnipes, and their turtle doves have a variety of gay plumage, and they have parrots, and other ſmall birds: wild fowl there is in abundance, for the natives will neither kill nor take them; but the Moors have faulcons which they bring from Perſia to fly at the game.

Birds.

Moſt of the birds of Siam, it is obſerved, are beautiful to look upon, but unpleaſant to hear; there are ſeveral that will imitate the voice, and all have ſome cry, but none have any harmonious notes.

There are alſo ſparrows, crows and vultures in Siam; the ſparrows are ſo tame that they come into the houſes and pick up the inſects, and the crows and vultures are as tame, being fed by the people out of charity; and, if we may believe LOUBIERE, they give their children to be eaten by theſe fowls, if they die before they are three years old: it is ſo far from being thought a curſe in this country to have their carcaſſes devoured by birds of prey, that, next to burning, this is deemed the moſt honourable burial.

Inſects abound in Siam, ſuch as lizzards, ſnakes, ſcorpions, millepedes, &c. and their ants and gnats are extremely troubleſome; the ants will pierce through the very covers of books, which obliges the miſſionaries to waſh them over with varniſh, and this preſerves them: theſe ants, to avoid the inundation, make their neſts, and lay up their magazines, in the tops of trees; there are a multitude of inſects in their waters alſo unknown to us, and they have a ſhining fly like a locuſt, which gives a conſiderable light in the dark; but theſe are killed, or driven away by the north-wind, when the rains ceaſe.

Rich mines here formerly.

This country, generally deemed the golden Cherſoneſe, LOUBIERE obſerves, was antiently rich in mines, and the great number of idols, and other caſt-works that are found amongſt them, as well as the old pits that are daily diſcovered here, ſhew that there have been more wrought than there are at preſent: the great quantity of gold with which their images, and the walls and roofs of their temples are adorned, make it evident alſo that a great quantity of that metal has formerly been extracted out of their mines.

None at preſent opened that are conſiderable.

However, the late King, who reigned anno 1688, our author tells us, had not been able to diſcover any conſiderable vein of gold or ſilver that was worth the working, although he had employed ſeveral Europeans in the ſearch, and particularly a Spaniard, who had been concerned in the mines of Mexico; that after all their pains, they had been able to find only ſome inconſiderable mines of copper, intermixed with a little gold and ſilver: Mr. VINCENT, an European phyſician, lately directed them to a mine of good ſteel at the top of a mountain which had been formerly opened; he ſhewed them alſo a mine of cryſtal, one of antimony and another of emeril, with a quarry of white marble: the ſame Mr. VINCENT acquainted our author, that he had found a gold mine which he believed to be very rich; but he did not diſcover it to the King: he aſſured him alſo, that ſeveral of the Talapoins, and others, came ſecretly to him, to learn how to purify and ſeparate metals, and brought him ſpecimens of very rich ore.

Steel.

Tin and lead.

Their mines of tin and lead, the Siameſe have long improved from very plentiful mines; this tin is but meanly purified, however they make the

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the tea boxes and caniſters of it which come from India.

Loadſtone.

Near the city of Louvo, there is a mountain of loadſtone, and another in the iſland of Jonſalam, which lies on the Malacca coaſt in the bay of Bengal; but the latter loſes its virtue within three or four months.

Precious ſtones.

There is found alſo ſome agate, ſaphires, and diamonds in their mountains; but the King's officers ſeizing things of this nature to his Majeſty's uſe, the people have no encouragement to ſearch for them.

Way of travelling.

Beſides the elephant, they have the ox and buffalo to ride on; but they uſe neither horſes, aſſes or mules: the Moors have ſome camels which are brought from other countries; they uſe the female elephants chiefly for carriage; the males are trained to the war: every one is at liberty to hunt elephants, and take them to uſe, but not to kill them.

Chairs.

Their chairs which they travel in, are placed on a kind of bier, and carried by four or eight men on their ſhoulders, one or two to each pole, and others run by to be ready to relieve them: thoſe chairs have ſometimes a back and arms like our dreſſing chairs, and ſometimes are only encompaſſed with a rail or balliſter about half a foot high; they are generally open at top, and the Siameſe ſit croſs-legged in them.

It is only ſome few of the great men whom the King ſuffers to ride in chairs; and the Europeans are permitted the uſe of palanquins, or couches, carried on men's ſhoulders, with a canopy over them.

CHAP. VI.

Treats of their learning, honours, language, characters, hiſtory and chronology.

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Education.

WHEN their children are 7 or 8 years old, they ſend them to a convent of Talapoins, or Prieſts, where they take the Talapoin's habit on them, but quit it again at pleaſure: they are ſubſiſted here with food ſent them by their friends; and thoſe that are of good families have a ſlave or two to attend them.

Their learning.

They are taught writing, reading and arithmetick; they learn alſo the Balie, or court language, and ſome principles of morality, with the myſteries of their religion; but are not inſtructed in their laws or hiſtory, or any ſpeculative ſcience.

Writing.

They write from the left hand to the right, as in Europe, and have an alphabet conſiſting of a few letters both for the Balie and Siameſe language; but there depends a great deal upon the accent or tone of the voice here, as well as in China; and

Figurative way of ſpeaking.

lofty figures and metaphorical expreſſions are very frequent among the Siameſe as well as other eaſtern nations.

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They have ten characters to which they join a cypher, as we do, and reckon in like manner by units, tens, hundreds, &c.

Arithmetick.

Poetry.

Their poetry conſiſts in a certain number of ſyllables and rhymes; but is extremely difficult to tranſlate juſtly. Their ſongs are ſome of them hiſtorical, ſome contain rules of morality, others appear wanton enough when tranſlated, though LOUBIERE will not have them to be ſo in the original language.

Orators.

Orators we are told they have none; and one reaſon may be, becauſe there are none whoſe profeſſion or intereſt leads them to that ſtudy; for every man manages his own cauſe without an advocate; his allegations and proofs are taken down by a regiſter, and then the magiſtrate determines upon them: beſides, ſpeeching and haranguing is not at all in faſhion in Siam; it is ill manners to addreſs a ſuperior in any terms, though never ſo reſpectful; but when a perſon appears before his betters he waits till he is ſpoke to, and then only anſwers ſuch queſtions as are propounded to him; and even their compliments and words of ceremony are all preſcribed, ſo that there is no room for a wit to diſplay his talents.

They underſtood nothing of philoſophy, nor do they ſtudy the laws of their country till they are preferred to ſome poſt, and then a copy of inſtructions to be obſerved in that office is put into their hands.

Phyſick.

Their skill in phyſick is very mean, the King has Chineſe, Peguans and Siameſe phyſicians, and lately had a French Miſſionary for his Phyſician, to whom the reſt were obliged daily to report the ſtate of the Prince's health, and to receive from his hands the remedies he prepared. In ſurgery they underſtand nothing, and are forced to make uſe of European ſurgeons when they let blood, which has but lately been practiſed amongſt them. They will ſometimes open dead bodies, but it is only to impoſe on the credulity of the people: they pretend ſometimes that they find vaſt pieces of fleſh, of eight or ten pounds weight, in the ſtomach of the deceaſed, and that it was occaſioned by witchcraft. They ſeldom vary their receipts, but follow thoſe they have received from their anceſtors, and cure many diſtempers by them; which LOUBIERE imputes to the temperance of the Siameſe, who are eaſily cured; but when the diſtemper is too ſtrong for them, they conſtantly give out that the patient was inchanted. In all diſtempers almoſt they rub and mould the body with their hands; and that ſtroaking uſed by the famous GREATRAKES in the reign of King CHARLES the ſecond, poſſibly was much of the ſame nature. A gentle ſtroaking one would think ſhould do no great feats; but this rubbing and ſqueezing of the fleſh is often uſed in India when people are in perfect health, by way of amuſement;

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ment; they will employ their ſlaves ſome hours in the operation.

Their phyſicians ſometimes make uſe of purging, but no vomiting; they ſweat away moſt diſtempers; and, 'tis ſaid, will adviſe bathing in fevers: but one thing is obſervable in India, namely, that the patient eats nothing but conge, or watergruel made of rice, till he is well again; and poſſibly this regimen may recover more than all the remedies they preſcribe.

The diſeaſes of the country are principally fluxes and dyſenteries, to which foreigners are more ſubject than the natives; but agues or intermitting fevers are ſeldom heard of here, or in any other hot country, any more than the gout or ſtone, phthiſick, ſcurvy, or dropſy. The ſmall pox often rages here, and is almoſt as mortal as the plague in other countries: thoſe that die of this diſtemper they bury, to prevent infection; but after three years dig their bodies up again to burn and give them an honourable funeral.

Aſtronomy. Their aſtronomy, as has been obſerved, is very imperfect; nor do they underſtand any thing of the true ſyſtem of the world: they believe, with the Chineſe, that the eclipſes are cauſed by ſome dragon, who ſtands ready to devour the ſun and moon; and make a great noiſe with pans and kettles to drive him away from thoſe planets.

Geography. The earth they believe to be ſquare, and of a vaſt extent; and that the arch of heaven reſts on it at the extremities, as on a ſolid baſis.

Aſtrology. There are perſons amongſt them that pretend to magick, and to foretel future events; but if they deceive the King when he conſults them, he orders them to be baſtinadoed, not as impoſtors, 'tis ſaid, but for their careleſneſs, to which he imputes the miſtake: and when his phyſicians adminiſter phyſick to his Majeſty, which has not the effect they promiſe, he orders the phyſicians to be well drubb'd. Neither the King, nor any of his ſubjects, ever undertake any thing of conſequence without conſulting their aſtrologers, nor will he ſo much as ſtir abroad, if they declare it to be an unlucky hour.

Omens. They are governed much alſo by preſages and omens, the howling of wild beaſts and the cries of apes are ominous; a ſnake croſſing the way, or any thing falling down unaccountably, without any apparent cauſe, is no leſs dreadful than a hare's croſſing the way, or the overturning the ſalt, in Europe; nor will they move forward on ſuch an accident, how preſſing or important ſoever their buſineſs be. One way of foretelling what ſhall happen is this, they perform ſome ſuperſtitious ceremony, after which they go out into the town, and the firſt words they hear accidentally ſpoken in the ſtreet they apply to the thing they would be informed in, and look upon them to be as infallible as an oracle. But great part of their ſuperſtition is employed in driving away evil ſpirits; for example, when they prepare a medicine, they faſten to the brim of the veſſel papers with ſome myſterious words, to prevent the porpaylons, or fairies, running away with the virtue of the doſe. It is one of theſe ſpirits alſo, they imagine, that firſt demoliſhes every maidenhead, and afterwards occaſions the menſes. When they are at ſea in a ſtorm, they faſten papers with myſterious characters to the maſt and tackle of the ſhip, in order to charm the winds.

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Charms.

Childbed women. Lying-in-women they keep continually before a great fire in this hot country for a whole month, in order to purify them; and in the mean time they are almoſt ſmoked to death, there being only a hole in the roof to let the ſmoke out: and at their firſt ſitting up they return thanks to the fire for purifying them; and the meat they treat their friends with on theſe occaſions, is all offered to the fire. They do not ſuffer their lying-in-women to eat or drink any thing but what is hot.

Philtres. They deal much in philtres and drinks which occaſion very odd effects on the perſons they give them to, though there may be very little magick in the caſe. It is ſaid of the women of Goa alſo, that they give their husbands ſuch ſtupifying doſes, that they ſhall take no notice of their gallants: and it is obſervable, that the Indians will often take bang and opium when they go into engagements, and though at other times they are the moſt puſillanimous creatures in nature, they will then ruſh upon the greateſt dangers; but after the effect of the opium is off, they grow faint and ſpiritleſs, and greater cowards, if poſſible, than they were before: and ſurely there is but little reaſon to have recourſe to ſupernatural cauſes in theſe caſes; but as my author obſerves, there will never want pretenders as long as there are fools to be impoſed upon; and the phyſicians of Siam never miſcarry in their preſcriptions, but they impute the misfortune to ſome malicious ſpirit. They are very dextrous in abuſing the people; one of them made his patient believe he had ſwallowed a deer-skin whole, and that he voided it by virtue of his medicines.

Muſicks. They have as little skill in muſick as in other ſciences; they neither play or ſing by notes; or know what the playing in parts means, and moſt of their inſtruments are very harſh and ungrateful to the ear: they beat upon little ill ſounding drums, and have a trumpet ſtill worſe; they have ſome ſhrill hautboys, and a little ugly violin with three ſtrings. They have alſo braſs baſons to beat on; and all theſe ſound together when the King goes out, or upon other ſolemn occaſions; and Loubiere thinks the noiſe is not unpleaſant on the river.

Languages. Alphabet. There are two languages ſpoken at Siam, namely, the Siameſe and the Balie: in the Siameſe language

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guage there are thirty-ſeven letters, and in the Balie thirty three, and theſe are all conſonants; for vowels and diphthongs, of which there are a great number in both theſe languages, they have particular characters; ſome of which are placed before the conſonant, and ſome after, and others are placed above or underneath; and theſe vowels and diphthongs thus variouſly diſpoſed, are always pronounced after the conſonant. If the pronunciation of a ſyllable begins with a vowel, there is a mute character before it, which ſupplies the place of a conſonant, and muſt not be pronounced.

The Siameſe pronunciation is difficult to imitate; there depends much on the accent, as in China: and, like the Chineſe, they ſeem to ſing when they are ſpeaking. LOUBIERE conjectures that they wrote at firſt without vowels, like the Hebrews, and that they proceeded afterwards to mark the conſonants with ſome ſtrokes foreign to their alphabet, and which are generally placed out of the rank of the letters, like the points which the modern Jews have added to their antient way of writing.

The Siameſe language conſiſts chiefly of monoſyllables, without conjugation or declenſion. The Balie to them is a dead tongue, and known only to the learned. The terms in their religion and laws, the names of offices, and all the ornaments of the Siameſe vulgar tongue, are taken from the Balie, and in this language their beſt ſongs are compoſed.

No printing or authentick hiſtories.

The Siameſe have not the art of printing, upon which account they have very few books. Their hiſtories do not aſcend very high, and thoſe they have are ſtuffed with fables, and have very little in them to be depended on.

Calender.

Their calender has been twice regulated by able aſtronomers, who have taken two arbitrary epochas from ſome remarkable conjunction of the planets; the moſt antient refers to the 545th year before the incarnation of our Saviour; and there is a tradition amongſt them that it commences from the time their God Sommona Codom was tranſlated to heaven. Their late epocha commences from the year of our Lord ſix hundred thirty eight. Theſe aſtronomers having eſtabliſhed certain numbers on theſe obſervations, have compoſed a table to find out the place of the planets for the following year, not unlike that by which we find the epact of every year by adding 11 to the epact of the foregoing.

Epochas.

They divide the year into three ſeaſons, viz. the winter, or cold months, which anſwer to thoſe of our December and January. Their little ſummer, or the beginning of heat, which is their ſpring, and anſwers to February, March and April. And their great ſummer, or the time of their great heats, which conſiſts of the other ſeven months, when the heat ſtrips the trees of their leaves, as the cold does ours, according to LOUBIERE: but he muſt mean this of ſome particular trees; for there are ſeveral ever-greens to be found in this country by his own relation.

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They do not number their years, but count them by the names of a ſexagenary cycle, or revolution of ſixty years, for which they have particular names. They begin their year the firſt moon of November or December: their months conſiſt for the moſt part of 30 days, for which they have no names but reckon them in order, viz. firſt, ſecond, third, and ſo on. They have no word to expreſs week, but call the ſeven days by the planets, as in Europe.

Cycle of ſixty years.

There is no diſtinction of quality here any more than in China; except what is made by a man's being poſſeſſed of an office or place in the government; and it is not uncommon to ſee the ſon or grandſon of a miniſter of ſtate, labouring at the oar.

No hereditary honours.

It is obſervable that the Portugueze give all officers in the eaſtern part of the world the name of the Mandarins, and by this name writers generally call them, though this is a title unknown in the kingdoms they treat of: the King of Siam never makes a conſiderable officer or Mandarin, but he beſtows a new name upon him, which is always an elogium. All officers at Siam were originally hereditary, and, as it is ſaid, ought of right to be ſo ſtill; but very few families long maintain themſelves in any office at this day, eſpecially ſuch as are near the court: theſe the King takes liberty to remove at pleaſure; nor are they ever ſuffered to ſell, though they have legally an inheritance in them. From the government of certain provinces being hereditary, LOUBIERE obſerves that the Portugueſe have given the Governors the title of Kings, and ſo made the King of Siam an Emperor over a multitude of petty Kings. The ſame may be obſerved in Japan, every Governor of a petty province is ſtiled a King, and for want of a certain definition of this word King, we often frame very odd notions of the governments in the eaſt, making almoſt as many kingdoms as there are conſiderable towns. The reader, perhaps, expects that every one of theſe kingdoms ſhould be governed by their reſpective laws; when in truth they are all provinces of the ſame kingdom, and their laws and cuſtoms differ no more than thoſe of one country from another amongſt us.

All officers and magiſtrates ſtiled Mandarins by writers.

Offices by right hereditary.

Governors of provinces often ſtiled Kings.

The court of Siam was antiently more magnificent than it is at preſent; a great number of Lords richly clothed uſually attended with ſeveral hundreds of ſlaves and elephants; but theſe are now ſeen no more: which LOUBIERE aſcribes to the cruelty of ſome late Princes, particularly the father of the King which reigned in 1688, when LOUBIERE was there; who cut off almoſt all the conſiderable families, and every one that appeared formidable

Court of Siam not ſo magnificent now as formerly.

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formidable to him, as well thoſe who had aſſiſted him in uſurping the throne, as thoſe who had oppoſed him, to ſecure his poſſeſſion.

Allegiance how ſecured.

When any perſon enters upon an office, inſtead of an oath of allegiance to the Prince, one of their prieſts takes a cup of water, and pronounces certain dreadful imprecations if the perſon to whom it is given fails in his duty to the King; and this is done by every perſon that enters into this Prince's ſervice, of what religion or nation ſoever he be.

Revolutions in Siam.

This kingdom has experienced ſeveral revolutions, as we learn from LOUBIERE; the King's father who poſſeſs'd the throne when he was there was an Uſurper, and not ſo much as of the Royal Family: this rebel he tells us, having dragg'd his unfortunate Sovereign out of the temple, whither he was fled for refuge, cauſed him to be declared unworthy of the royal dignity, and afterwards ſtrangled him; not on account of any former miſdemeanours, but, as he gave out, becauſe he had deſerted his palace and government; when the rebel was at the gates, and upon the point of forcing an entrance.

This Uſurper reigned thirty years, and was ſucceeded by his brother, to the excluſion of the Uſurper's ſon, who was not then in circumſtances to diſpute the matter with him, and therefore retired into a cloyſter, and took the inviolable habit of a Talapoin upon him, till he found himſelf in a condition to diſpoſſeſs his uncle, who was killed by a Portugueſe with a musket ſhot as he fled from the palace on an elephant.

We have an account of another King, who reigned anno 1547, who was poiſoned by the Queen his wife, on his return from the wars, to avoid his revenge for the violation of his bed, finding herſelf with child by her gallant: that this Queen ſoon after deſtroyed the King her ſon in the ſame manner; and found means to ſet the crown upon the head of her lover in 1548: but theſe treaſons were not long unrevenged, for both of them were aſſaſſinated in a temple, in January, 1549; and another Prince, brother and uncle to the two former Kings, was taken out of a cloyſter and advanced to the throne: from theſe and other inſtances LOUBIERE obſerves, that the crowns of Aſia are ſtill more precarious than thoſe of Europe; and this farther obſervation may be made from hence, that it is oftner the ambition, intereſt or revenge of private perſons, than any male adminiſtration of the Prince, or oppreſſion of the people, that is the real occaſion of revolutions, how ſpecious ſoever the pretended reaſons may appear for depoſing their lawful Princes.

Cruelty of the uſurpers.

That race of the Kings of Siam which lately uſurped the throne, are not leſs barbarous, it ſeems, to their own families than to ſtrangers; they ſometimes ſtarve their relations, or put them to other unbloody deaths, making conſcience of ſpilling the royal blood; ſometimes, indeed, they are ſo merciful that they only burn their eyes out, or cripple them, to prevent their aſpiring to the throne; and the Kings of Aſia, in general, 'tis obſerved, maintain their authority by rendring themſelves terrible to their ſubjects, never ſo much as attempting to gain their affections, and conſequently live in a perpetual fear and diſtruſt of all about them; and the firing of a gun, though by accident, in the hearing of the King of Siam, is a capital crime. The King formerly uſed to ſhew himſelf to the people in all his ſplendor four or five times a year: he alſo performed the ceremony of ploughing or breaking up the ground annually, and of commanding the river to return to its channel after the rains; but theſe are now both performed by a commiſſioner deputed for thoſe purpoſes.

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King ſhews himſelf twice a year.

He ſhews himſelf now but twice a year in his metropolis, when he diſtributes his alms to the Talapoins: when he goes abroad, he is either carried upon his elephant or in a chair, and very ſeldom on horſe-back, though he keeps 2000 in his ſtables: great care is taken that he be never ſeen on foot, and therefore he comes immediately out of his apartment, either from ſome terrace, or a window of a proper height to ſeat himſelf on his elephant, and is not lifted up upon him: the King's ſeat on his elephant has no covering, and is open before; and when he ſtands ſtill, a footman ſhelters him from the ſun with an high umbrella: the perſon who guides the elephant ſits upon his neck, and has an iron inſtrument with which he governs the beaſt by pricking him on the head; but tho' this Prince appears but ſeldom in the city, he frequently hunts at Louvo; and on theſe occaſions his concubines, 'tis ſaid, run on foot by him: there is a guard alſo of two or three hundred men who march before him, and drive all people out of the way; and if the Prince ſtops at any time, all the company immediately proſtrate themſelves.

Never ſeen on foot.

Hunting.

Time of holding councils.

The councils of ſtate are held twice a day, viz. at 10 in the morning and 10 in the evening; their day is divided into 24 hours, as in Europe: they have four watches for the night, the laſt of which ends at broad day-light; they have no clocks, but as the days are almoſt of an equal length they eaſily know the hour by looking at the ſun: in the palace, inſtead of an hour-glaſs, they have a hollow copper veſſel with a little hole in it, which being ſet upon the water, lets it in by degrees, till at length it ſinks, and then the hour is out; of which in the night, they give notice by ſtriking on copper baſons.

Water-hour-glaſs.

At their councils, any member who has had a buſineſs referred to him by his Majeſty, reads his inſtructions, and what he has done upon it; and then the ſeveral members deliver their opinion in his Majeſty's abſence: at another day the King is preſent,

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preſent, and the debates and reſolutions of the former council are reported to him, which having examined, he determines as he ſees fit; or if it be a matter of difficulty, orders it to be recommitted and conſidered of again; and ſometimes he conſults the ſuperior of the Talapoins, or the higheſt orders of prieſts.

Advice puniſhed if it does not pleaſe.

He often puniſhes thoſe who give him, what he deems, ill advice; and therefore his miniſters offer ſuch opinions as may pleaſe rather than declare their own.

He examines his officers frequently concerning their proficiency in the learned or balie language, and concerning the precepts enjoined them by their religion; and puniſhes the ignorant with the baſtinado.

Great officers never viſit.

It is an eſtabliſhed rule in this kingdom, that no officer preſume to come into his Majeſty's preſence without leave; nay, the great officers are not allowed to viſit one another but at weddings and funerals; and then they are obliged to ſpeak aloud, and in the preſence of a third perſon, to prevent all conſultations againſt the ſtate; and every one is obliged to turn informer upon pain of death, if he hears any thing that may endanger the government: numbers of ſpies alſo there are, to inform the Prince of what is ſpoken in all companies.

On the other hand it is dangerous, being the bringer of ill news, or to let his Majeſty know the weakneſs of his government; nor dare any officer tell him, it is impoſſible to execute what he commands, but they do what they can, and endeavour to excuſe the miſcarriages afterwards: and when there is a neceſſity of acquainting the King with ill news, they do it gradually, and in as ſoft terms as poſſible; for he ſeldom fails to puniſh whoever offends him, with the extremeſt rigour; and where the proofs are doubtful, will ſometimes order both the informer and the party accuſed, to be thrown to the tygers in his preſence, and inſult over their dead carcaſſes.

A man is no ſooner charged with a crime, but he is looked upon to be guilty, of which we have ſome inſtances nearer home, where it has been held ſufficient to convict a man that he is thought guilty by his judges, tho' there has been no evidence of the fact.

The common people are in many reſpects much happier, under this government, than their ſuperiors; the leſs a man is known to the Prince, and the greater diſtance he is from court, the greater ſecurity he enjoys: ambition leads to danger and ſlavery here, as in moſt other courts, not only through the caprice or inconſtancy of the Prince, but upon account of that encouragement that is given to all perſons to turn informers.

The miniſtry, indeed, uſe all artifice to prevent any accuſation reaching the Prince's ear; but ſtill many inſtances there are of officers diſgraced for very ſlight offences.

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Thrones of eaſtern Princes very precarious.

Loubiere obſerves that theſe eaſtern Princes are ever in danger of being depoſed, having none of their immediate dependants they can confide in; and the people having no ſecurity for their properties, never concern themſelves much about the title or fortune of their Sovereign: they know they ſhall be but beaſts of burthen whoever governs; and accordingly ſubmit to any one who poſſeſſes the legal power. Thoſe who are taken priſoners by the King of Pegu, he obſerves, contentedly cultivate the lands he gives them, within twenty miles of their own country, never endeavouring to make their eſcape back to Siam: and tho' they are there taught to look upon their Princes as the ſons of heaven, and imagine they have ſouls as much exalted above the vulgar, as their condition exceeds theirs, yet if a ſubject uſurps the crown, they have the ſame opinion of the uſurper they had of their Prince, and queſtion if heaven have not adopted the rebel in his room.

The King of Siam takes the ſame liberty of appointing which of his ſons ſhall ſucceed him, whether the iſſue of wife or concubine, as the Emperor of China does.

Revenues.

The revenues of the King of Siam ariſe as well from lands as goods: he has a quarter of a tical, or 9 d. per annum for every 40 fathom ſquare of all cultivated lands he lets out to his ſubjects; but this the hereditary governors of the provinces divide with him: he receives alſo one tical per annum of each boat, for every fathom it is in length; and he has not only the cuſtoms on all goods imported and exported, but a certain ſum beſides for the ſhip itſelf, according to its capacity: he lays a duty alſo on arrack, or ſpirits made of rice, and an annual tax upon every conſiderable fruit tree, ſuch as the durion, orange, mango, coco-trees, and ſuch trees as afford betel, or the arek-nut.

Demeſn lands.

His gardens and demeſn lands, which he has in moſt parts of the kingdom, and are cultivated by his ſubjects in the ſix months ſervice, or by his own ſlaves, are very conſiderable, and ſupply the court with proviſions.

Preſents.

Another part of his revenue may be reckoned, the preſents he receives from his ſubjects, and what falls to him upon the death of his officers: the fines and confiſcations upon the condemnation of criminals, is another perquiſite; the ſix months ſervice alſo, for which he frequently compounds, is another very conſiderable article; for the rich ſeldom ſerve in perſon.

Fines.

The King alſo engroſſes moſt part of the trade of the kingdom to himſelf, and even deſcends to ſell goods by retail in ſhops by his factors.

He ſells to his ſubjects all their cotton cloths, which is the common wear of that people: he

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claims all the oar in the mines, which he ſells to foreigners: his ſubjects are obliged alſo to ſell him all their ivory and arek-nut, which he diſpoſes to foreigners; ſalt-petre, lead and ſapan alſo belong to the King, and gunpowder, ſulphur and arms can only be had at the King's magazines.

He ſometimes alſo agrees with the Dutch, to ſell them all the skins and furs the country affords, at a certain price, and thereupon his ſubjects are obliged to ſell them to him; but brown ſugar, ſugar-candy, amber-greaſe, and ſome other commodities, merchants may deal with his ſubjects for, without reſtraint.

The King of Siam's whole revenue, which he receives in money, does not amount to more than ſix hundred thouſand crowns; but then what he receives in kind, and by the product of his demeſn lands for the proviſion of the houſhold, and for keeping his ſlaves, and ſuch a vaſt number of elephants, is prodigious; and that which ſaves him a great expence, which other Princes are at, is, that the officers which compoſe the civil liſt, all maintain themſelves, as well as his troops; and he has the ſervice of one half of his ſubjects annually for nothing, without being at any charge in maintaining them: beſides all this, he levies other taxes for the ſupport of Ambaſſadors, erecting publick buildings, and on other extraordinary occaſions.

The great officers of ſtate ſeem almoſt under a neceſſity of oppreſſing the people in Siam; for they have no ſalaries, they have only their lodgings, a barge, and ſome few moveables allowed them by the crown, with elephants, horſes, buffaloes and ſlaves, ſuitable to their rank, and as much land as will keep their families in rice; all which return to the crown again upon the Mandarin's being diſplaced: preſents are made them publickly by thoſe under their command; and a judge is not puniſhed for taking money of the parties, unleſs it can be ſhewn he has alſo been guilty of injuſtice.

In every province the Governor has the ſole command, both civil and military, and though there be others joined with him, when he ſits in a court of juſtice, it is only to conſult and adviſe with: he determines all cauſes by his ſole authority; ſo that it is no difficult matter for thoſe Governors, who are remote from court, to caſt off their allegiance, and ſet up for themſelves, as the Governor of Jhor, the moſt ſouthern province of the peninſula of Malacca, has actually done.

The revolt of the province of Jhor, and others, has induced the King of Siam to diſinherit ſeveral hereditary Governors, and make their governments temporary. Every hereditary Governor is ſtiled Tchaou-Meuang, Tchaou ſignifies lord, and Meuang a city, or province, and ſometimes a kingdom.

The Tchaou-Meuang, or hereditary Governor, beſides the preſents he receives, has an equal ſhare of the rents of all the lands of his province, with the King. 2dly, He has the profits of all penalties incurred, and of all confiſcations; and in ſome governments has the cuſtoms alſo, and claims a right of levying taxes upon extraordinary occaſions.

Temporary Governors.

The Pourain, or temporary Governor, has generally a commiſſion for three years, and is veſted with the ſame honours and authority as the Tchaou-Meuang, but not the ſame profits (if he be appointed only in the abſence of the Tchaou-Meuang, he has half his profits, for no Governor can make a deputy by his own authority.) Where there is no Tchaou-Meuang the Pourain ſhares none of the revenues of the province with the King.

The province of Patana is allowed to chuſe its own Governor, and always elects ſome unmarried old woman of one certain family, who governs with the advice of the moſt conſiderable perſons in the province. This Princeſs is frequently ſtiled Queen, and once in three years ſends two ſmall trees, one of gold and the other of ſilver, loaded with flowers and fruits, as a tribute to the King of Siam; but pretends to owe him no other ſubjection.

Parents have the abſolute command of their children.

The laws of Siam require as unlimited an obedience to parents, as thoſe of China, and ſubject the children entirely to their juriſdiction; and one who ſhould preſume to oppoſe and contradict his parents, would be looked on as a monſter. A more than ordinary reverence is paid alſo to aged men; and where any perſon is found guilty of lying to his ſuperior, he may be immediately puniſhed by him; and the King, it is ſaid, puniſhes it more ſeverely than any other crime; the reaſon whereof may be, that few nations are more addicted to it.

Lying criminal.

Theft.

Theft is ſo very ſcandalous, that when a perſon is accuſed of it, none of his friends will interpoſe in his behalf; and that which renders it ſo extremely infamous is, that it is ſo very eaſy to get a livelihood. One day's labour will furniſh a man with proviſion for many: however, there do not want inſtances of robberies and thefts among them, particularly by thoſe Siameſe that have been driven into the woods by the tyranny of the government; theſe make frequent excurſions, and infeſt the roads, ſo that paſſengers do not travel with any great ſecurity.

Their proceedings in criminal and civil cauſes.

They do not divide their laws into civil and criminal, either becauſe there are very few civil cauſes, or becauſe the party who is caſt even in a civil matter, is puniſhed as a criminal. All their proceedings are in writing; nor is any one ſuffered to exhibit a charge againſt another without giving ſecurity to proſecute it, and anſwer the damages if he does not prove the fact againſt the perſon accuſed.

When a perſon intends to proſecute another, he draws up a petition in writing, ſetting forth the crime or grievance, and preſents it to the Nai, or

head of the band he belongs to, who tranſmits it to the Governor, and if the complaint appears frivolous and vexatious, the proſecutor ought to be puniſhed, by the laws of the country; but the magiſtrates notwithſtanding encourage all proſecutions, theſe producing ſome of the beſt perquiſites belonging to their office.

If the ſuit proceeds, the Governor refers the charge to his aſſociates to examine, and theſe again to their Clerks, who make their report to their Maſters: theſe Clerks alſo examine the witneſſes, not in court, but at the witneſſes houſes, the charge whereof, as well as of all other proceedings in the ſuit are borne by the parties; nor are the proceedings in theſe courts much leſs chargeable than thoſe in our courts of equity. All matters being prepared for hearing, the parties are firſt called into court ſeveral days, and admoniſhed to agree; but this, it ſeems, is now no more than matter of form, it never being intended to reconcile them; afterwards the Governors, aſſeſſors or aſſociates proceed to deliver their opinions in writing: then the Governor appoints a day for all parties to attend, when he comes into court in perſon (which is the firſt time) and the Clerk having read the proceſs, and the opinions of his aſſociates, he examines upon what reaſons their opinions are founded, which being explained to him, he proceeds to paſs judgment.

I ſhould have taken notice, that the clerks of the aſſociates do not only examine the witneſſes, but hear what each party has to ſay in his behalf, and take it down in writing, and if a perſon does not care to ſpeak in his own cauſe, he is allowed any of his relations to ſpeak for him, and ſupply the place of a counſellor or advocate: but no relation more remote than a firſt couſin may perform this office.

Proofs by fire and water.

When other proofs are wanting, they have recourſe to torture, and ſeveral ſuperſtitious ways are practiſed for diſcovering the truth, not much unlike thoſe of our Saxon anceſtors: both the proſecutor and the priſoner are made to walk upon hot burning coals, and he that comes off unhurt, is adjudged to be in the right; and as their feet are callous and hard as horn, 'tis ſaid they often eſcape burning, eſpecially if they preſs hard upon the coals; this, 'tis ſaid, ſtifles the action of the fire, and they have a much better chance to eſcape than when they tread lightly. Sometimes the proof is made by putting their hands in boiling oil, and in this trial they will alſo by ſome peculiar management come off unhurt, 'tis ſaid.

Their proof by water is by diving, and he that remains longeſt under water, is looked upon as innocent; whereas among our ſots 'tis a ſign of guilt to float on the top of the water. To proceed, every man in Siam practiſes from his youth to familiariſe himſelf to fire and water, and will perform ſuch things as would amaze a ſtranger, who is not verſed in thoſe arts.

By vomits.

Another kind of proof is by vomiting-pills, which their prieſts adminiſter with ſevere imprecations; and that party which keeps them in his ſtomach without vomiting it held innocent. All their proofs are made in the preſence of the magiſtrates and people; even the King himſelf frequently directs them, where crimes come before him by way of appeal; ſometimes he orders both the informer and the priſoner to be thrown to the tygers, and the perſon that eſcapes, and the tygers do not ſeize, is ſufficiently juſtified; but if the tyger ſeizes neither, they have recourſe to ſome other trials not leſs abſurd; and ſo in every trial, where both parties come off unhurt. It is amazing with what intrepidity this people will offer themſelves to theſe kinds of proofs, even that of being torn to pieces by tygers; when as LOUBIERE obſerves, they ſhew ſo little courage in the face of their enemies.

By wild beaſts.

Appeals.

Appeals are allowed, it ſeems, from inferior courts to the ſuperior; the Preſident of the tribunal at Siam can reverſe a judgment given in any other province; and there is an appeal from him to the King; ſo that where the parties are rich and able to bear the charge, there is no end of the ſuit; but the poor are condemned with as little formality as they are in Europe; and where they meet with a potent adverſary, innocence is but a very ſlight protection: judgment of death is never executed in any of the provinces, but by the King's ſpecial commiſſion; but the baſtinado and other puniſhments, on which death frequently enſues, are inflicted by every Governor: but one thing ſeems peculiar to the Siameſe, that he who unjuſtly poſſeſſes himſelf of another's lands, is deemed no leſs guilty of robbery than he who robs on the high-way; and the perſon lawfully evicted, does not only reſtore the lands but forfeit the value of them, one half to the party diſpoſſeſſed and the other to the judge, as all other pains and forfeitures are divided; but then the King has half the Governor's moiety, and where there is not an hereditary Governor, the King has one entire half, and the party grieved the other. There is an officer of the crown in every province, who ſhould be ſome check upon the Governor, and report to the King what paſſes in the province, and particularly in the courts of juſtice; but it ſeems there is ſuch a general connivance among the officers at each others extortions, that the people receive very little benefit from his inſtitution: every officer ſqueezes what he can out of his inferiors, and the Nai, or commander of a band, compels thoſe under him to do double duty who have nothing to bribe him with; while others who preſent him handſomly, are entirely excuſed.

None put to death but by order of the King.

An unjuſt poſſeſſion of lands deemed a robbery.

Penalties divided between court and the party grieved.

General extortions.

Sometimes

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Punishments.

Sometimes criminals are ordered to be trampled to death by elephants; at other times they are toſſed by one elephant to another without killing them; for this, 'tis ſaid, the elephants will do upon a ſign, they are ſo extremely tractable.

But their puniſhments are uſually adapted to the crime; one who has been guilty of extortion, or robbing the publick treaſure, has melted gold or ſilver poured down his throat: lying is puniſhed by ſowing up the mouth, &c. Beheading alſo is a puniſhment uſed at Siam, and ſometimes they ſuffer death by the baſtinado.

They puniſh little criminals by hanging a heavy pillory-board about their necks for ſeveral days; and ſometimes a criminal is ſet into the ground up to the ſhoulders and buffeted about the head, which is the higheſt affront can be put upon a Siameſe, eſpecially if it be done by a woman: however, no puniſhment, 'tis ſaid, is infamous longer than it laſts; but he who has ſuffered one day, often enters into the higheſt employments the next, according to the caprice of the Prince; inſomuch that puniſhments are ſometimes boaſted of as an inſtance of his Majeſty's paternal care; officers are frequently puniſhed for the faults of inferior officers under their juriſdiction, as maſters of families are for faults committed by their children and dependants.

Militia.

Every perſon in Siam is enrolled, that none may eſcape the perſonal ſervice he owes his Prince ſix months in the year: they are divided firſt into right and left, and theſe bodies are again ſubdivided into bands or companies, which have each their Nai or Governor: theſe companies do not conſiſt always of the ſame number of men, neither does every Nai lead his own men to the war, or to the ſix months ſervice; but he is obliged to furniſh ſo many men out of his band as the King requires, either for the war or the ſix months ſervice; and the children are of the ſame band with the parents: the Talapoins or prieſts, and women only are exempted from this ſervice; but theſe alſo are enrolled, becauſe the Talapoins may return to a ſecular life again, and the women, becauſe their children may be of ſome band, tho' they are not.

It is ſaid to be one of the privileges of a Nai, to lend his ſoldier money before another man, and pay off his other creditors; and if he become inſolvent, the Nai may take him for his ſlave.

Every commander of a barge has alſo a certain number of rowers or pagayeurs under him, who are marked with a hot iron in their wriſts; and theſe their Nai or commander diſmiſſes ſix months at a time every year, or by ſingle months, as he ſees fit.

Figurative expreſſions.

The commander of a body of men is generally called by ſome pompous name, much beyond what his command really is, after the manner of the eaſt; for inſtance, one who commands five hundred men, ſhall have the title of Captain of ten thouſand; by which they mean no more than that he is a conſiderable officer: thus when they would deſcribe the beauty, ſtrength and magnitude of any thing, they frequently do it by a figure, far exceeding the ſubject they are treating of; and for want of attending to this manner of expreſſion among the Aſiaticks, no ſmall blunders have been committed in divinity as well as hiſtory.

Indian armies why ſo numerous.

After we have received theſe accounts of the Indian Princes enrolling all their ſubjects in their muſter rolls; we need not think it ſtrange that they are able to bring ſo many hundred thouſand men into the field, as our writers tell us: if our Princes were to muſter their whole poſſe, no doubt but their armies would be proportionably large; but what are theſe undiſciplined multitudes at laſt! a very ſmall number of regular troops will eaſily diſperſe them: their numbers only make them more liable to confuſion; and the very want of proviſions muſt compel them to return home, if they meet with no other misfortunes.

Elephants.

It is reported, that this Prince maintains ten thouſand elephants, but as they are kept in ſeveral provinces the better to ſubſiſt them, and that it is common to give a certain number for an uncertain, and to magniſy and multiply whatever they ſpeak of, much beyond the truth, this account is not to be relied on: beſides, it ſeems incredible that ten thouſand animals of this kind ſhould be found in any nation under the ſun, eſpecially in a country where great part of it is very improper for the breed of elephants; namely, their low lands, which are covered with water one part of the year.

How the Siameſe make war.

When the Siameſe and thoſe of Pegu are at war, their armies face one another very ſeldom: they make excurſions and carry great numbers of people into ſlavery, and then retire with all imaginable expedition; and if the armies do meet, they avoid ſhooting at one another directly, unleſs in the greateſt extremity: if the enemy advances, they fire ſomething ſhort, and then if they meet with their ſhot, they ſay the fault is theirs, if any of them are killed or wounded; for the King of Siam's orders are, kill not, when his troops take the field; by which is meant, they ſhould not fire directly upon the enemy; and whenever the bullets or arrows begin to fly pretty thick, one ſide or other does not fail to diſperſe. It is ſaid of a French engineer who ſerved in the King of Siam's army, when the General gave him orders to fire over the enemy, he imagined the General deſigned to betray his Prince; and that being weary with obſerving the cautions they gave him, when he could have done what execution he pleaſed; he went one night alone into the enemy's camp and brought off their General priſoner, which put an

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end to the war; for which ſervice, the King of Siam promiſed him great things, but his miniſters found means to deprive him of his reward, whereupon he left the country and went into the ſervice of the Great Mogul.

The forces of the kingdom.

The forces of the kingdom, as has been obſerved, conſiſts of ſuch men as owe ſix months ſervice to their Prince, and ſerve by turns: the King has beſides a guard of eight hundred men at Louvo, who were taught the European diſcipline by an Engliſh ſerjeant of Fort St. George; and four hundred more at Bancock, which commands the river on which the city of Siam ſtands; who were firſt taught to handle their arms by the Chevalier de Fourbin: theſe the King allows to maintain themſelves, and does not require any other ſervice than their remaining in garriſon in theſe places.

Their waters their beſt defence.

The woods and mountains on one ſide of Siam and the ſea on the other, renders it pretty ſecure from invaſions; and the rivers and canals that are interſperſed through the country, with the annual inundation, make it difficult for an enemy to penetrate far into the country, or to maintain himſelf long in it: if they cannot reſiſt an enemy they may drown him, as it ſeems was practiſed not many years ſince, when the Peguins invaded Siam with a prodigious army: they do not deſire therefore to erect any forts in their country, leſt they ſhould be taken and poſſeſſed by ſtrangers; and the annual inundation protects them without that hazard.

Artillery.

They have ſome artillery which the Portugueſe caſt for them, but no horſe, except about two thouſand in the King's ſtables; their armies conſiſt chiefly in elephants and a naked half armed infantry.

Their manner of drawing up in battalia.

They draw up in three lines, each line conſiſting of three ſquare battalions; and the General poſts himſelf in the centre of the middle battalion, which is compoſed of their beſt troops: the reſt of the commanding officers place themſelves in the centre of their reſpective bodies; and where theſe nine battalions are thought too large, each battalion is again ſubdivided into leſſer bodies: each battalion has ſixteen male elephants in the rear, and two ſhe elephants to attend every one of them, without which it would be difficult to govern them.

Their artillery is carried in waggons drawn by oxen or buffaloes, having no carriages for it; with theſe the fight begins and uſually ends; if not, they draw ſomething nearer and make uſe of their ſmall ſhot in the manner already obſerved, but hardly ever come to a cloſe fight; and if there is a neceſſity of making a ſtand, they are forced to place officers behind their men, and to threaten them with immediate death if they turn their backs. The Siameſe do not, like ſome other Indians, take opium to inſpire them with courage; they will run no ſuch hazards, death they think is equally to be dreaded whether drunk or ſober; and he that drinks to raiſe his courage, or rather to commit a raſh extravagant action, is acceſſary to his own death.

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When their body is broke they fly into the woods, whither the other ſide is ſeldom ſo hardy as to follow them; and as the armies are very numerous, and conſequently find it difficult to ſubſiſt, the conqueror is ſoon forced to retreat, and then the vanquiſhed rally again, and perhaps return his viſit. The elephants are their greateſt ſtrength; but then as they cannot be managed with bit and bridle as a horſe is, when they are wounded they will often turn back upon their maſters, and put the whole army into confuſion; and it is almoſt impoſſible to make them proof againſt wild-fire, though they fire ſhort guns upon their backs, about 3 foot long, which carry a ball of a pound weight.

Elephants.

Sieges.

They hardly ever heard of a town being taken by ſtorm in this country; but they will ſometimes ſtarve a place, or ſurprize it when they have a correſpondence with the treacherous inhabitants; otherwiſe a very ſlight work will bid defiance to their greateſt armies.

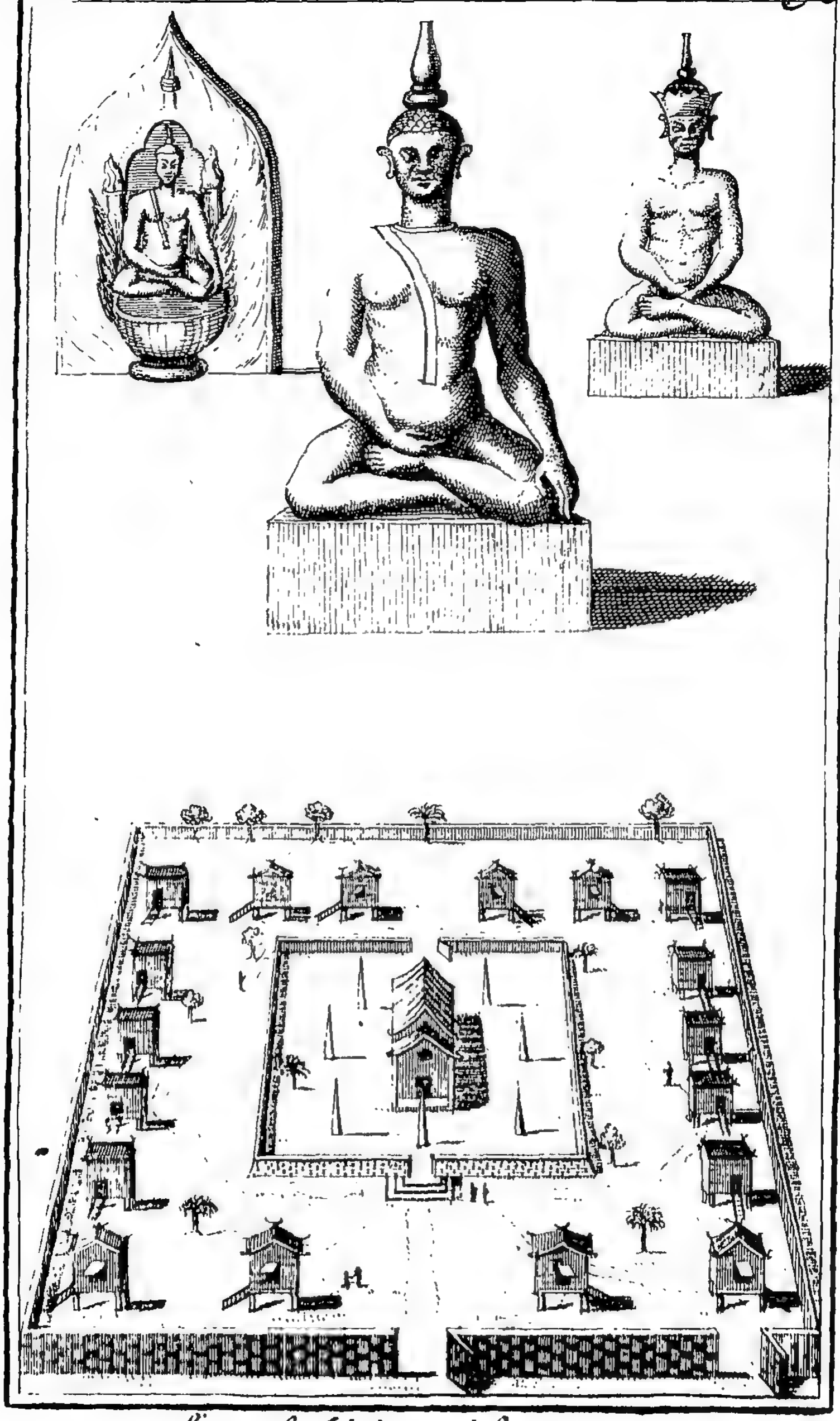
Ambaſſadors.

An Ambaſſador is regarded no otherwiſe at Siam, than as a royal meſſenger; the letter he carries has much greater honour paid it, than his perſon: the French Ambaſſadors obſerved, that while their King's letter and preſents were carried in the body barge, with ſeveral others of the ſame claſs to attend it, they themſelves were carried up the river of Siam in ordinary veſſels. The Siameſe never ſend Ambaſſadors to reſide at any court, but only to diſpatch ſome particular buſineſs, which uſually relates to trade; and upon theſe occaſions, they ſend three, though the firſt has the direction of the affair, and on his death is ſucceeded by the ſecond, and the ſecond by the third.

The reception of them.

When a foreign Ambaſſador arrives at Siam, he muſt not ſet forwards towards the court, till the King is appriſed of his coming; and if he is accompanied with Siameſe Ambaſſadors, as the French were, the Siameſe Ambaſſadors go up to court firſt, and acquaint his Majeſty with their arrival: the foreign Ambaſſadors are lodged and maintained at the King's charge, and are allowed to trade during their ſtay, but they are not ſuffered to enter the city, or tranſact any affairs till they have had their publick audience, or to continue there after their audience of leave; and therefore the evening before, the King demands if they have any thing farther to propoſe: And at the audience of leave, if they are ſatisfied. All publick audiences are in the metropolis, when the court appears in all its ſplendor: thoſe audiences which are given at the Louvo and other places, are accounted private audiences, where the guards and attendants are not numerous.

At



Siamese Idols and Convent

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At every audience the King ſpeaks firſt; and at thoſe of ceremony, the queſtions are uſually the ſame: the Ambaſſador is ordered afterwards to addreſs himſelf to the Barcalon or Prime Miniſter. Theſe Princes are not at all pleaſed with long harangues, and the leſs is ſaid on theſe publick occaſions, the greater honour they think is done them, or rather looking upon an Ambaſſador as an ordinary meſſenger, they eſteem it as a kind of inſult on their Majeſty to be detain'd long by them: however as the French are naturally given to talk, his Majeſty could not entirely prevent their Ambaſſador's ſpeeching it before him; and it ſeems he had taken care to dreſs up his diſcourſe in figures after the eaſtern way. When he ſpoke of the King, or Royal Family, he compared them to the ſun moon and ſtars; metaphors very common in this country, whereupon the Ambaſſador tells us, his Majeſty obſerved he had a mighty flow of words; but whether the King deſigned this as a compliment (as the Ambaſſador imagined) or by way of reproof, may be a queſtion. After the King has ſpoken to the Ambaſſador, he is preſented with a ſabre, a chain of gold, and a veſt, with which he immediately cloaths himſelf; and their retinue have ſometimes the like preſents made them, as thoſe of the French embaſſy had; and the King at his garden-houſe, or en paſſant, would ſometimes ſuffer them to approach him and converſe with him.

Temper of the people.

The people of India, LOUBIERE obſerves, are ſlow in their reſolutions, and will never omit any matters of form; that they are phlegmatick, hypocritical and inſinuating in their ſpeeches, and will often deſcend to downright cheating: and when the King of Siam's women would flatter him, they do not dwell upon his valour or magnificence, but admire his ſubtil policies, which they declare far exceeds the wiſdom of all the Princes of the world.

The Portugueſe, 'tis obſerved, always treated the Indians with great diſtruſt and inſolence, and the Dutch have followed their example; and as they are naturally crafty, and born in a ſtate of ſervitude, this is thought to be the propereſt way to manage them; they are ever ſubmiſſive to thoſe that uſe them haughtily, and inſolent under a gentle adminiſtration: the King of Siam obſerves, that his ſubjects are of the temper of his apes, who tremble while he has hold of their chain, but diſown him as ſoon as he lets it go.

As trade is what the King of Siam principally regards, and that the buſineſs of their embaſſies is only traſficking under an honourable title, there is no addreſſing this Prince without ſome conſiderable preſents, for which he teſtifies the higheſt value; if it be any thing to wear, he immediately cloaths himſelf with it in their preſence: if you preſent him with horſes, ſtables are immediately built to put them in: thus endeavouring to ſhew his eſteem of the preſent, though the profit is all that is really regarded.

While the preſents are in the Ambaſſador's hands, the King's officers come and take a very exact account of them, and inform themſelves of the value and the uſes of every the minuteſt things; that they may be able fully to anſwer all queſtions the King ſhall demand concerning them, as they pretend; though the principal deſign is to diſcover the true value of them.

Embaſſies deemed too great a condeſcenſion by ſome eaſtern Princes.

But as the eaſtern Princes eſteem it a mighty honour, and even a mark of ſome ſubjection, to receive embaſſies from foreign Princes; they for the ſame reaſon ſend as few as poſſible; and the Emperor of China and the great Mogul ſend none, looking upon it, that their countries ſtand in need of no foreign aſſiſtance, and the reſt of the world are under a neceſſity of courting them for the riches and produce of their reſpective Empires. The Siameſe Ambaſſadors are loaded with goods when they are ſent abroad, and are the King's factors rather than repreſentatives; and if they do not give a very good account of the improvement of their talents, are frequently baſtinadoed at their return.

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Treats of their religion, temples, and ſuperſtition.

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A Temple in the Siameſe language is called Pihan, but the Portugueſe, from the Perſian word poutgheda, which ſignifies a temple of idols, call all Pagan temples, as well as the idols in them, Pagoda's; and thus they are called by the Europeans all over India. Pagoda.

Every Siameſe temple ſtands in the middle of a ſquare piece of ground, ſurrounded with pyramids, and encloſed with a wall; without this wall is another large ſquare which encompaſſes the former, round which are the cells of the prieſts and prieſteſſes, which are often very numerous, and theſe our miſſionaries term a convent. Theſe cells are ſingle houſes erected upon bambou pillars at little diſtances from one another, and the whole is encloſed with a fence of bambou pales. The Talapoineſſes or Nuns are in the ſame convents with the men, and as they are never admitted till they are of an advanced age, there is no danger apprehended of a criminal correſpondence; and in ſeveral reſpects the conſtitution of a Pagan convent ſeems much to be preferred to that of a Catholick cloyſter: for firſt, neither ſex is forced into a cloyſter againſt their conſents. 2dly, Young girls are not admitted into them at all; and 3dly, Liberty is given to any perſon to return into the world, when that ſtate of life becomes uneaſy to them.

Cloyſters.

Nuns.

As all the youth are educated by the Talapoins, every one has two or three pens or pupils under his

Pupils and ſervants in convents.

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his charge, who ſerve him alſo while they continue in the convent: there are ſome nens that do not go in for education, but live and grow old there, and are a ſort of lay-brothers; theſe pull up the weeds that grow in the gardens, and perform other offices which it would be a ſin for the Talapoin himſelf to be concerned in.

The nens have one common room in the convent for their ſchool, and there is another anſwerable to it, whither the people bring their alms on thoſe days the temple is ſhut; and here the Talapoins aſſemble and have their conferences.

Steeples. The ſteeple of the Pagoda is a wooden tower, not joined to the temple, but ſtanding by itſelf, and has a bell in it without a clapper, which they beat upon with wooden hammers inſtead of ringing it.

Heads of the convent. Every convent has its head or maſter, and the heads of ſome houſes have greater privileges than others, and are called Sancrats, and only theſe can admit one into the order of Talapoins, and give him the habit; but otherwiſe theſe Sancrats have no juriſdiction over any Talapoins, who are not of their reſpective convents; nor have they any thing to diſtinguiſh their convents from others, but ſome ſtones planted round the temple, which our miſſionaries will have to reſemble a mitre, and from thence infer, that epiſcopacy was once in this country, and that theſe Sancrats ſucceeded the antient Chriſtian Biſhops.

The King gives a name to ſome of the principal Sancrats, with an umbrella, and a chair, and ſlaves to carry it, tho' the Sancrats never uſe them but to attend his Majeſty.

Life of a Talapoin. The Talapoins by their inſtitution are obliged to lead holy auſtere lives, whereby they are thought to atone for the ſins of the laity; they are a ſort of mendicants, and live on alms; neither may they eat in common, but every one eats what he begs by himſelf: they are very hoſpitable to ſtrangers, and even to Chriſtians who come into their convents, and have lodgings on each ſide their gate for the entertainment of travellers.

There are two ſorts of Talapoins, one of the woods, the other of cities; thoſe in the woods lead much the ſevereſt lives: however both of them are obliged to celibacy on pain of being burnt, which the King takes care ſhall be ſtrictly executed; for as they have great privileges, and are exempted from the ſix months ſervice, it behoves him to ſee they keep up to the rules of their profeſſion, and that their lives be not deſtitute of hardſhips, leſt his ſubjects ſhould moſt of them be induced to turn Talapoins, and thereby become uſeleſs to the ſtate.

Sometimes therefore he has them examined as to their skill in the balie language, in which the precepts of their religion are written: and the French Ambaſſadors tell us, the King had diſmiſſed ſome thouſands for their ignorance, juſt before they arrived at Siam, who were examined by one of his officers of ſtate; but that the Talapoins of the woods would not ſubmit to be examined by any one, but thoſe of their own order.

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Preach to the people. They do not only educate children, but preach and explain the precepts of their religion to the people in their temples every new and full moon; and in the time of the inundation, till the waters abate, they preach every day, from ſix in the morning till noon, and from one in the afternoon till five in the evening. The preacher ſits croſs-legged on a high bench, or couch, and when one is weary, another relieves him; and the people ſhew their aſſent to the doctrine by ſaying, it is ſo, or this is right, or fit to be done. After which they preſent their alms to the preacher, many of whom become very rich by the liberality of the people. This time of the inundation the Europeans call the lent of the Talapoins, for they eat nothing from noon, and when they do not faſt, they only eat fruit in the afternoon. It is reported of ſome of the Indians, that they will faſt thirty or forty days without taking any thing more than ſome ſmall liquors with a powder infuſed in them; but this is certain, that it is much eaſier faſting in a hot country, than in a cold one; nor are the effects of an empty ſtomach ſo pernicious there as here.

Faſts.

Watchings. The Talapoins of the towns, after rice harveſt, go for three weeks together every night to watch in the fields, in little huts made of the branches and leaves of trees, and return in the day-time to their cells: they encamp in a ſquare in much the ſame order their cells ſtand in the town, with their ſuperior's cell in the centre: they make no fires to fright away the wild beaſts, as travellers do every night, the people imagining their ſanctity preſerves them; but indeed they take care to pitch their tents at a diſtance from the woods where wild beaſts chiefly haunt; and as for thoſe Talapoins who inhabit the woods, they make fires, as other people do, to keep off the wild beaſts; though the people impute their ſafety to their great holineſs.

Pretended holineſs of the Talapoins. They believe a tyger will ſmell of a ſleeping Talapoin, and only lick his hands and feet; and if the remains of one that has been killed be found, they either deny it to be a Talapoin, or if that cannot be diſputed, they ſay he has tranſgreſſed the rules of his order, it being preſumed, that even brutes may diſtinguiſh a ſaint from another man by the ſmell. But after all, as LOUBIERE very well obſerves, their woods are not ſo dangerous as is pretended, many families of the laity, as well as Talapoins, dwelling in them when the rigour of the government has obliged to take refuge there.

Habit of the Talapoins. Theſe Talapoins go bare-foot and bare-headed, but have a linen cloth round their middles, died yellow, which is the royal colour here, as well as in

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in China: they have no muſlin ſhirt or veſt, like the laity, but a yellow linen cloth thrown over their left ſhoulder, like a ſhoulder-belt, and over all another large yellow cloth, which has its name from the many rags and patches it is compoſed of; and this hangs down before and behind, and is girt about with a ſaſh of four or five inches broad; they ſhave the hair of their heads, beards, and eye-brows, and have a broad leaf or talapat, which they hold by the ſtalk, and ſerves them inſtead of a fan or umbrella. The ſuperior is forced to ſhave himſelf, becauſe no perſon is worthy to touch his head; and for the ſame reaſon a young Talapoin muſt never ſhave an old one, but the elder may ſhave the younger. When a Talapoin grows too old to handle a razor, another may ſhave him; but then the perſon who ſhaves him muſt ask a thouſand pardons firſt, and declare how unworthy he is of ſuch an honour. (The Siam razors it ſeems are made of copper.)

Waſhings. The Talapoins waſh themſelves early in the morning, when they can juſt diſcern the veins of their hands, and do not do it ſooner for fear they ſhould drown ſome inſect, and not perceive it. When they are dreſſed, they go to the temple with their ſuperior, where they ſpend two hours in

Devotions. chanting their devotions. Theſe hymns, or whatever we call them, are engraved with an iron pencil on thoſe long leaves about two fingers broad already mentioned, in the Balie tongue, and ſeveral of theſe leaves tacked together at one end make a book; but the people have no books to read their prayers and hymns in. The Talapoins ſit croſs-legg'd while they ſing, and keep time with their talapat or fan, as if they were fanning themſelves. Both prieſts and people, at going in and out of the temple, proſtrate themſelves three times before the great idol, with their heads to the ground; but while they remain in the temple they all ſit croſs-legged; ſo that it ſeems they expreſs more reverence for their Prince than their gods, all people lying proſtrate in the King's preſence, except when they are ſpoke to.

At the new and full moons the people waſh the Talapoins, and in every private family, the children, without regard to ſex or age, waſh both father and mother, grand-father and grand-mother, naked.

Talapoins beg their food. After their morning devotions, the Talapoins go into the city to beg; they have an iron bowl or diſh in a linen bag, which they hang over their ſhoulders with a rope; they only ſtand at the gate of a houſe, but demand nothing; and the people ſeldom let them go away empty handed. They never go in or out of their convents without proſtrating themſelves before their ſuperior, and kiſſing his feet. Their convents have gardens belonging to them, and are endowed with cultivated lands, and they have ſlaves to manure them; their grounds are alſo free from taxes, but the Prince has the reverſion or inheritance of them.

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The Talapoins at their return out of town eat their breakfaſt, having firſt offered it to the idol; then they ſtudy till dinner, and ſleep, as is uſual in hot countries; afterwards they inſtruct their little pupils, and towards the evening, having ſwept and cleaned their temple, they ſpend two hours in ſinging their devotions, as in the morning, after which they retire to reſt, ſeldom eating any thing but a little fruit. If they have any leiſure time in an afternoon, they ſpend it in walking about the town.

Lay brothers. The Talapoins have, beſides their ſlaves, other ſervants, as has been already obſerved, which are a kind of lay-brothers, and wear the ſame habit, only white: theſe receive the money that is given the Talapoin, it being a ſin for the prieſt himſelf to touch any of that mammon; and theſe ſervants alſo look after their gardens and husbandry, and tranſact all ſuch matters, as it is not lawful for a Talapoin to be concerned in.

Heads of houſes elected. When the head of a houſe dies, another is elected by the ſociety, whoſe age or learning uſually recommends him to that poſt; and when any perſon builds a temple, he appoints the ſuperior of the convent, but builds no other cells; theſe are erected as other members are admitted afterwards.

When any one deſires to be admitted into a convent, he firſt applies himſelf to the head of the houſe, but receives his habit from ſome Sancrat; none are ever oppoſed in taking the habit upon them, it being eſteemed a great ſin to hinder it; their parents are ſeldom againſt it, this being the ſureſt way of growing rich; and they are obliged to remain there no longer than they pleaſe: their relations therefore hire people to ſing and dance before them, when they lead their ſon to the convent to take the habit; but neither the muſick or the women are admitted to enter with them: the new religious has his head, beard and eyebrows ſhaved, and the Sancrat pronounces ſome pious ſentences on his devoting himſelf to religion; and the new Talapoin is ſhut up in his convent, and is never to ſee a dance or hear muſick afterwards.

Nuns. The Talapoineſſes are clothed in white, and are deemed partly ſecular and partly religious: they may receive the habit from any head of a houſe as well as the young nens, without leave of a Sancrat: if any of them are ſurprized with a man, they are not burnt as the Talapoins are for entertaining a criminal commerce with women; but the Talapoineſſes in this caſe are delivered to their relations to be baſtinadoed, for the prieſt may not ſtrike or chaſtiſe any one.

Different rules obſerved by their prieſts. The Indian prieſts, tho' they all maintain the doctrine of the metempſychoſis or tranſmigration of ſouls, yet in many other things they are not agreed; ſome allow of marriage, others prohibit it; ſome look upon it to be a ſin to deprive any animal of life, others make no ſcruple of it; and

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there are a third ſort who kill them very ſeldom, and only for ſacrifice: ſome there are alſo that will eat any animal if it dies of itſelf, or is killed to their hands, tho' they would no more put an animal to death themſelves than they would murder a man.

Every thing animated.

There is not any thing in nature, whether animate or inanimate, but the Indians believe it to be informed by a rational ſoul: the heaven, the earth, fire, water, rivers, woods, mountains, cities and houſes, in their opinion, are all actuated by ſome ſpirit or genius; and all of them to a man believe

Pre exiſtent ſtate.

a pre-exiſtent ſtate, or rather, that each man has paſſed through innumerable ſtates; and that every ſoul that poſſeſſes a human body, was confined to it in order to be puniſhed for miſdemeanors committed in ſome former life. This they think may well be inferred from that juſt obſervation, that the happieſt mortal is not without his croſſes, and that this life therefore is really his hell; and that the higheſt felicity is found in a ſtate of ſeparation from the body. And ſome of the Talapoins, the better to ſtrengthen their opinion of the ſoul's pre-exiſtence, pretend to remember their ſeveral tranſmigrations.

All things undergo a diſſolution, and revive again.

The form of the world only, they believe to be eternal; all viſible objects they look upon as ſo many rational beings, who have lived and exiſted in a former ſtate, and muſt die and revive again; that the heavens, the earth, plants and all things elſe have their period, and will be ſucceeded by new heavens and a new earth, &c. and do not ſcruple to affirm, that they have ſeen all nature decay and revive again.

The ſoul material, and retains the ſame ſubſtance and figure as the body.

They do not believe the ſoul to be a pure ſpirit, but that it conſiſts of matter ſo ſubtil as to be free from touch, and that after death it retains the human figure, and the ſame ſolid and liquid ſubſtances our bodies are compoſed of; and that if a perſon die by a wound given him it may be ſeen in theſe aerial bodies, with the blood flowing from it, agreeable to the notions of the antient Greeks and Romans; but though the ſoul be material in their opinion, they will not admit that it is periſhable, but that it animates ſome other creature, and knows pain or pleaſure according to its demerits, till it enter a human body again; whoſe circumſtances they hold will be ſuitable to the behaviour of the ſoul in its ſeveral tranſmigrations.

Degrees of happineſs and miſery.

They hold alſo, that departed ſouls do not only animate plants and animals, &c. ſucceſſively; but that there are alſo certain ſpaces beyond the viſible world, where they ſhall be rewarded or puniſhed; that the happy aſcend far above the ſtars, while the miſerable are doomed as far beneath; and they uſually aſſign nine different regions both of happineſs and miſery, every one differing in degree, the higheſt and loweſt being moſt exquiſite in their kind. And as they do not imagine that ſouls paſs immediately from one ſtate to another, but are new-born into whatever place they happen to go; ſo they believe they ſtand in need of the ſame things they did in this life: and for that reaſon, as the Pagans did of old, in ſome places they burn their moſt valuable moveables, and even animals and ſlaves with them; their wives alſo in the hither India uſed to offer themſelves to be burnt with their husbands, in hopes to enjoy them in the other world; and, 'tis ſaid, there have not wanted inſtances there of the husband burning himſelf with his beloved wife. But LOUBIERE obſerves, that neither the Chineſe or Siameſe, or any nation beyond the Ganges, ever permitted the wife to burn herſelf with her husband; and are ſo wiſe, that inſtead of real furniture and treaſure, they burn there only gilded or painted paper reſembling thoſe things; giving out that theſe are converted into real goods, and though the Chineſe burn ſome goods, yet they burn much more in paper.

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Goods, & burnt wit the dead bodies.

The reaſon of it.

But as the Siameſe believe they may contribute and adminiſter to the relief of the deceaſed, ſo they believe alſo that the dead are capable of doing them good or hurt; and accordingly pray

Praying to and for the dead.

to their departed friends, and do them all the honour they can contrive at their funerals, eſpecially to the manes of their anceſtors as high as their great grandfathers; imagining that thoſe beyond have ſuffered ſo many tranſmigrations that they can hear them no more; ſo that they look upon departed ſouls to be in ſuch a condition, as to want the aſſiſtance of thoſe they have left behind; and yet that they are able to adminiſter to the neceſſities of their friends below, and puniſh their neglects. and in this they ſeem to fall into the ſame abſurdity with the worſhippers of departed ſouls on this ſide the globe, namely, to pray for, and pray to the ſame object. But methinks if we are to look upon departed ſpirits as a kind of inferior deities, they ſhould not want the aſſiſtance of their votaries: or on the other hand, if they ſtand in need of all the neceſſaries of life themſelves, they ſhould not be in a condition to beſtow them upon their friends. But what makes this practice of praying to departed ſouls ſtill more abſurd, is, that they ſuppoſe them often to be confined to plants and vegetables, and even to inanimate things. In theſe circumſtances they ſhould not, one would think, be able to exert any acts of power. But

Pray on's to their relations.

the eaſtern nations do not, like our ſuperſtitious Europeans, hope or fear any thing from the departed ſpirits of ſtrangers, but only from thoſe of their own neighbourhood, profeſſion or family; therefore to theſe only they addreſs their devotions.

Every thing under an inevitable fate.

They are ſo far from believing a Providence, that they do not entertain any notion of that Supreme Being which created and ſuſtains all things, according to LOUBIERE: on the contrary, they hold that every man is under a fatal neceſſity in all his

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actions; nevertheleſs they believe that virtue is ever attended with ſucceſs, and vice with puniſhments; but how there can be ſuch a thing as virtue or vice where our actions are determined and nothing is left to choice, is not very eaſy to diſcover; for if it is the will or intention that renders every action good or bad, then where there is no choice there can be no ſuch thing as virtue or vice, which our Predeſtinarians on this ſide the globe would do well to conſider. Where people believe no God, or believe him only the ſoul of the univerſe, and that nature proceeds in a certain unalterable courſe, and is not under the controll or government of any ſuperior being; no wonder they run into a great many abſurdities conſequent on ſuch a belief; but that thoſe who acknowledge a God infinitely juſt and good, ſhould make him decree every action of our lives, and lay us under a neceſſity of committing all manner of crimes, and yet hold that he will puniſh us everlaſtingly for complying with his decrees, ſeems a greater abſurdity than any the Indians maintain. Beſides, if God's decrees are irrevocable and irreſiſtible, and he has already determined our fate; to what purpoſe are we adviſed to repent and amend, and pray to this inexorable being, or deprecate any calamity? To tell us that the means as well as the end are decreed; and yet at the ſame time, that no means whatever can avail us or have any tendency to promote the end: for that God acts irreſiſtibly and entirely without our concurrence, is to make him decree means that are of no manner of uſe, and which in this view cannot properly be ſtiled means. On the contrary, if the means have a tendency to promote the end, then there is ſomething beſides the abſolute decrees of heaven that promotes our ſalvation. To proceed, why may not a perſon who believes every action of his life decreed innocently ſit ſtill and neglect all means? for he may ſay, it was decreed that he ſhould ſit ſtill and neglect all means, and conſequently can incur no guilt in thus complying with God's decrees. On the other hand, if I uſe all the means I am directed to, according to theſe gentlemen, it is becauſe I am under a neceſſity of uſing them, and could not have done otherwiſe; and then why am I to be commended or thought better of than if I neglected them? And yet we ſee a wide difference made by all the world, between thoſe who take good courſes and thoſe that take bad; when according to this doctrine, the virtue of both are equal.

Abſurdity of this opinion.

The uſual anſwer to the objection.

But altho' theſe conſequences cannot be avoided, yet they are thought to be ſufficiently anſwered, by ſtarting difficulties on the other ſide; ſay they, if God foreſees all events, and has ordained certain cauſes which he knows will infallibly produce ſuch effects; then may he very well be ſaid to have decreed the effects alſo, becauſe ſuch cauſes could have had no other effects.

But this argument, if it proves any thing, proves too much; namely, 'that God could not make a 'free agent and be omniſcient,' which ſurely no man will affirm; and if God could, he certainly has made us free agents, it reſulting ſo much more to his honour to give us our choice of happineſs or miſery, as he frequently does in the ſacred writings, than to have pronounced a rigorous irreverſible decree, aſſigning millions of ſouls to exquiſite and everlaſting miſery, for committing actions (crimes I cannot ſtile them, being under a fatal neceſſity) which it was not in their power to avoid.

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Reply.

Beſides, all the offers of ſalvation in the Goſpel, according to this ſyſtem, muſt be rather an inſult and banter upon human nature, than that merciful diſpenſation it is generally apprehended to be: to ſhew us the way of ſalvation, to incite and intreat us to accept of happineſs; and tell us at the ſame time, it is not in our power to make any advances even in wiſh or thought, towards cloſing with the terms propoſed, is ſurely ſuch a mockery and ſo inſincere a practice as we would not aſcribe to a man like our ſelves, much leſs to God, whoſe juſtice and goodneſs we acknowledge to be infinite, if we do not flatter him: and to make our Saviour come into the world and die for ſinners, he had decreed never to pardon; or make him die for thoſe he had before decreed to pardon, and who according to this notion were deſtined to happineſs, and could not reſiſt the grace, if our Saviour had never come into the world, is equally abſurd, and makes his ſacred blood of very little value. That Indians, who know nothing of God, or which is the ſame thing, have no juſt notions of his attributes, and have never heard of the kind, and let me add ſincere offers of ſalvation made to mankind, ſhould aſcribe every thing to fate or inevitable neceſſity, is not much to be wondered at; but that we who adore the Divine Goodneſs for his merciful offers of ſalvation to mankind, ſhould talk of ſecret decrees and inevitable fate, whereby they are all defeated, is very abſurd; either we have a freedom of choice, or the ſetting before us life and death, happineſs and miſery, as the ſacred writings do, is a perfect mockery.

Precepts to be obſerved by the Talapoins.

To return to the religion of the Talapoins: they are prohibited to kill any thing, to ſteal, commit uncleanneſs, to lye or drink intoxicating liquors. By the firſt, they underſtand they are prohibited not only to kill men or animals, but vegetables, and therefore do not deſtroy the ſeed of any plant; as for the fruit, that does not affect the life, and therefore they think themſelves at full liberty to eat it; but then they preſerve the kernel or ſtone, that being the ſeed; nor will they eat fruit before it is ripe, becauſe then the ſeed would come to nothing. They will not deſtroy any thing which we deem inanimate, becauſe they

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imagine every thing is animated, as has been obſerved, by ſome ſpirit or genii, and that in deſtroying any of them, they diſpoſſeſs a ſoul of its habitation; and for that reaſon they would not cut down a tree upon any account, or break off the branches; but when it is cut down to their hands, or a beaſt be ready kill'd, they make no ſcruple of uſing or eating them, becauſe they can do no farther miſchief thereby. They do not think it lawful to open a vein, or make an inciſion which may let out the blood on any account, looking upon it, that the ſoul has its reſidence in the blood; and ſome Indians carry this ſo far, that they will not wound a plant to let out the juices. But the Siameſe have ways to evade moſt of the precepts their religion enjoins. Thus in war, they ſay, they are not the occaſion of the death of an enemy, but their enemies themſelves, in advancing upon their ſhot; for they always ſhoot ſomething ſhort of them, as has been obſerved. And when the Talapoins eat rice, which is a ſeed, they do not boil it themſelves, becauſe this would kill it, which would be a ſin in them; but they make their ſervants boil it and kill the ſeed, and then they look upon the eating it to be innocent. They hold it alſo to be a ſin to piſs either upon the earth, the fire or the water, becauſe it might extinguiſh the fire, or corrupt the other elements; but their ſervant may pour away the water, and do what miſchief of that kind he pleaſes; and they do not look upon themſelves accountable for it.

To proceed, the Talapoins may not hear muſick, or ſee plays or dancing; they muſt uſe no perfumes, or touch gold or ſilver, (though 'tis obſerved they grow rich) or meddle in any matter which does not immediately concern religion. A Talapoin muſt borrow nothing of a layman, or contract any friendſhip with him in hopes of alms or preſents; nor may he lend upon uſury: he muſt keep no arms, eat or ſleep immoderately, ſing diverting ſongs, whiſtle or play on any inſtrument, or uſe any ſport or diverſion whatever: they are prohibited alſo to judge or cenſure their neighbours; to get up on any trees, leſt they ſhould injure them, or burn wood: they may not look upon a woman with complacency, or ſpeak to one in private, nor buy or ſell any thing; they muſt not ſet by what they beg one day for the next, but give what they do not eat to ſome animal: they may not till the earth, keep poultry, elephants, horſes, buffaloes, hogs or dogs: they are prohibited to ſit near a woman, to ſpeak otherwiſe than they think, or to covet another's eſtate: they ſin in riding on a horſe, elephant or in a palequin, or wearing rich clothes or ſhoes, and in covering their heads, or if they receive any thing of the hand of a woman, and therefore ſhe lays down her alms for the Talapoin to take up: a Talapoin ſins if he loves one man better than another; if he eats in gold or ſilver, or wears any colour but yellow; if they lift up their voice when they laugh; if they boaſt of their deſcent or learning, or viſit any but their fathers, mothers, brothers or ſiſters, they ſin: if any of them run in the ſtreets, or lift up their cloth about their middle: if they look impudently in any man's face, or return railing for railing; if they threaten any man, or wrangle, or are angry, or if they enter into the temple with any Talapoin they know is indebted to another, they ſin; they muſt neither make a fire, nor extinguiſh it; they muſt not eat the fleſh of a horſe, elephant, ſerpent, tyger, crocodile, dog, or cat; they muſt not beg daily at the ſame houſe; they muſt not ſleep in the ſame bed with their pupils, or any other: great neatneſs and modeſty is alſo required of them: when they go to a funeral, the certainty of death, the inſtability of human affairs, and the like, are to be the ſubject of their hymns and diſcourſes.

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When they are told, that according to their doctrine of tranſmigration, murder may be a very innocent thing, becauſe it only delivers the ſoul from a life it was condemned to by way of puniſhment: they anſwer, that a ſoul is always injured, when it is violently diſpoſſeſſed, and that it is not releaſed, but condemned to ſome other body, in the ſame circumſtances, to compleat the intended time it was deſigned for this life. And, according to this notion, the murdered perſon receives no great injury neither; but it is in vain to account for all the abſurdities and contradictions to be found in a falſe religion. We find ſome ſects of idolaters, the Chineſe particularly, deſtroying their children, that they may revive again in a more happy ſtate, and avoid the miſeries attending poverty, &c. but if they are to poſſeſs a body in exactly the ſame circumſtances, they might as well ſuffer them to live out their deſtined time at firſt, for they would have no advantage by dying, but the trouble of a fruitleſs removal: and though ſome of them believe ſelf-murder to be meritorious, and to entitle them to a much happier ſtate upon the next remove; yet others, we find, who look upon one who murders himſelf not to deſerve the honours of a funeral, and believe the ſoul of ſuch a one is condemned to wander among the evil genii, or rather becomes one of thoſe malicious ſpirits, which delight in afflicting mankind.

Some conſequences of their doctrine of tranſmigration objected to them.

The firſt precept of their religion, prohibiting the killing of any creature, they do not only extend to men and animals, but to plants and ſeeds, as has been obſerved. As to their ſecond precept, which prohibits ſtealing, they do not ſeem to regard it much. By the third and fourth, concerning impurity and drunkenneſs, they look upon the married ſtate to be as much prohibited as irregular luſt; and the drinking ſtrong liquor, though never ſo moderately, to be as criminal as being drunk with

The precepts of their religion explained.

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with it. And indeed their religion requires ſo high a degree of purity and abſtemiouſneſs, that they do not think it is poſſible for the profane laity to arrive at that perfection it requires: the Talapoins, the prieſts, only are ſuppoſed to live up to theſe rules, who by their extraordinary holineſs, as themſelves give out, make ſatisfaction for the ſins of the people: the righteouſneſs of the prieſts, it is ſaid, is imputed to them, provided they are not deficient in their alms and offerings to thoſe fathers. But againſt whom theſe ſins are committed, or to whom ſatisfaction is to be made, if they believe there is no God to take an account of their actions, I do not underſtand; and therefore, though they may worſhip inferior or ſubordinate deities, yet it is not improbable the Popiſh miſſionaries have miſrepreſented them in this particular, eſpecially ſince they acknowledge a ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, and ſeveral degrees of each. To proceed,

Pride of their prieſts.

As the Talapoins look upon themſelves to be holier than the reſt of mankind, their pride, it is obſerved, is anſwerable to this fond opinion: they ſeat themſelves therefore always above the laity, and diſdain to ſalute any but thoſe of their own caſt: it is beneath them alſo to mourn for the death of a friend, or even of a parent. They confeſs, it is true, to their ſuperiors in general terms; but even this is a declaration rather of their righteouſneſs, than of their ſins; for example, they ſay, I have neither ſtolen, or lied, or drank any ſtrong liquor, &c. And, in ſhort, like the antient and modern Phariſees, boaſt that they are not as other men are, extortioners, unjuſt, &c. when indeed they have only found out ways to evade the precepts of their religion, and lull their conſciences aſleep; none being more remarkable for covetouſneſs and extortion than themſelves.

Hypocriſy.

Never meddle with the State, and protected by it.

It is a ſin alſo, it ſeems, for theſe puritans to laugh aloud, or to be ſeen without an auſtere cloudy brow; and anſwerable to the homage they expect, they are almoſt deified by the vulgar: in one thing however their modeſty appears, they never pretend to controll the ſtate, or meddle in affairs of government; and the government, on the other hand, never make rules or orders in religious matters, but inviolably maintain the privileges of the clergy.

Heaven of the Indians.

We have already obſerved nine degrees of happineſs or miſery, which, according to the Siameſe, departed ſouls paſs through; but in all theſe ſtates it ſeems they are born and die, and are not yet arrived at their ultimate happineſs; but after ſeveral tranſmigrations, in which a ſoul has performed a multitude of good works, they believe it may at length merit ſo far as to be exalted above all mortal ſtates, and, being exempted from any future tranſmigration, ſhall enjoy an eternal reſt, and be no more liable to pain, or grief, or any calamity whatever. And this is properly the heaven of the Indians; for though they do expect great happineſs in the higheſt of the nine regions already mentioned, yet they do not hold, that the joys of that ſtate are everlaſting, or free from every kind of uneaſineſs; but men they hold are born and die in that, as well as other ſtates; nor do they imagine, that any ſouls will be eternally puniſhed in the diſmal abodes appointed for the evil genii, but will come upon the ſtage again, and if they do not merit heaven, will be deſtined to an eternal tranſmigration, which is properly the hell of theſe idolaters.

Hell.

When a perſon has happily merited heaven, before he is tranſlated thither, (for ſuch a ſoul is ſuppoſed to be incapable of dying any more) they attribute to him an invincible ſtrength of body, and a perfect skill in all ſciences, and believe he becomes a moſt powerful preacher of righteouſneſs to mankind: after which he diſappears, or is taken out of their ſight, like a ſpark (as their expreſſion is) which is loſt in air: and to the memory of ſuch as theſe, they dedicate their temples. But the perſon they ſuppoſe has ſurpaſſed all men that ever lived in holineſs, and whom therefore they worſhip with the higheſt devotion, is SOMMONA CODOM; SOMMONA ſignifies a Talapoin of the woods, CODOM was his proper name; and, as has been obſerved already, virtue, according to them, is only to be found in the order of Talapoins, and chiefly in the Talapoins of the woods. In the opinion of LOUBIERE, the Siameſe have no other god, but this SOMMONA CODOM, no notion of the great Creator of heaven and earth. But it is difficult to aſſent to him entirely, becauſe ſome ſuperior being ſurely they muſt acknowledge, who advanced SOMMONA CODOM to his ſupreme felicity, and rewarded his inimitable piety; and perhaps this may be at laſt the hiſtory of the incarnation, mixed and diſguiſed with a great deal of fable, as ſeveral other events in the ſacred writings certainly have been. For, I think, there is no manner of doubt, that St. THOMAS preached the Goſpel in Proper India; there being Chriſtians found there, when the Portugueſe firſt came into that country; theſe Chriſtians ſtill have a tradition of his being there, and ſhew the place where he was martyred; and theſe Indian Chriſtians were certainly not the diſciples of Rome, for they refuſed to acknowledge the authority of that Church, and in ſome inſtances to comply with it at this day, as ſhall be obſerved in ſpeaking of the religion of the Hither India. Now Siam lying but upon the oppoſite ſhore, and nothing dividing it from the Hither India, but the bay of Bengal, it is not difficult to ſuppoſe, if St. THOMAS was martyr'd there, ſome of his diſciples preached the Goſpel in the adjacent countries. What ſeems alſo to be a confirmation of this opinion, and which LOUBIERE obſerves the Miſſionaries lay a great

SOMMONA CODOM the only idol to which they pay divine worſhip.

Whether the hiſtory of him hath not ſome reſemblance of the incarnation.

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ſtreſs upon, is, that the books of the Talapoins make Maha MARIA, or the Great MARY (Maha ſignifying great in the Balie language) to be the mother of SOMMONA CODOM, and that he was never conceived after the manner of other mortals, but born of a flower; or, as ſome explain it, that his mother was impregnated by ſmelling to a flower. But to theſe conjectures LOUBIERE anſwers, that this name MARIA is as often wrote MANIA, and always pronounced MANIA; and he thinks the Miſſionaries are too forward in building much upon it. For my part, I ſhall not take upon me to determine any thing in this matter; poſſibly there may be ſome truth mixt with a multitude of falſhoods. There are ſo many palpable contradictions to be found in Popiſh legends, and Catholicks are ſo apt to ſtretch in their relations of facts, which have a tendency to promote their religion, and eſpecially ſuch things as may derive any honour to the bleſſed Virgin, that we ought to uſe great caution in forming our judgment. Was I ſure, that the Talapoins in their books make Maha MARIA, or MANIA, the mother of SOMMONA CODOM, and that he was conceived in a miraculous manner; that he was a great preacher of righteouſneſs, and the moſt perfect man that ever appeared in the world; and that at length he diſappeared, and was tranſlated to the ſupremeſt felicity: if all theſe facts are recorded in theſe books, I confeſs it would be of ſome weight with me; tho' I muſt beg the Miſſionaries pardon, if what LOUBIERE has given us on this head, is more attended to, than any of their relations, he appearing to have much leſs ſuperſtition, than is generally found amongſt them, and not ſeeming at all addicted to propagate holy cheats: on the contrary, notwithſtanding he is a Roman Catholick; he gives ſo little countenance to the miracles the Miſſionaries pretend to work in the eaſt; that he has not related one of them as I remember: however he is a Catholick, and his book printed in a country where pious frauds are not altogether baniſhed; and ſome facts may be inſerted in his book which he is not the author of. To conclude, it is no ſmall reproach to the reformed, that we never ſend one Proteſtant Miſſionary abroad, who may clear up our doubts in theſe matters. Thoſe who are ſent either to the Eaſt or Weſt Indies, under the notion of propagating the Chriſtian faith, are only chaplains to our factories and plantations; and ſeldom attempt to inform themſelves of the religion of the Indians, much leſs to recommend their own to them. Their numbers alſo are ſo ſmall, and they are ſo little verſed in the arts and ſciences the Roman Catholick Miſſionaries are inſtructed in, that they could do but little good if they attempted it. Indeed they are compoſed of ſuch of the clergy who could expect little from their merits at home, or ſome few others whom covetouſneſs has prompted to go abroad, as the ſpeedieſt way of raiſing their fortunes; which for that reaſon they are chiefly intent upon. The great pains the Roman Catholick clergy take in qualifying themſelves in arts and ſciences, in order to render themſelves uſeful to the people they are to preach to: the indefatigable pains they take in learning the ſeveral languages, and the abſtemious and auſtere lives they lead in order to ſet themſelves upon the level with the Indian prieſts, muſt remain an everlaſting reproach to all Proteſtant countries; a proſpect of gain carries us to the remoteſt corners of the earth, but we will not move one ſtep to advance our holy religion. The Dutch indeed, it is ſaid, permit the Popiſh clergy to inſtruct their ſlaves in the myſteries of Chriſtianity; but to the ſhame of our Engliſh merchants, they will hardly ſuffer a ſlave to be inſtructed in the Chriſtian religion, for fear he ſhould preſume to think himſelf of the ſame ſpecies with his maſter, and conſequently expect to be treated with humanity.

No Proteſtant Miſſionaries in the Indies.

To return to SOMMONA CODOM: his father, the Talapoin books relate, was King of Ceylon, that delicious iſland where the true cinnamon only grows, and is now ſubject to the tyranny of the Dutch. SOMMONA CODOM beſtowed all his eſtate in charity, pulled out his eyes, and killed his wife and children, and gave them to the Talapoins to feed on. They relate alſo, that another SOMMONA CODOM will hereafter ariſe; who will alſo kill his children for the Talapoins; by which charity he will arrive at the higheſt pitch of virtue: and when any one appears in the world with an uncommon degree of ſtupidity, they are apt to think this is the promiſed SOMMONA CODOM; for LOUBIERE and ſome others imagine, that the ſupreme felicity of the Siameſe conſiſts only in a ſtate of inſenſibility. But as ſtupidity may in ſome inſtances reſemble philoſophy, and a man who is ſlow of apprehenſion, may be thought to have got the better of his paſſions; ſo I am apt to think that they look upon their SOMMONA CODOM to have ſuch a degree of perfection, that nothing which uſes to diſquiet poor mortals can affect him in this exalted ſtate. And it is a very ſtrong indication that they do not look upon their SOMMONA CODOM to remain in a ſtate of inſenſibility, or even in an indolent inactivity, in as much as they pray to him in their diſtreſſes, and offer up thankſgivings for their deliverances. What could they do more if they had the ſame conceptions of their god, we have of ours? He is not ſurely inſenſible, if he regards the diſtreſſes of his votaries.

SOMMONA CODOM's hiſtory.

They imagine he knows and can relieve their diſtreſſes.

To return, they believe that SOMMONA CODOM, before he entered into this ſtate of bliſs, acquired a prodigious ſtrength of body, and had the power of working miracles; that he could enlarge his body to what ſize he pleaſed, and then reduce it

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Images on their altars.

it to ſo ſmall a point as perfectly to diſappear: that he had two principal diſciples, one on his right hand and the other on his left, whom they place behind him on their altars; theſe images being much leſs than his: he that is placed on the right, is called PRA MOGLA, and that on the left, PRA SCARABOUT; and behind theſe on the ſame altar they place other images, which repreſent the officers of SOMMONA CODOM's palace, and round the galleries of the cloyſters adjoining to their temples they have ſometimes ſeveral other images.

They report that PRA MOGLA, at the requeſt of the evil genii, overturned the earth, and took hell fire into the hollow of his hand, endeavouring to extinguiſh it; and finding himſelf unable to effect it, prayed to SOMMONA CODOM to extinguiſh the fire; but he denied him, apprehending that men would abound in wickedneſs, if the dread of this puniſhment was removed. But 'tis obſervable, that whatever power they aſcribe to SOMMONA CODOM, they apprehend he exerciſes it only over the Siameſe, and does not concern himſelf with other nations; and that every kingdom has a particular deity which preſides over it. It is farther to be obſerved, that they do not look upon their SOMMONA CODOM as the perſon who firſt inſtituted their religion, or gave them the aboveſaid precepts; but that he reſtored and re-eſtabliſhed them, after mankind had ſwerved from thoſe rules which were originally enjoined them.

The Siameſe make no objection to the religion of foreigners, apprehending that every country may have a religion peculiar to it; but it is very difficult to perſuade them their own is falſe. They erect temples to the memory of certain men, whom they believe to have excelled in virtue, and of whom they relate many incredible and ridiculous ſtories; and theſe the Portugueſe have called the gods of the Indies. But LOUBIERE juſtly obſerves, that there is nothing capable of more various ſenſes than the word god; and that it is very wrong to look upon all ſuch as gods, in the ſenſe we retain of the word, to whom an exterior worſhip is paid: that the Greeks and Romans erected ſtatues to living men, without any deſign to make them gods: the Siameſe do not only erect ſtatues to their living magiſtrates, but build temples to them, and inſtitute a kind of worſhip; they proſtrate themſelves, burn lights and incenſe before thoſe images at certain ſet times: and ſeveral Chriſtian Princes are approached upon the knee, being the ſame poſture we offer up our devotions to the Deity. From whence he infers, that the exterior worſhip of the Indians is no proof they believe every thing they worſhip a god; but that they may ſtill be accounted atheiſts, or idolaters at beſt, in paying divine honours to what is not really God. But ſurely a being they pray to in their diſtreſs, and whom conſequently they muſt acknowledge to be endued with that power, wiſdom and goodneſs we aſcribe to God, muſt free them from the reproach of atheiſm; however their worſhipping him under the repreſentation of a ſenſeleſs image, may render them guilty of idolatry: and of which Mr. LOUBIERE may find a difficulty in excuſing thoſe of his own perſuaſion, who do much the ſame thing.

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From this view of the religion of the Siameſe, LOUBIERE adviſes the Miſſionaries, who want the gift of miracles, not ſuddenly to diſcover to the Indians all the myſteries of the Chriſtian religion, or ſuch doctrines as may give offence: for inſtance, he would not have them mention the myſteries of the incarnation, and with great caution, preach up the worſhip of Saints; for with what probability of ſucceſs, ſays he, can they bluntly adviſe them at firſt to remove SOMMONA CODOM, PRA MOGLA and PRA SCARABOUT from their altars, and introduce JESUS CHRIST, St. PETER and St. PAUL in their rooms, before they have inſtructed them in the exiſtence of God the Creator, juſtly provoked at their impieties? Nor could it be ſuppoſed the doctrine of a crucified Saviour would be attended to, till they were made to apprehend that one might be unfortunate and yet innocent. After this, he thinks it would not much offend the Siameſe to let them underſtand that JESUS CHRIST voluntarily ſuffered death to atone for the ſins of men; becauſe they believe that SOMMONA CODOM gave his wife and children to the Talapoins to feed on.

Advice to the Indian Miſſionaries.

He apprehends it neceſſary alſo to obſerve ſome moderation, to ſpeak with reſpect of SOMMONA CODOM, BRAMA, and the reſt, to whom the Indians have erected altars; and to admit they may have been great lights in their time, and that they deſerve to be honoured, as they have endeavoured to inſpire the people with virtuous principles: and not with an imprudent zeal rail at the ignorance of thoſe they would convert, for believing ſome fables which a ſucceſſion of ages has conveyed down to them; and of which they are not the authors.

As for their doctrine of tranſmigration, how falſe ſoever it be, it is acknowledged to be attended with ſome good conſequences. The prohibition of meats is a very wholſome advice in India; and the horror of blood it creates, makes them tender of ſhedding it: and they do not ceaſe to reproach the Europeans for the deſtroying the lives of ſo many in battles on very trifling occaſions, as often as the French Miſſionaries cry up the actions of their Grand Monarch.

This doctrine of tranſmigration alſo is a great ſupport to the Indians under any calamity, and leſſens the dread of their diſſolution; being aſ-

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ſtreſs upon, is, that the books of the Talapoins make Maha MARIA, or the Great MARY (Maha ſignifying great in the Balie language) to be the mother of SOMMONA CODOM, and that he was never conceived after the manner of other mortals, but born of a flower; or, as ſome explain it, that his mother was impregnated by ſmelling to a flower. But to theſe conjectures LOUBIERE anſwers, that this name MARIA is as often wrote MANIA, and always pronounced MANIA; and he thinks the Miſſionaries are too forward in building much upon it. For my part, I ſhall not take upon me to determine any thing in this matter; poſſibly there may be ſome truth mixt with a multitude of falſhoods. There are ſo many palpable contradictions to be found in Popiſh legends, and Catholicks are ſo apt to ſtretch in their relations of facts, which have a tendency to promote their religion, and eſpecially ſuch things as may derive any honour to the bleſſed Virgin, that we ought to uſe great caution in forming our judgment. Was I ſure, that the Talapoins in their books make Maha MARIA, or MANIA, the mother of SOMMONA CODOM, and that he was conceived in a miraculous manner; that he was a great preacher of righteouſneſs, and the moſt perfect man that ever appeared in the world; and that at length he diſappeared, and was tranſlated to the ſupremeſt felicity: if all theſe facts are recorded in theſe books, I confeſs it would be of ſome weight with me; tho' I muſt beg the Miſſionaries pardon, if what LOUBIERE has given us on this head, is more attended to, than any of their relations, he appearing to have much leſs ſuperſtition, than is generally found amongſt them, and not ſeeming at all addicted to propagate holy cheats: on the contrary, notwithſtanding he is a Roman Catholick; he gives ſo little countenance to the miracles the Miſſionaries pretend to work in the eaſt; that he has not related one of them as I remember: however he is a Catholick, and his book printed in a country where pious frauds are not altogether baniſhed; and ſome facts may be inſerted in his book which he is not the author of. To conclude, it is no ſmall reproach to the reformed, that we never ſend one Proteſtant Miſſionary abroad, who may clear up our doubts in theſe matters. Thoſe who are ſent either to the Eaſt or Weſt Indies, under the notion of propagating the Chriſtian faith, are only chaplains to our factories and plantations; and ſeldom attempt to inform themſelves of the religion of the Indians, much leſs to recommend their own to them. Their numbers alſo are ſo ſmall, and they are ſo little verſed in the arts and ſciences the Roman Catholick Miſſionaries are inſtructed in, that they could do but little good if they attempted it. Indeed they are compoſed of ſuch of the clergy who could expect little from their merits at home, or ſome few others whom covetouſneſs has prompted to go abroad, as the ſpeedieſt way of raiſing their fortunes; which for that reaſon they are chiefly intent upon. The great pains the Roman Catholick clergy take in qualifying themſelves in arts and ſciences, in order to render themſelves uſeful to the people they are to preach to: the indefatigable pains they take in learning the ſeveral languages, and the abſtemious and auſtere lives they lead in order to ſet themſelves upon the level with the Indian prieſts, muſt remain an everlaſting reproach to all Proteſtant countries; a proſpect of gain carries us to the remoteſt corners of the earth, but we will not move one ſtep to advance our holy religion. The Dutch indeed, it is ſaid, permit the Popiſh clergy to inſtruct their ſlaves in the myſteries of Chriſtianity; but to the ſhame of our Engliſh merchants, they will hardly ſuffer a ſlave to be inſtructed in the Chriſtian religion, for fear he ſhould preſume to think himſelf of the ſame ſpecies with his maſter, and conſequently expect to be treated with humanity.

No Proteſtant Miſſionaries in the Indies.

SOMMONA CODOM's hiſtory.

To return to SOMMONA CODOM: his father, the Talapoin books relate, was King of Ceylon, that delicious iſland where the true cinnamon only grows, and is now ſubject to the tyranny of the Dutch. SOMMONA CODOM beſtowed all his eſtate in charity, pulled out his eyes, and killed his wife and children, and gave them to the Talapoins to feed on. They relate alſo, that another SOMMONA CODOM will hereafter ariſe; who will alſo kill his children for the Talapoins; by which charity he will arrive at the higheſt pitch of virtue: and when any one appears in the world with an uncommon degree of ſtupidity, they are apt to think this is the promiſed SOMMONA CODOM; for LOUBIERE and ſome others imagine, that the ſupreme felicity of the Siameſe conſiſts only in a ſtate of inſenſibility. But as ſtupidity may in ſome inſtances reſemble philoſophy, and a man who is ſlow of apprehenſion, may be thought to have got the better of his paſſions; ſo I am apt to think that they look upon their SOMMONA CODOM to have ſuch a degree of perfection, that nothing which uſes to diſquiet poor mortals can affect him in this exalted ſtate. And it is a very ſtrong indication that they do not look upon their SOMMONA CODOM to remain in a ſtate of inſenſibility, or even in an indolent inactivity, in as much as they pray to him in their diſtreſſes, and offer up thankſgivings for their deliverances. What could they do more if they had the ſame conceptions of their god, we have of ours? He is not ſurely inſenſible, if he regards the diſtreſſes of his votaries.

They imagine he knows and can relieve their diſtreſſes.

To return, they believe that SOMMONA CODOM, before he entered into this ſtate of bliſs, acquired a prodigious ſtrength of body, and had the power of working miracles; that he could enlarge his body to what ſize he pleaſed, and then reduce it

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Images on their altars.

it to ſo ſmall a point as perfectly to diſappear: that he had two principal diſciples, one on his right hand and the other on his left, whom they place behind him on their altars; theſe images being much leſs than his: he that is placed on the right, is called PRA MOGLA, and that on the left, PRA SCARABOUT; and behind theſe on the ſame altar they place other images, which repreſent the officers of SOMMONA CODOM's palace, and round the galleries of the cloyſters adjoining to their temples they have ſometimes ſeveral other images.

They report that PRA MOGLA, at the requeſt of the evil genii, overturned the earth, and took hell fire into the hollow of his hand, endeavouring to extinguiſh it; and finding himſelf unable to effect it, prayed to SOMMONA CODOM to extinguiſh the fire; but he denied him, apprehending that men would abound in wickedneſs, if the dread of this puniſhment was removed. But 'tis obſervable, that whatever power they aſcribe to SOMMONA CODOM, they apprehend he exerciſes it only over the Siameſe, and does not concern himſelf with other nations; and that every kingdom has a particular deity which preſides over it. It is farther to be obſerved, that they do not look upon their SOMMONA CODOM as the perſon who firſt inſtituted their religion, or gave them the aboveſaid precepts; but that he reſtored and re-eſtabliſhed them, after mankind had ſwerved from thoſe rules which were originally enjoined them.

The Siameſe make no objection to the religion of foreigners, apprehending that every country may have a religion peculiar to it; but it is very difficult to perſuade them their own is falſe. They erect temples to the memory of certain men, whom they believe to have excelled in virtue, and of whom they relate many incredible and ridiculous ſtories; and theſe the Portugueſe have called the gods of the Indies. But LOUBIERE juſtly obſerves, that there is nothing capable of more various ſenſes than the word god; and that it is very wrong to look upon all ſuch as gods, in the ſenſe we retain of the word, to whom an exterior worſhip is paid: that the Greeks and Romans erected ſtatues to living men, without any deſign to make them gods: the Siameſe do not only erect ſtatues to their living magiſtrates, but build temples to them, and inſtitute a kind of worſhip; they proſtrate themſelves, burn lights and incenſe before thoſe images at certain ſet times: and ſeveral Chriſtian Princes are approached upon the knee, being the ſame poſture we offer up our devotions to the Deity. From whence he infers, that the exterior worſhip of the Indians is no proof they believe every thing they worſhip a god; but that they may ſtill be accounted atheiſts, or idolaters at beſt, in paying divine honours to what is not really God. But ſurely a being they pray to in their diſtreſs, and whom conſequently they muſt acknowledge to be endued with that power, wiſdom and goodneſs we aſcribe to God, muſt free them from the reproach of atheiſm; however their worſhipping him under the repreſentation of a ſenſeleſs image, may render them guilty of idolatry: and of which Mr. LOUBIERE may find a difficulty in excuſing thoſe of his own perſuaſion, who do much the ſame thing.

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Advice to the Indian Miſſionaries.

From this view of the religion of the Siameſe, LOUBIERE adviſes the Miſſionaries, who want the gift of miracles, not ſuddenly to diſcover to the Indians all the myſteries of the Chriſtian religion, or ſuch doctrines as may give offence: for inſtance, he would not have them mention the myſteries of the incarnation, and with great caution, preach up the worſhip of Saints; for with what probability of ſucceſs, ſays he, can they bluntly adviſe them at firſt to remove SOMMONA CODOM, PRA MOGLA and PRA SCARABOUT from their altars, and introduce JESUS CHRIST, St. PETER and St. PAUL in their rooms, before they have inſtructed them in the exiſtence of God the Creator, juſtly provoked at their impieties? Nor could it be ſuppoſed the doctrine of a crucified Saviour would be attended to, till they were made to apprehend that one might be unfortunate and yet innocent. After this, he thinks it would not much offend the Siameſe to let them underſtand that JESUS CHRIST voluntarily ſuffered death to atone for the ſins of men; becauſe they believe that SOMMONA CODOM gave his wife and children to the Talapoins to feed on.

He apprehends it neceſſary alſo to obſerve ſome moderation, to ſpeak with reſpect of SOMMONA CODOM, BRAMA, and the reſt, to whom the Indians have erected altars; and to admit they may have been great lights in their time, and that they deſerve to be honoured, as they have endeavoured to inſpire the people with virtuous principles: and not with an imprudent zeal rail at the ignorance of thoſe they would convert, for believing ſome fables which a ſucceſſion of ages has conveyed down to them; and of which they are not the authors.

As for their doctrine of tranſmigration, how falſe ſoever it be, it is acknowledged to be attended with ſome good conſequences. The prohibition of meats is a very wholſome advice in India; and the horror of blood it creates, makes them tender of ſhedding it: and they do not ceaſe to reproach the Europeans for the deſtroying the lives of ſo many in battles on very triſling occaſions, as often as the French Miſſionaries cry up the actions of their Grand Monarch.

This doctrine of tranſmigration alſo is a great ſupport to the Indians under any calamity, and leſſens the dread of their diſſolution; being aſ-

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sured they shall at some time revive again in a happier state. And 'tis observed, that the eunuchs, who of all men look upon themselves the most unhappy here, are fondest of this doctrine.

That veneration also which their religion teaches them to observe towards their parents and governours, is highly commendable, and tends much to the quiet of the world. LOUBIERE also advises, that their priests be not treated as impostors and designing persons, for, says he, they deceive only because they are deceived; and as to their requiring alms of the seculars, it is no more than is observed in every country, those who minister at the altar being allowed to live of the altar.

The most effectual way he thinks to prevail on this people to embrace Christianity, supposing miracles are ceased, would be in as soft terms as possible, and as if it were by accident to shew them their errors, first in the sciences, especially in mathematicks and anatomy, which it would be easy to demonstrate; and if they found themselves in a palpable error in one thing, they would be apt to suspect they might be so in another. Then he advises to change the terms of their worship as little as possible; for instance, to call the true God, Sovereign Lord or King of heaven and earth, or by some appellation, which in the language of their country expresses the highest veneration; but to annex to these names a true notion of the Deity.

The various acceptation of the word God.

The word Gott, which now signifies God among the Germans and Dutch, was antiently the name of Mercury, VOSSSIUS observes, who was adored by all nations: nor did the words Theos and Deus among the Greeks and Latins, LOUBIERE supposes, originally signify such a being as we adore for God; but the primitive Christians chose to make use of such names as were in use in the countries where they preached, which came nearest to the things they treated of.

But what LOUBIERE urges, as the most necessary qualification of a Missionary is, that he conform himself as much as he possibly can with innocence, to the manners of the people in his diet, lodging, &c. and instances in the success a certain Father had by observing this method in Madura: he lived like a bramin of the woods, he tells us, went with his head and feet bare, and his body almost naked, imitated them in their abstemious way of living, and by this method is said to have converted several thousands: above all things, there must appear no design of raising a fortune or growing rich at their expence. And as the Indians do not seem to have any prejudice to any particular religion, LOUBIERE is of opinion, they would have been enamoured with the beauties of Christianity long ago, had not the avarice, ambition, injustice, treachery and tyranny of some European nations in the Indies, so contradicted their doctrine, as to raise in the Indians a just abhorrence of their persons. To which may be added, the dissolute and profligate lives of most Christians who visit that coast.

The reason why Christianity is not embraced in India.

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Treats of their marriages, women, children, slaves and funeral rites.

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WHEN a person designs to marry his son into any family, he employs some women to propose it to her relations; and if the proposal be accepted, and the nativity of the young fellow and his mistress is calculated by some pretended conjurer; they consult him also to know if it is like to prove a happy match, but principally whether the family they marry into is rich; for the tyranny of the government is such, that every man is forced to conceal his wealth. Upon the answer of the cunning man, both sides form their resolutions: when the old folks are agreed, the young fellow is allowed to visit his mistress three times, and make her some small present of betel or fruit: at the third visit the relations are present, and the lady's portion is paid down: and now the marriage is looked upon to be compleat, and the new married couple have presents made them by their friends.

Marriage.

No religious ceremony till after consummation.

They proceed soon after to consummation, without performing any religious ceremony; for the Talapoins are by their law prohibited to be present at these solemnities: some days after indeed they go to the house where the wedding is held, and sprinkle the married couple with holy water, and repeat some prayers for their happiness.

The wedding is attended with mirth and feasting, as in other parts of the world, and persons are hired to dance and divert the company; but neither the married couple or their relations ever dance on these occasions. The entertainment is made at the bride's father's, where the bridegroom builds an apartment on purpose, which is soon done after their slight way of building; here the new married couple remain some months, and then go to a settlement of their own.

The ornaments of a Mandarin's daughter at a wedding, is such a coronet or circle of gold as the Mandarin wears on his cap of ceremony: her clothes are also finer than ordinary, and her pendants of greater value; and she has more rings than usual on her fingers. The greatest fortune at Siam does not exceed 5000 crowns; and the man's substance, as near as they can guess, is equal to it. They may have more wives than one; but this liberty is seldom taken, unless by the great men; and that more for state, it is said, than any thing else.

One wife, the rest slaves.

When they have several wives, one is called the chief or great wife, the others are purchased

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and attendants on her; the children of their inferior wives call their father lord as well as father; the other only call him father.

Degrees prohibited.

Marriage in the first degree of consanguinity is prohibited; notwithstanding which the present King, it is said, married his own sister, and having an only daughter by her, afterwards married her; their Princes thinking it beneath them to marry any but their own blood.

Children of the chief wife only inherit the husband's estate.

The children of the chief wife only inherit the husband's estate; the children of the inferior wives are accounted slaves, and both they and their children may be sold by the heir.

Estates chiefly goods.

The estates of the Siamese consist for the most part in money and goods; for tho' their lands are said to be hereditary, the King seizes on them when he pleases, even after he has sold them himself, without returning the value; so that few care for enlarging their fields: and they endeavour to conceal their personal estate from the observation of their Prince, who is sometimes as free with that too.

Diamonds therefore are mightily valued at Siam, being easily concealed.

Women natural and eloquent.

The Siamese wives are remarkable for their fidelity to their husbands; jealousy is hardly heard of amongst them: they work for their husbands, and maintain them all the time they are in the King's service; which is not only six months in the year, but sometimes the Prince compels them to remain in his service two or three years together.

Divorces.

There is a liberty of divorce allowed; but this is never practised unless among the poor people, when they cannot tell how to live and maintain their families: it is in the man's power only to divorce himself, but he never denies the same liberty to the wife, if she requires it; and tho' he restores the portion she brought, the children are equally divided between them, unless there is an odd one, which falls to the woman's share; for she takes the first and third, and all the odd numbers, and the husband the rest: after the divorce the parties are at liberty to marry again the very day, if they think fit. But tho' these divorces are allowed, they are generally detested by this people.

Power of the father and mother.

The husband is absolute in his family, and may sell his wives and children, except the chief; and the widow has the same power after his death, unless the children of the even number, the selling of whom, the father's relations may oppose. But the father may not kill his wives or children; all killing of persons, but in their own defence, being contrary to their laws.

Simple fornication not scandalous.

It is not reckoned scandalous for unmarried people, who have the disposal of themselves, to lie together; and the women of Pegu, who live at Siam, will offer themselves to foreigners, and continue as faithful to them as their wives while they remain in the place: they are proud of being with child by a white man, and are not the less esteemed by their nation. But the women of Siam, LOUBIERE observes, are too proud easily to admit foreigners to their bed. Our sailors on the contrary tell us, that they are very forward in offering their persons; but possibly our people may not distinguish between the natives of Siam and those of Pegu, who reside there.

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Will surrender themselves to save their parents.

Parents are answerable for the faults of their children; and tho' a son charged with any crime has made his escape, if his father or mother, or any of his collateral relations are taken up by the government on his account, he will not fail to surrender himself to indemnify them.

Women enjoy their liberty.

The women of Siam managing all the trade enjoy a perfect liberty; but it is said they will not admit of visits from men, and are more jealous of their husband's honour in this particular, than their husbands are of them. The wives of people of quality seldom stir abroad but to the temples, or to make a family visit; this does not proceed from any restraint of the husbands, but they place their glory in their chastity, and therefore are extremely cautious of giving the least colour for scandalous reports. And it is observed of the Indian women, that they had rather their husbands should kill them than suffer them to fall into the hands of their enemies; nor do the husbands regret any thing more than their being taken prisoners.

They have abundance of honour.

Cruelty of the Prince to the women that offend.

But though these fine things may be said of the generality of their women, there do not want instances of ladies who will hazard their honour and their lives to gratify a lascivious humour: this indeed principally happens among the wives of the great, or the royal concubines, who are possibly slighted and neglected by their tyrants for some one she-favourite. But however that may be, the Indian Princes seldom fail to punish with the cruelest deaths, such women as are unfaithful to their bed, as they term it; though perhaps the unhappy creatures they have thus imprisoned in their seraglioes, are hardly known to them, and only seek to satisfy that propensity heaven has implanted in them; and to propagate their species in a way which they cannot be ignorant nature designed they should.

The King of Siam however looks upon it to be in the power of any woman to suppress these desires; and therefore orders such offenders, first to be covered by a horse, and then put to death. One of these unhappy creatures, LOUBIERE gives us an account of, whom the King order'd to be thrown to the tygers, and they refusing to seize on her, his Majesty offered her a pardon; but she chose this cruel death rather than live any longer under his tyranny: whereupon the tygers were set upon her, and he had the inhumanity to stand and see her torn in pieces. But sure the penances of the seraglio must be great, when these unfortunate wretches choose rather to be devoured

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by wild beaſts than endure them. The King is not altogether ſo unmerciful to the gallant, it ſeems; but the baſtinado is often held a ſufficient atonement for his crime.

More favourable to the gallant.

If a perſon of quality's daughter goes aſtray, ſhe is ſold to an officer who has a patent from the King for liberty to proſtitute young women; and he has not leſs than five or ſix hundred of theſe Ladies under his care.

Proſtitutes.

Beggars.

None are afraid of marrying on account of poverty, or the having of children; for their relations ſeldom ſuffer them to beg: the only beggars, almoſt, are thoſe who have no relations; and ſlavery is not ſo ſhameful as beggary, even to the families they belong to as well as themſelves.

Slaves.

Their ſlaves are employed either in husbandry and gardening, or in ſome domeſtick affairs; or rather they are permitted to maintain themſelves by their labours, paying their maſters annually from 4 ticals to 8 out of their gains, that is, ſo many 3 s. per ann. or thereabouts.

A perſon may become a ſlave ſeveral ways, either he is taken captive in war, becomes ſo for debt, or may be condemned to ſlavery for ſome crime; or laſtly, he may be born a ſlave; and the children of ſuch who are ſlaves for debt born during the ſlavery, are accounted ſlaves though their parents pay the debt, and thereby recover their liberty afterwards: if the mother be a ſlave and the father free, the odd number belongs to her maſter and the even to the father, provided this commerce be with conſent of the maſter; otherwiſe all the children are ſlaves to the maſter.

Thoſe who are ſlaves to the King are conſtantly employed in his ſervice, and maintained by him; and thoſe who are called freemen, are obliged to ſpend ſix months in his Majeſty's ſervice yearly, and maintain themſelves; but the ſlaves of particular men are not employed in the King's works, and yet the King never oppoſes his ſubjects making themſelves ſlaves, if they are inclined to part with the little liberty they have for a maintenance.

Funerals.

When a Siameſe dies, the corps is immediately put into a coffin lackered and gilded; and to prevent any ſtench, 'tis ſaid, they endeavour to conſume the bowels of the deceaſed with mercury, and have ſometimes leaden coffins: they place the coffin upon a bedſtead or table, and it remains in the houſe till the preparations are made for the funeral, and the head of the family can attend the ſolemnity: in the mean time they burn perfumes before the corps, and ſet up lighted tapers. The Talapoins alſo range themſelves round the ſides of the room every night, and entertain the family with hymns and diſcourſes ſuitable to the occaſion; for which they are rewarded with money as well as good proviſion.

In the mean time a ſquare ſpot of ground is encloſed with a bambou pale near ſome temple; round which are hung the painted and gilded papers which the family make, repreſenting houſes, goods, animals, &c. In the middle of the ſquare ſtands the funeral pile, which, beſides other wood, has yellow ſanders, lignum aloes, and other ſweet woods in it, according to the ability of the family; and the pile is built of earth as well as wood to a great height.

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The corps is always carried to the pile in the morning, with the ſound of ſeveral kinds of inſtruments, attended by the family of the deceaſed, both men and women clothed in white, and with white vails, bewailing themſelves all the way, according to cuſtom; after them follow the reſt of his friends and relations, and they chooſe to go in their barges by water towards the burying-place, as far as they can.

They do not burn the coffin, but take the body out of it and lay it on the pile: the Talapoins of the convent ſing doleful hymns a quarter of an hour, and then retire; it being a ſin for them to be preſent when the ſhows and plays are exhibited, as there always are on this occaſion, attended with a kind of a feſtival. The relations notwithſtanding do not ſeem to be moved by them, but continue their lamentations, though there are no hired mourners amongſt them.

The Talapoin's ſervant ſets fire to the pile about noon, which having burnt about two hours, the corps is rather ſcorched than conſumed, though it is uſually reported to be burnt to aſhes; this being thought to derive ſome honour on the deceaſed. The painted papers which ſhould have been burnt with the deceaſed, are generally ſeized by the Talapoins to be ſold at ſome ſucceeding funeral, not regarding the occaſion the deceaſed may have for them in the other world. All the company are entertained by the family for three days; who alſo beſtow alms on the Talapoins of the convent where the funeral is ſolemnized, and are at the charge of fire-works: but this can be underſtood only of the funerals of the great. Where a ſon is not at the death of his father in circumſtances to perform all this, if he happens to be advanced afterwards, he will ſometimes cauſe his father's corps to be dug up to make him a noble funeral.

Pyramids inſtead of tombſtones.

The remains of the corps which is unconſumed, is put into the coffin and buried under one of the pyramids which ſtand about the temple; and ſometimes they alſo bury with it precious ſtones and treaſure: theſe pyramids ſerve inſtead of tombſtones; but the Siameſe have no epitaphs, and the pyramids are ſo ſlightly built that they ſeldom laſt above an age. The burying places by the temples are ſaid to be ſo ſacred, that none dare touch the treaſure buried there: but Loubiere aſſures us, he has known them borrow files of the Europeans, to cut the great iron bars in two, which ſecured them.

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Temples built by the burying places. Next to burning, the being devoured by birds of prey is most detestable.

The Siameſe of quality uſually build a temple on purpoſe, near the place they deſign to be the burying place of the family; and thoſe who cannot be at that expence preſent ſome idol to a temple already built: thoſe who are poor bury their parents without being at the charge of a funeral pile; and if they cannot afford to hire the Talapoins to ſing the uſual burying hymns, as the loweſt degree of reſpect they can pay to their deceaſed parents, they expoſe them on a ſcaffold to be devoured by birds of prey.

Criminals executed by the ſtate, children ſtill-born, women who die in child-bed, thoſe who are guilty of ſelf-murder, and ſuch as come to any untimely end are never buried; ſuch perſons being deemed to have drawn the judgments of heaven upon them by their crimes.

CHAP. VIII.

The unfortunate always eſteemed wicked, and denied funeral honours.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE ORIENTAL ISLANDS.

CHAP. I.

Contains an account of the firſt diſcovery of the Ladrone and Philippine iſlands by MAGELLANS.

CHAP. I.

BEFORE we advance any farther weſtward on the continent, it will be neceſſary to turn back and take a view of the Oriental iſlands we have left behind; and of theſe the Ladrone and Philippine Iſlands lie fartheſt eaſt.

Ladrone and Philippine Iſlands diſcovered by MAGELLANS.

The firſt European who diſcovered theſe iſlands, was FERDINANDUS MAGLIANES, or MAGELLANS, in his intended voyage round the world, which his ſhips afterwards performed, tho' he was unfortunately killed in one of them in a skirmiſh with the natives. This being the firſt man that attempted to ſail round the globe, it may be expected here, we ſhould give ſome account of his expedition: he was a Portugueſe gentleman by birth, and had ſerved his country both in the wars of Africa and the Eaſt-Indies, and particularly under ALBUQUERQUE the famous Portugueſe General, who reduced GOA and MALACCA to the obedience of that crown: MAGELLANS having had a conſiderable ſhare in thoſe actions, and finding himſelf neglected by the government of Portugal, and even denied, as it is ſaid, the ſmall advance of a ducat a month in his pay; left the court of Portugal in diſguſt, and offered his ſervice to CHARLES V. then Emperor of Germany and King of Spain.

CHAP. I.

Pope grants all the weſtern diſcoveries to Spain, and the eaſt to Portugal.

Pope ALEXANDER the VIth, it ſeems, upon the diſcovery of America by Columbus, had by his bull, dated the 3d of May, 1493, granted to the King of Spain, his heirs and ſucceſſors for ever, all the countries and iſlands diſcovered and to be diſcovered, one hundred leagues weſtward and ſouthward of the Azores and Cape Verd Iſlands. The Portugueſe, who had before this time diſcovered the paſſage round the Cape of Good Hope, and had obtained a grant of Pope MARTIN the Vth, about the year 1442, of all countries diſcovered and to be diſcovered to the ſouth and eaſt of Cape Bajadore, which lies to the weſtern ſide of Africa, lat. 27 north; looked upon this bull as an encroachment on their former grant, and began to diſpute the Spaniards right. However both nations came at length to this agreement, that the line mentioned in the grant to Spain, to be drawn from north to ſouth through the Azores, and

CHAP. I.

Cape Verd iſlands ſhould be extended 270 leagues farther weſtward; and that all lands diſcovered to the weſtward of that line ſhould fall to the Spaniards, and the countries towards the eaſt to the Portugueſe, and that neither ſhould trade in the others limits. This agreement was made the 7th of June, anno Dom. 1493, and ratified by the King of Spain the 2d of July following, and by the King of Portugal the 27th of February after: and upon this both parties prepared to make farther diſcoveries, the one to the eaſt and the other to the weſt. But JOHN King of Portugal dying, anno 1495, King EMANUEL his ſucceſſor, in purſuance of his predeceſſor's deſign, in the year 1497 fitted out three ſhips under the command of VASCO DI GAMA, who having doubled the Cape of Good Hope arrived at Callicut on the weſtern ſide of the continent of India; and returning to Portugal in the year 1499, gave an account of the feaſibleneſs of eſtabliſhing a trade with India by the way of the Cape of Good Hope.

First diſcovery of the way to the Eaſt-Indies by the Cape of Good Hope.

In the year 1500, King EMANUEL fitted out another fleet, conſiſting of 13 ſail and 1500 men, who in going out diſcovered the continent of Brazil; they afterwards doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived at Callicut; but were prevented ſettling here by the Moors, or Mahometans of Arabia, who had long enjoyed this trade to themſelves, and tranſported the ſpices and riches of India to Turkey; from whence they had hitherto been conveyed to Europe.

The Portugueſe ſailed from Callicut to Cochin, being to the ſouthward of Callicut in 10 degrees north latitude, not far from Cape Comorin, the moſt ſouthern part of the continent of Proper India; and having now got footing in the country, ſeveral ſquadrons of ſhips were immediately diſpatched from Portugal one after another to ſupport their countrymen; ſo that in a ſhort time great part of the rich merchandize of the Indies, which uſed to come by the way of Turkey, was tranſported to Europe by the Portugal fleet.

Portugueſe monopolize the Indian trade.

The Portugueſe were no ſooner in poſſeſſion of Malacca, but they diſcovered the Molucca's or Spice iſlands; at which time MAGLIANES returning home, and not being rewarded according to his expectations, as has been hinted above, offered his ſervice to the Emperor CHARLES the Vth, propoſing to diſcover a paſſage to theſe very Spice iſlands by ſailing weſtward, which he apprehended would bring them within the Emperor's ſhare, according to the agreement above-mentioned; that all countries which ſhould be diſcovered weſtward ſhould belong to Spain, as all the diſcoveries eaſtward were to belong to the Portugueſe. Thus much ſeemed neceſſary to premiſe, in order to let the reader into the occaſion of the firſt diſcovery of the Philippines: I proceed now to give a ſhort account of this voyage of MAGLIANES, but defer the relation of the diſcoveries and acquiſitions of the Portugueſe on the coaſts of Africa and the Eaſt-Indies to the next pamphlet; where I ſhall treat of the Molucca's and Spice iſlands, ſo much the deſire of all European nations.

CHAP. I.

FERDINANDUS MAGLIANES having ſuggeſted to the Emperor the probability of diſcovering a way to the Spice iſlands by ſailing weſtward, the Emperor ſoon hearkened to him, and ordered five ſhips to be fitted out and manned with three hundred men, of whom thirty were Portugueſe; and of this fleet made MAGELLANS Admiral, who ſet ſail from Sevil the 10th of Auguſt 1519, on the 3d of October following he arrived at Cape Verd on the coaſt of Africk, which lies within 15 degrees of the equator. He held on his courſe to the ſouth weſt, till he came upon the coaſt of Brazil in 22 degrees ſouth latitude, where he took in ſome freſh proviſions. The Spaniards who lived to return home again gave a very extravagant account of the inhabitants of that country, which has ſince appeared to have little truth in it. They afterwards ſailed into the 50th degree of ſouth latitude, where they pretended to meet with a monſtrous race of giants, which have never been heard of ſince; and, among other improbable ſtories, tell us, that their way of letting blood there was by chopping a great gaſh in their arms and legs with a hatchet, inſtead of uſing a lancet; and the way of vomiting their patients was, by thruſting an arrow a foot and half long down their throats. So little credit is to be given to ſome diſcoverers, eſpecially where they happen to be people of no judgment, and who have but little regard to truth, as it happened in this caſe, where the commander MAGELLANS and moſt of the officers died in the voyage, and very few beſides the common ſailors returned to give an account of the expedition.

First voyage round the world, wherein the Philippine iſlands were diſcovered.

From this country of giants and monſters they at length arrived at the entrance of the ſtreights, afterwards called the ſtreights of MAGELLAN, from the Admiral that diſcovered them. Theſe lie in 52 degrees of ſouth latitude, and are about 100 leagues in length, but of a very uncertain breadth; being in ſome places ſeveral leagues, and in others not above half a league over; the land on both ſides uneven and mountainous and covered with ſnow. The point of land from whence MAGELLANS firſt diſcovered the Pacifick Ocean, or South-Sea, as it is uſually called, was a promontory, which in memory of it he ſtiled Cape Deſiderato; but one of the ſhips in the company, it ſeems, thinking there would be now no end of their voyage, left him and returned home: in theſe ſtreights they found plenty of freſh water, fiſh, herbs, wood and very good harbours. They entered the Pacifick Ocean Nov. 28, 1520, on which they ſailed above three months to the north weſt without ſeeing land, and were put to very great

Streights of MAGELLAN diſcovered.

CHAP. I.

great hardſhips for want of proviſions, ſeveral of their men dying in the way; but they had the good fortune all the while of a fair wind and a ſmooth ſea, which are always to be found in this ocean within 30 degrees of the equator, in ſailing from the continent of America to the Eaſt-Indies: the wind it is obſervable in thoſe latitudes (as well in other ſeas as this) conſtantly attends the ſun in his courſe, at leaſt in the ocean at any great diſtance from land, except within 2 or 3 degrees of the line, where the winds are found to be variable; otherwiſe for 30 degrees on each ſide the line, the wind hardly ever ſits weſterly at any diſtance from land. But to return to MAGELLANS, on the 6th of March 1520, having ſailed 146 degrees in longitude to the weſtward, he diſcovered the iſlands of Ladrones, or Robbers, as he afterwards called them from the thieviſh diſpoſition of the people; lying, according to his obſervation, in about 12 degrees north latitude: here he went aſhore and refreſhed his men, but the people of the iſland being very troubleſome, he ſailed in a few days for the Philippines, where, as has been already hinted, he was killed in a ſkirmiſh with the natives; having a little before his death received intelligence that the Molucca iſlands, which he came out in ſearch of, were not far diſtant: and his ſhips afterwards purſuing the voyage arrived at Tidore, one of the Molucca's, on the 8th of November 1521. In theſe iſlands they were kindly received by the reſpective Princes, and ſuffered to build a fort and erect a factory at Tidore: they alſo left one of their ſhips which was leaky there to be refitted, which the Portugueſe afterwards took as prize, and ruined their factory. The other ſhips which went out with MAGELLANS returned to Spain about September, 1522. And now the Spaniards by virtue of this weſtern diſcovery, and the factory they had ſettled at Tidore, looked upon it that the Spice iſlands were their property; which the Portugueſe, who were the firſt Europeans that traded thither, thought they had the beſt right to; and this occaſioned mortal feuds between them; till at length the Emperor, in the year 1529, having ſome preſſing occaſion for money, mortgaged all his intereſt in thoſe iſlands to the Portugueſe, for the loan of three hundred and fifty thouſand ducats, which he never repaid. But I ſhall ſpeak more at large of the ſeveral nations who have made any pretenſions to theſe iſlands hereafter, and proceed now to give an account of the reduction of the Philippines to the obedience of the crown of Spain; and of the preſent ſtate of the Ladrone and Philippine iſlands.

The wind always eaſterly out at ſea in thoſe latitudes which lie near the tropicks.

Ladrone iſlands diſcovered.

MAGELLAN's death

He ſhips leave a factory at the Spice iſlands.

Emperor mortgages his intereſt in the Spice iſlands to the Portugueze.

First ſettlement of the Spaniards in the Philippines.

MAGELLANS was indeed the firſt diſcoverer of them, in the year 1521, but there was no progreſs made by the Spaniards towards the conqueſt of theſe iſlands, until the year 1564, in the reign of PHILIP II. King of Spain; when DON LEWIS DE VALASCO, Viceroy of Mexico, ſent MICHAEL LOPEZ DE LAGASPES with a fleet thither, imagining that by planting a colony here, he might eſtabliſh a trade between Mexico, China and Japan.

CHAP. I.

The largeſt of theſe iſlands, and which lies moſt to the north, is called Luconia; but by the Portugueſe, Manila, after the name of the chief town in the iſland. The people of Luconia, and ſeveral of the neighbouring iſlands, are now under the dominion of the Spaniards; and neither in their religion, manners or cuſtoms, are eaſily to be diſtinguiſhed from them: but before I proceed to a more particular deſcription of the Philippines, it will be proper to give ſome account of the Ladrone iſlands which lie four hundred leagues to the eaſtward of them.

Luconia.

CHAP. II.

Contains a deſcription of the Ladrone iſlands.

CHAP. II.

THE Ladrones are a great number of ſmall iſlands, lying from the latitude of 12 degrees to about 28 north; the principal whereof are, 1. Guam or Iquana, which lies in the latitude of 13 degrees 21 min. according to DAMPIER; and in ſeven thouſand three hundred and two miles to the weſtward of Cape Corientes, in the kingdom of Mexico. 2. Sarpanta, in lat. 14. Buenviſta, in lat. 15. Saeſpara, in lat. 15. 40. Anatan, in lat. 17. 20. Saragan, in lat. 17. 25. Guagan, in lat. 18. Alamaguam, in lat. 18. 18. Pagon, in lat. 18. 4. The Burning Mountain of Griga, in lat. 19. 33. Tina and Manga, in lat. 20. 45. Urrac, in lat. 20. 55. Iſle de Patas, in lat. 25. 30. La Diſconocida, in lat. 25. 50. Malabrigo, in lat. 27. 40. &c.

Ladrone iſlands.

The iſland of Guam is the moſt frequented of any of them; the Spaniards have a ſmall fort there mounted with a few iron guns, and garriſoned with thirty or forty ſoldiers: they have lately given it the name of Maria; it is about twelve leagues long and four broad, lying north and ſouth, and is pretty high champain land; at a diſtance it appears flat and even, but coming near it ſtands ſhelving; and the eaſt ſide, which is much the higheſt, is fenced with ſteep rocks, on which the waves continually beat, being driven by the conſtant trade wind; on this ſide of the iſland there is no anchoring. The weſt ſide of it is low land, and full of ſmall ſandy bays, divided by many rocky points: it has a reddiſh dry ſoil, but indifferently fruitful in rice, pine-apples, melons, oranges, limes, coco-nuts; and a ſort of fruit called by our ſailors bread-fruit: The coco-nut trees grow by the ſea, on the weſt ſide of the iſland, in large groves of three or four miles in length, and a mile or two over.

Extent.

Soil.

Fruit.

The

CHAP. II.

Bread fruit.

The bread-fruit, DAMPIER mentions, grows on a tree of the bigneſs of a large apple tree; it has a ſpreading head full of branches and dark leaves; the fruit grows on the boughs like apples, and is as big as an ordinary football; it is round, and has a thick tough rind, when the fruit is ripe, it is yellow and ſoft and of a ſweet taſte: the natives eat it inſtead of bread, they gather it while it is green and hard, and bake it till the rind is ſcorched black; then ſcraping off the outſide, there remains a tender thin cruſt: the inſide is white and ſoft like the crumb of a penny loaf, and there is neither ſtone nor ſeed in it, but a pure ſubſtance like bread; but if it be kept above 24 hours, it eats harſh and choky: it is in ſeaſon eight months in the year, during which time the natives eat no other ſort of bread; travellers obſerve this tree is to be found only in the Ladrone or Philippine iſlands.

Rice.

They have ſome rice, but the ſoil being dry is not very proper for it; nor

Fiſh.

have they any great plenty of fiſh: their hog's fleſh is excellent meat, being fed with coco-nuts.

Their perſons deſcribed.

The natives are well ſhaped, have ſtrong bodies and large limbs; their complexion is tawny, their hair black and long, their eyes ſmall, they have thick lips and white teeth, their viſage is ſomething longiſh, and their countenance ſtern; but the people notwithſtanding are civil and courteous enough, though they had the misfortune to acquire ſo ill a name upon the firſt diſcovery. They are often troubled with a diſtemper much like the leproſy; but otherwiſe the country is pretty healthful, eſpecially in the dry part of the year.

Seaſons.

In the wet ſeaſon, which begins in June and laſts till October, the air is thick and foggy, but the rains are not violent or laſting: this iſland lies ſo far weſt of the Philippine, or any other country, that the weſterly winds ſeldom reach ſo far; and when they do, they do not laſt long.

Boats and ſhipping.

Theſe people excel in building boats and other ſmall veſſels; they build them ſharp at both ends; the bottom is of one piece, made like the bottom of a canoo, which ſerves inſtead of a keel, and is 28 foot long; the under part of this keel is made round, but inclining to a wedge; the upper part is almoſt flat, and has a very ſmall hollow: it is about a foot broad; from hence both ſides of the boat are carried up to about five foot high with plank of five inches broad; but what is moſt remarkable in theſe boats is, one ſide of them is flat, and the other rounding, with a pretty large belly. They are about four or five foot broad aloft, and the maſt ſtands in the middle, with a yard fixt to it; they turn the flat ſide of the boat to the wind, which is here almoſt conſtantly eaſt; and the veſſel having a head at each end, they ſail with either of them foremoſt, and need not tack as ours veſſels do; and they are thought to ſail the beſt of any boats in the world. DAMPIER made trial of one of them, and computed it would ſail 24 miles an hour; and ſays, the people of Guam will ſail to another of the Ladrone iſlands 30 leagues diſtance, and do their buſineſs, and return again in leſs than 12 hours; and that one of theſe boats being ſent expreſs to Manila, which is above 400 leagues, performed the voyage in four days. The tide here never riſes above two or three foot.

CHAP. II.

Houſes.

The natives of this iſland have neat little houſes built with wood and thatched with palmeto leaves, and live together in villages by the ſea-ſhore, on the weſt ſide of the iſland, having Spaniſh prieſts among them to inſtruct them in the Chriſtian religion. There were heretofore about three or four hundred Indians on this iſland; but the natives making an attempt upon the Spaniſh garriſon, which conſiſted only of thirty or forty ſoldiers, and the inſurrection being ſuppreſſed by the Governor, they deſtroyed their plantations and went away to ſome other iſlands, ſo that there was not above a hundred upon the iſland when DAMPIER was there; and thoſe that remained were ſo ſet againſt the Spaniards, that they offered to aſſiſt the Engliſh to take the fort.

CHAP. III.

Containing an account of the names, ſituation and extent of the Philippine iſlands in general, and of Mindanao in particular; together with an account of the winds, monſons, rivers and harbours in the ſaid iſland of Mindanao.

CHAP. III.

THE Philippines are a great number of iſlands, ſome ſay a thouſand; extending from the 5th degree of north latitude to the 19th, and from the 134th degree of longitude to 147th, or thereabouts, according to our preſent accounts: they lye about four hundred leagues to the weſtward of the Ladrones, a hundred and twenty ſouth of China, and two hundred eaſt of Cochin-China.

Name.

They were called by the Spaniards the Philippine iſlands, in honour of Philip II. King of Spain, in whoſe reign the firſt European colony was planted there; but by FERDINANDUS MAGELLANS, the firſt diſcoverer, they were called the Archipelago of St. LAZARUS, being diſcovered on the Saturday before Eaſter, 1521, which ('tis ſaid) is called St. LAZARUS's day; which I will not anſwer for, not being verſed in popiſh holidays.

Firſt inhabitants.

Theſe iſlands were probably firſt peopled from the continent of China, being formerly under the Emperor of China's government; who deſerted them, it ſeems, on account of their being too remote from the reſt of his dominions; but their religious rites, as well as ſeveral other cuſtoms they retained when the Spaniards came thither, ſhew that the people were of Chineſe extraction.

The

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

Agreable to Modern History:

By

H. Moll *Geographer.*

PART of the

GREAT SOUTH SEA

0 30 60 120 180 240

English Miles

115 120 125

Babuyanes

P. of HAYNAN I.

C. Bajadoor

C. del Engano

Moro Ermosa

N. Segovia

Cagayan

Ferdinandina

Port de Balinao

Irayas

P. de Perara

Cagayan R.

Part of

LUCONIA or MANILA I.

the Sholes

of Parcel

Pangas.

Tragalaos

P. de Casiguran

Lermon

inia

Sainbales

Playa Honda

Pampanga

P. de Lampon

de Maubam

Pasbacale

Heyton

MANILA

Marivels I.

Streights of Mindoro

N. Caceres

Cavita

Fort

Lake of Bahia

Naga

I. de Catanduanes

Luban

Bombom L.

Tayabas

Camarines

Lobo

Bondo

Ibalon

Streights of Manila

Mindoro I.

Byabaya

Mandu

Boriat

Cabo du Spiritu Sancto

Samar

TANDAYA. PHILIPPINA. new SAMAR I.

Albagato

Capul

Ticao

I. Masbate

Catbalagan

Fort de Borongan

I. Limathan

Calamines Islands

Cibuyan

Romblon

Panamao

C. Potol

Ibabao

Guiguan

Banton

Tablas

C. Bulacabi

C. Burnelaque

Ilayte

Leytel

Str. of Juanilo

Princes I.

Spanish Fort of to Spain

C. de Potol

Panay

Otton

Ilsilo

Cebu I.

Balbai

Sogor

PARACOYA ISLAND

Panay I.

Negros I.

Panakon

Pto de Naso

Imaruy I.

Singnar

Pt Serragos

to Borneo

Mano-bos

C. Tagusan

Bayug

Dapitan

Caguayan

Tanda

C. Henry

Pto de la Galero

Iligan

Gulf of Panguil

Carra-gan

Panlog or S. Iohn I.

Isle S. Miguel

Quipit

Subsana

Caldero

MINDANAO Is.

Linag

Basilan I.

Bay of Minanao

Mindanao

Bay de la Resurrection

P. OF Marndo

Yanguna I.

Saranga

C. de Legalooc

C. Bicay

BORNEO I.

Xollo I.

I. Palmas

Degrees East from London

I. de St Iohns

CHAP. III.

Names of the principal islands.

The principal of these islands are Luconia, or as the Portuguese call it, Manila, from the chief town in the island. 2. Tandago or Samar, sometimes called Philipina. 3. Masbate. 4. Mindoro. 5. Luban. 6. Paragua. 7. Panay. 8. Leyte. 9. Bohol. 10. Sibu, Zebu or Sogbu. 11. Negros. 12. St. John. 13. Xollo. 14. Mindanao. I shall begin with the description of the last.

Situation and extent.

The island of Mindanario is the biggest of all the Philippines next to Luconia, being sixty leagues in length and forty or fifty over; the south west part of it lies in about six degrees of north latitude, the north east part of it in about eight degrees.

Three several people here.

Mindanayans.

This island is not all subject to one Prince, neither is the religion or language the same in every part of it: most of the people indeed are Mahometans, and subject to the Sultan of Mindanao, who governs arbitrarily and not by any written laws. these are properly Mindanayans, and inhabit near the sea coasts, and have the greatest commerce with strangers.

Hilanoons.

Those who live in the middle of the country and inhabit the woods and mountains, are called Hilanoons: these have rich mines of gold ore, and great plenty of bees-wax, which they exchange with the Mindanayans for clothing and other necessaries.

Sologues.

The Sologues are the least nation which inhabit this island, and are planted at the north west part of it; they have little commerce with the subjects of the Sultan of Mindanao; but trade much to Manila and the neighbouring islands.

Harbours and rivers.

There are in the island several fine harbours and bays for ships to ride in; and navigable rivers, which as well as their seas, are plentifully stored with fish; particularly bonetoes, cavallies, breems, mullets, sea-turtle or tortoise, and small manatee.

Climate.

Winds, storms and thunder.

The weather in this island is not excessive hot, tho' it lies near the line, being constantly refreshed by sea breezes: the winds blow easterly one part of the year and westerly the other; those from the east begin in October, but are not settled before the middle of November; this wind is attended with fair weather: the wind begins to come about to the west in May, but does not blow steddily from that quarter till the next month, when it brings with it rains and storms; these are chiefly thunder-showers, and come against the wind. At the wind's first veering westward it blows faintly, and there is not more than one or two hurricanes in a day; and after the storm is over the wind shifts about again to the east, and the sky becomes clear: a little after they come thicker several times in a day, with violent gusts of wind and loud thunder claps; at length they come on so thick, that the wind continues in that quarter from whence the hurricanes arise, viz. out of the west, where it remains till October or November; during which time they have thick cloudy weather, violent rains, and sometimes dreadful thunder and lightning; the largest trees are torn up by the roots, and the rivers overflow their banks and drown the flat country; and they neither see the sun or stars in a week sometimes. The worst weather is about the latter end of July or the beginning of August, when it is very cool and chill. In September both the wind and rain abate, and the air grows clear; but still there are thick fogs every morning till almost noon, when the sun shines out. In October the wind comes about to the east again, and blows fair till April.

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CHAP. IV.

Treats of the buildings at Mindanao; the genius and temper of the people; of their stature, complexion and habits; and of their food, liquors and diversions.

CHAP. IV.

Situation of the town of Mindanao. Buildings.

THE city of Mindanao is the chief town in the island, and lies on the south side of it in about the latitude of 6 degrees north, and stands on the banks of a small river about two miles from the sea. Their houses, like those of Siam, are built on posts between fourteen and twenty foot above the ground, and have but one floor, which is divided into several rooms, and a ladder to go up to them: they build in this manner for the same reason the Siamese do; namely, because their towns are generally in the flat country by the river sides, which annually overflow their banks to a very great heighth. Their buildings are very slight, the walls and floors being made of split cane or bambou, and the roofs covered with palmeto leaves: and the people keeping their ducks and poultry underneath their rooms, and making their dunghills frequently there, they are not exceeding sweet; except in the time of the inundation.

Sultan's palace.

The Sultan's house is very large, standing on 180 great pillars or trees, and is much higher than the common buildings, with great broad stairs to go up to it: there are twenty iron guns all mounted upon carriages in the first room of the palace, all saker or minion; and several others of the grandees have guns in their houses. Not far from the Sultan's palace there is a house built on purpose for the reception of Ambassadors and merchant strangers, and for the holding their councils in. The floor is neatly matted, because their people sit cross-legged, and use no chairs.

People sit cross legg'd.

City.

The city of Mindanao is about a mile in length, but of no great breadth, and built on the winding banks of a river on the right hand going up it; and there are some houses upon the opposite shore.

Mindanao river.

There is not above 10 or 11 foot water on the bar at the mouth of the river Mindanao, at a spring

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ſpring tide; ſo that large ſhips cannot eaſily enter the river.

Genius and temper.

The Mindanayans are ſaid to be an ingenious witty people, and active enough when they have a mind to it; but for the moſt part very lazy and thieviſh, and will not work unleſs compelled to it by hunger: but our author attributes their want of induſtry chiefly to the tyranny of the government, which will not ſuffer them to enjoy the wealth they acquire; and therefore they never endeavour to lay up any thing.

Perſons of the men deſcribed.

The Mindanayan men have ſmall limbs, ſtrait bodies, little heads and oval faces, with ſmall black eyes; their foreheads are flat, their noſes ſhort, their mouths large, their lips are red and thin, their hair black and ſtrait, and they black their teeth as in other parts of India: their complexions are tawny, but of a brighter caſt than ſome of their neighbours: they wear their nails to a great length, eſpecially that of the left thumb, which they never cut but ſcrape, and nouriſh it with great induſtry.

Mien.

They have a ſtately mien, or rather proud and haughty, as ſome of our travellers interpret it; but they are civil enough to ſtrangers, and entertain them with much freedom, unleſs they are inſulted or injured; and then, it is ſaid, they are implacable in their revenge, which they execute ſecretly by poiſon or aſſaſſination.

Habits.

They wear a kind of linnen frock or ſhirt which reaches down almoſt to their knees, and a pair of drawers, but have neither ſtockings or ſhoes: they have a little cloth or turbant on their heads, which they tie once round; it is fringed at the ends, which hang down.

Perſons of the women.

The women have long black hair, which they tie up in a roll on the hinder part of their heads: their faces are of a rounder figure than the mens, and their complexion ſomething better: their features are pretty juſt, except their noſes, which are too ſmall and low, and their foreheads flattiſh; they appear therefore much better at a diſtance than when they approach you: they wear a ſhort frock or ſhift like the men, with the ſleeves a great deal larger than their arms, but ſo ſtrait at the lower end they can hardly get their hands through, ſo that they ſit in wrinkles upon their wriſts; they have alſo a ſhort petticoat or piece of cloth wrapt once about their middles: the better ſort of people are clothed in ſilk and callicoe, but the common people wear the cloth made of the plantine tree: the women have very ſmall feet, but wear neither ſhoes nor ſtockings, any more than the men.

Women not reſtrained of their liberty.

Their women are allowed to converſe with foreigners, and entertain them at their houſes, but no further familiarities; and there is a cuſtom, when any foreigners arrive at Mindanao, for the men to come on board and enquire if any of the ſhip's company will have a comrade or a pagally; by a comrade is meant a male friend, and by a pagally a female friend. Every ſtranger is almoſt under a neceſſity of contracting ſuch an acquaintance, and when he comes on ſhore he is welcomed to his comrade's or pagally's houſe, where he eats, drinks and ſleeps; but for this his hoſt expects to be paid, and very ſeldom makes any other preſent gratis than a little tobacco or betel. The men of the beſt quality allow their wives the freedom of converſing with their pagallies in publick. They wear rings on their fingers, and bracelets on their wriſts, of gold or ſilver.

Ornaments.

Eating.

The common people live chiefly on rice or ſago, and ſmall fiſh: the better ſort of people eat buffalo-beef and fowls with their rice, but their cookery is very indifferent; they uſe no ſpoons, but take up a handful of rice out of the diſh, which they ſqueeze together into a hard lump as big as their mouths will hold, and cram themſelves with it ſometimes till they are almoſt choked. They waſh after their meals, and after touching any thing which they deem unclean: they uſe therefore a great deal of water in their houſes, which, when they have fouled upon any occaſion, they pour down through the floor that is made of ſplit bambou like lath; and when people are ſick, they have a hole made in the floor inſtead of a cloſe-ſtool, which makes their habitations filthy enough at thoſe times: but healthful people of both ſexes conſtantly go to the river on thoſe occaſions, as they do alſo to bath their bodies and waſh their clothes; and you may ſee abundance of people in the rivers from morning till night. Both men and women take great delight in ſwimming and waſhing themſelves, which they uſe from their infancy, and is reckoned very wholeſome in all hot countries; eſpecially where a perſon is afflicted with the flux.

Bathing.

Liquor.

They have a pretty ſtrong liquor which they make with rice ſteeped in water, and with this the natives will be very merry; but when they invite foreigners, they will not drink out of the ſame veſſel for fear they ſhould be defiled by the touch of it.

Diverſions.

No inſtrumental muſick.

Upon any ſolemn occaſion, or days of rejoicing, they have women who are bred up for that purpoſe, who ſing and dance before them; but they have no inſtruments of muſick, they do not leap from the ground, or make much uſe of their feet in dancing; but ſhew the ſuppleneſs of their limbs by the odd poſtures they twiſt and ſcrew themſelves into, inſomuch that one would hardly believe they have any bones in their fleſh. They introduce alſo a ſingle man at theſe entertainments, who ſeems deſigned to act the part of a hero, he puts on a dreadful look, and having given a ſhriek or two, ſtrides croſs the ſtage with his lance in one hand and a great broad ſword in the other, and

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and having traverſed it ſeveral times in a menacing manner, he ſtamps, ſhakes his head, and throws his lance; after which he draws his crice, and cuts and ſlaſhes the air like a madman; at length, having his enemy at mercy, gives two or three blows with his broad ſword on the floor, as if he was cutting off his head; then he withdraws, and is ſucceeded by another, who acts much the ſame part: and not only their Generals and great men have their ſhare in this mock fight; but the Sultan himſelf, if he be there, frequently concludes the play; being dreſſed in armour, as if he were really to encounter ſome dangerous enemy.

Sports.

They hunt wild cows and buffaloes as they do deer or any other veniſon, of which they have great plenty; and frequently take their women with them to the ſport.

Their manner of hunting is, firſt to incloſe a piece of ground with a ſtrong fence, and then drive the game into it; having no dogs, and not much underſtanding the uſe of firelocks.

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Treats of their ſhipping, trade, manufactures, coin, ſoil, plants, animals and minerals.

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Trade and ſhipping of Mindanao.

THEY build very ſerviceable ſhips and veſſels both for trade and pleaſure, and have ſome ſhips of war; they trade chiefly to Manila, whither they tranſport gold and bees-wax, and bring back callicoes, muſlins and China ſilks: they maintain a trade alſo with the iſland of Borneo; the Dutch come hither in ſloops from Ternate and Tidore, and purchaſe rice, bees-wax and tobacco; the laſt grows more plentifully in this iſland than in any other iſland of India except Manila, and is an excellent ſort; but the people have not the art of managing it to advantage as the Spaniards do at Manila. Our author imagines that the Spaniards firſt brought the ſeeds hither from America; but conſidering how near theſe iſlands lie to the Chineſe ſhore, and that tobacco was cultivated there before any Europeans came into that part of the world; and that theſe very iſlands were once under the dominion of the Chineſe, it ſeems much more probable that they had their tobacco from thence, if it did not grow ſpontaneouſly in theſe iſlands. The tobacco of Mindanao is of a deeper colour than that of Manila or Luconia, and the leaf much larger; which is imputed to the fatneſs of the ſoil: the Manila tobacco is of a bright yellow, and the leaf of a moderate ſize, and is not ſtrong, but very pleaſant to ſmoke: the people of Manila by well ordering of their tobacco ſell it all over India at a very great price, while that of Mindanao, which is really as good, is ſold exceeding cheap, inſomuch that you may have ten or twelve pound of tobacco for a rial there.

Tobacco.

The rate of the Mandanao gold is fourteen Spaniſh dollars the Engliſh ounce, and eighteen dollars the Mindanao ounce; theſe Spaniſh dollars are the current coin in all theſe iſlands.

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Rate of gold. Money.

The common people of Mindanao are generally thieviſh, and therefore it behoves the merchant to take care of his effects: nor are their magiſtrates and great men much better; but will ſometimes ſtop foreigners goods upon very ſlight pretences; notwithſtanding they make great profeſſions of their juſt dealings: Mr. DAMPIER relates, that one captain GOODLUD having been robb'd of ſome goods by one of the General's men, the fellow fled to the mountains; and being apprehended after GOODLUD was gone, the General brought him bound to captain SWAN who commanded the ſhip DAMPIER was in, deſiring the Captain to puniſh him as he ſaw fit; but the Captain refuſing to meddle, the General ordered the criminal to be ſtripped naked and bound hand and foot to a poſt and expoſed with his face to the ſun from morning till night, which ſufficiently puniſhed him; for beſides the exceſſive heat, the musketoes or gnats almoſt covered his body and ſtung him unmercifully all the time: after this the General offered to have killed him if captain SWAN would have conſented to it. And this is a common puniſhment amongſt them, to ſtrip the criminal and expoſe him to the ſcorching ſun, and ſometimes they lay him flat on his back on the hot ſands, which a man can hardly bear to ſet his feet on.

Given to thieving and tricking.

Puniſhments.

Worms deſtroy the ſhipping.

The ſeas and rivers about this iſland are ſo infeſted with worms, that they will deſtroy a ſhip in a very ſhort time; and therefore the natives whenever they come from ſea, immediately hale up their ſhips upon the dry land, as they do their canoos and barges; and never ſuffer them to lie long in the water. Theſe worms are chiefly in the bays, creeks and mouths of rivers, or in ſome places near the ſhore, being ſeldom found far out at ſea; if they be, they are lodged in the planks while the ſhip remains on the coaſt.

Practices of the Dutch in India.

The Mindanayans are very apprehenſive, that the Dutch, who have reduced ſeveral of the neighbouring iſlands to a ſtate of ſlavery, will in time invade them, or put a reſtraint upon their trade at leaſt; and therefore would be very glad if the Engliſh would ſettle a factory there, and defend them from their encroachments: They cannot but obſerve, as well as all other nations of the eaſt, that the Engliſh have never attempted to enſlave or oppreſs any people amongſt whom they have ſettled or traded; while the Spaniards, Portugueſe and Dutch, in their turns, have claimed the property of every country or iſland wherever they ſet their foot on ſhore, although they were at the ſame time governed by Princes of their own; and there is hardly a conſiderable

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iſland in India, but the Dutch, by force or fraud, have uſurped the dominion of ſome part of it, and depoſed the lawful Princes upon various pretences; and where-ever they could not pick a quarrel, have fallen upon them while they were in full peace, and uſurped the government: ſeveral eaſtern nations are ſo ſenſible of theſe practices, that they will not trade with the Dutch upon any account, or ſuffer them to come into their dominions: and it is obſervable of the Dutch, that though no people complained more of oppreſſion in Europe, and made it even a pretence for rebellion, and caſting off their allegiance to their lawful Sovereign; that they in a very ſhort time became the greateſt tyrants and oppreſſors that were ever known in the eaſt, or perhaps in any part of the world. And 'tis certain, the Dutch dread nothing more at this day, than that the Engliſh ſhould accept of the offer of the Mindanayans and other eaſtern people to ſettle amongſt them, and renew their claim to Amboina and other ſpice iſlands they were ſo treacherouſly deprived of; which I ſhall ſay more of, when I come to the Moluccas.

Soil. This country towards the middle of it is woody and mountainous, but has ſeveral pleaſant valleys, and the ſtaple or vegetable earth is generally a deep black mold, and very fruitful: and tho' the hills are ſome of them ſtony, yet they produce tall timber, and in ſome of them there are mines of gold.

Plants. Mines.

Rivers. The valleys are watered with fine rivers and brooks, and clothed with a great variety of trees and plants, which are green and flouriſh all the year; but they are moſt of them unknown to us.

Sago. One of theſe trees is called by the natives the libby, but by Europeans the ſago-tree: theſe trees grow wild in large woods five or ſix miles in length by the river ſides; of the pith of theſe trees they make ſago, which the natives eat inſtead of bread four or five months in the year. It is not unlike the palm, the bark and wood is hard and thin, but full of white pith, like elder: when they have cut down the tree, and ſplit it in the middle, they ſcrape out the pith and beat it with a wooden peſtle in a mortar, and then ſtrain it through a cloth, pouring in water, which carries all the ſubſtance of the pith through the cloth, leaving nothing but a little huſk behind: that which is ſtrained through has a ſettlement at the bottom like mud, which when the water is drawn from it is made into cakes and baked, and proves very good bread.

The ſago which is exported into the other parts of the Indies is dried hard in ſmall bits no bigger than ſeeds, and is commonly eaten with milk of almonds by thoſe who are ſick of the bloody flux, it being a great aſtringent, and very good in that diſtemper.

Rice. There is plenty of rice at Mindanao; and in the hilly ground they plant yams, potatoes and pumkins. They have alſo melons, plantains, bonanoes, guavas, jacks, coco-nuts and oranges.

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Roots and Fruits.

The plantain, according to DAMPIER's palate, is the beſt of all fruit; but he is the only man perhaps that ever thought it ſo. The tree on which it grows is about ten foot high and three foot in circumference, and is not raiſed from the ſeed, but from ſlips and ſuccours taken from the old tree, which will bear within twelve months after they are planted in their native ſoil; but it will be fifteen months if they are removed into other ground: the fruit is no ſooner ripe but the tree decays; but then there are many young ſhoots which grow up and ſupply its place: at its firſt ſpringing out of the ground it has two leaves, and when it is a foot high it has two more between the firſt, but a little lower, and in a ſhort time after two others, and ſo on: by that time it is a month old the body is almoſt as big as ones arm; the uppermoſt leaves are about a foot long and half a foot broad, and as the tree grows higher the leaves are larger; when the tree is full grown the leaves are ſeven or eight foot long, and a foot and half broad at the bottom, towards the end they are ſmall, and end in a round point; the ſtalk of the leaf is as big as one's arm, almoſt round, and about a foot long between the leaf and the body of the tree: when it is full grown there ſprings out of the top a ſtrong ſtem, harder than any other part of the body, about as big and as long as a man's arm, the fruit grows in cluſters round it in a cod about ſix or ſeven inches long, and bigger than one's wriſt; the cod is ſoft and yellow when ripe, and the fruit is much of the ſhape of a Bologna ſauſage; the pulp in the inſide is ſweet, and ſofter than butter, and of much the ſame colour, melting in the mouth, and has no ſeed or ſtone in it. This fruit will thrive only in a rich ſoil; they often roaſt or boil it while it is green, and eat it inſtead of bread; and the Engliſh ſometimes will take the pulp of five or ſix of them and boil in a bag like a pudding. Ripe plantains are alſo often dried in the ſun and preſerved, and make a tolerable ſweet-meat. This fruit ſerves many thouſands of the natives in the Weſt-Indies for meat and drink: when they make drink with it, they take the pulp of ten or a dozen ripe plantains and maſh them together in a tub, into which they pour two gallons of water, and in two hours it will ferment and have a head upon it like wort, and in four hours it will be fit to drink, and then they bottle it, but it will not keep much above twenty four hours, and therefore thoſe that drink it brew it every morning; it drinks briſk and cool, but is very windy, as the fruit itſelf is when it is eaten raw, but being boiled or roaſted has no ill effects. This drink, as it grows ſour in four and twenty hours, if it be ſet in the ſun it will make very good vinegar: and

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Cloth.

this fruit does not only afford the natives of the Philippines meat and drink, but ſerves them alſo for clothes; and the poor people wear no other cloth.

The tree never bearing fruit but once, they cut it down cloſe to the ground after they have gathered the fruit; which may be done with one blow of a hatchet, the wood which encloſes the pith is ſo thin; having pulled off the bark, they ſplit the body into four quarters; which being dried two or three days in the ſun, the women divide it with their fingers into ſmall threads, of which they make their cloth; but it is pretty ſtubborn while it is new, and ſoon wears out, and when 'tis wetted, feels a little damp and ſlimy: they make their pieces about ſeven yards long, the warp and woof being all of the ſame thickneſs and ſubſtance.

The bonano tree is much like the plantain for ſhape and bigneſs, but the fruit is not half ſo large; it is leſs luſcious. and of a more delicate taſte, and is oftner uſed in making drink than plantains.

DAMPIER aſſures us that there are clove-trees at Mindanao; that he himſelf ſaw a ſhip-load of cloves there, and was aſſured by the people of the iſland, that if the Engliſh would ſettle a factory at Mindanao, they might have a ſhip loaded with cloves every year.

There are ſome nutmeg trees alſo upon this iſland, as he informs us, which produce a fair large fruit; but, he ſays, the natives will not cultivate either the cloves or nutmeg-plants, leſt the Dutch ſhould endeavour to bring them under their tyranny, as they have the neighbouring Spice iſlands: the Dutch do not only monopolize this merchandize, but ſend detachments every year to ſeveral uninhabited iſlands to cut down and deſtroy all the ſpice trees: and yet, it ſeems, there are ſtill many iſlands that have great quantities of ſpice in them which rot every year upon the ground, becauſe the Dutch will not ſuffer any other nation to frequent them.

There are almoſt all ſorts of beaſts in this iſland, as horſes, cows, buffaloes, deer, goats, hogs, monkeys, guanoes, lizards and ſnakes; and there are a multitude of wild hogs, with great bunches growing over their eyes, in the woods. There are no beaſts of prey: but there are ſeveral kinds of venomous inſects, as ſcorpions, whoſe ſting is in their tails, which turn up in a ring upon their backs; and centapes, which are four or five inches long, of a rediſh colour on the back, and their bellies whitiſh; theſe are almoſt flat, and about the bigneſs of a gooſe quill, and are full of feet from head to tail, from whence they have their name; their bite is reckoned more dangerous than the ſting of a ſcorpion; they are found often in old houſes, and among dry timber. They have alſo ſeveral kinds of ſerpents.

It is uſual here to have ſnakes come into their houſes, and even on ſhip-board: and our author tells us of one that wound himſelf about a man's neck when he was aſleep, and went away without hurting him.

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Fowls.

Of tame fowls, the moſt common are ducks and hens; they have alſo wild pigeons, parrots, parrakeets, turtle-doves, and abundance of ſmall birds; and batts as big as kites.

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Treats of their language, mechanick arts, diſeaſes, religion, women and ſuperſtition.

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Language.

THEY ſpeak two languages in the city of Mindanao, the one being the proper language of the iſland, and the other the Malayan language; which is ſpoken in all the oriental iſlands, and in ſeveral countries on the continent, as at Malacca, Cambodia, Cochin-China, &c.

There are ſeveral ſchools in the city of Mindanao, where they teach their children to write and read; and it is obſervable, that many of their words, eſpecially their devotions, are in Arabick, and their forms of ſalutation in the language of Turkey. There are alſo ſeveral antient men and women here which ſpeak Spaniſh, the Spaniards having formerly been in poſſeſſion of great part of this iſland, and fortified ſeveral places in it; but they were drawn from hence to reinforce their countrymen in the iſland of Manila, who were threatned with an invaſion by the Chineſe. The Spaniards were no ſooner embarked, but the old Sultan of Mindanao, father of him who reigned in 1680, demoliſhed their forts and took poſſeſſion of their great guns, and ſent the Spaniſh Miſſionaries after them; nor have the Spaniards ever been ſuffered to ſettle in that part of the iſland under the dominion of the Sultan of Mindanao ſince.

Bad accompts.

The Mindanayans do not underſtand accompts; and therefore employ the Chineſe that live amongſt them, when they have any to ſettle with foreigners.

No clock.

They have no clocks in this country; but they have a great gong or drum with one head in their moſques, on which they beat every three hours to give notice of the time of day.

Mechanick arts and trades.

There are but few handicrafts in the city of Mindanao, the chief trades are the goldſmiths, blackſmiths and carpenters; of the firſt there are but two or three, and theſe keep no ſhops, but will make any thing you give them a pattern of. The blackſmiths are no ill workmen, conſidering their tools: their bellows it ſeems are very unlike ours; they take the trunk of a tree about three foot in length, and having bored it hollow, like a pump they ſet it upright on the ground, and on the top of it make their fire; near the lower end of the trunk they bore a hole in which they place a pipe, through which the wind is driven to the

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fire by a bunch of feathers faſtened to the end of a ſtick, and their moſt uſual fire is charcoal: they have neither anvil or vice, but a great ſtone or piece of an old gun to hammer upon; and in this manner they do not only make common utenſils, but all iron work for ſhips tolerably well. Every man almoſt can perform carpenters work, and uſe the ax and adds; they have no ſaws, but ſplit all their planks, and then plane them with the ax and adds; and though this requires great labour, yet they work cheap, and the goodneſs of the plank thus hew'd having its grain preſerved intire, makes amends for the trouble they are at.

Diſeaſes. Theſe people are moſt troubled with a ſort of leproſy or dry ſcurf which ſpreads all over the body, and creates an intolerable itch; ſo that they are perpetually ſcratching themſelves; and upon ſome who have had it may be ſeen broad white ſpots, which our author ſuppoſes to be thoſe places where they have rubbed off the skin: they do not ſeem to be under any great concern or fear of catching it, and never refrain one another's company upon that account. Their other diſtempers are the ſmall-pox, fevers and fluxes, the latter of which occaſions great pains and griping in the guts. It is ſaid the country affords plenty of drugs and medicinal herbs; but I don't find phyſick is a ſcience here.

As their religion is Mahometiſm, I ſhall ſay little of it here, becauſe it will be deſcribed when we come to ſpeak of thoſe great empires upon the continent which are of the ſame faith. The people of the inland country are Pagans; and have received their religion either from China or India, or perhaps both.

Women. The people of Mindanao allow themſelves ſeveral wives and concubines, as other Mahometans do; and the Sultan has about thirty, with whom he chiefly ſpends his time; but they are not kept up ſo ſtrictly as in Turkey, but ſuffered to walk about the ſtreets and converſe with ſtrangers.

Superſtition. As the religion of the Mahometans prohibits them to eat ſwine's fleſh, the wild hogs multiply prodigiouſly in this country, and come down from the woods into the towns, and under their very houſes in ſearch of food; nor dare the people kill them for fear of being defiled by their touch, but are very glad when the Europeans will do them that favour: and our author ſays, they are ſo very ſuperſtitious in this matter, that the General having a pair of ſhoes made him by one of the ſhips crew, and underſtanding that the threads with which they were ſowed were pointed with hogs briſtles, he made conſcience of wearing them, and deſired the fellow to make another pair that were not defiled in that manner; nor will they ſuffer an European to come near them after he has touched hogs fleſh.

DAMPIER obſerves, when he came to Mindanao he had loſt a day; for having ſailed with the ſun, and the Mahometans which inhabited Mindanao coming from the weſt, Friday, which was their ſabbath, was but Thurſday in the account that DAMPIER kept. The Spaniards alſo who inhabit Luconia or Manila, coming from New Spain, are a day after the Mahometans in Mindanao, or the Portugueſe Chriſtians at Macao, who came from the weſt, and yet Luconia and Mindanao lye almoſt under the ſame meridian: and the Spaniards at Luconia obſerve the ſabbath on Monday (according to the Portugueſe account) with the ſame ſolemnity that the Portugueſe do the day preceding it at Macao.

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A day loſt by ſailing weſtward.

CHAP. VII.

Treats of the government, revenues and forces of the Sultan of Mindanao, and of their wars and arms.

CHAP. VII.

THE Sultan is abſolute in his dominions, but a very poor Prince: the hilanoons or mountaineers being poſſeſſed of all the gold mines, and the country affords very little other merchandize, except ſago, rice, tobacco and bees-wax, which laſt alſo comes from the woods and mountains. The tyranny and oppreſſion of the government is another occaſion of their poverty and neglect of trade; for if the Prince knows that any of his ſubjects have any treaſure by them, he immediately borrows it, and very ſeldom makes any return. When he goes abroad, he is carried on a couch or open palakin on four mens ſhoulders, attended by eight or ten of his guards. When he takes his pleaſure upon the water, he carries his women with him; and there is an apartment in the middle of the barge large enough for fifty or ſixty people. This is built with ſplit cane or bambou about four foot high, with little windows in it; and the roof is neatly covered with palmeto leaves: this apartment conſiſts of three rooms, one for the Prince himſelf, the floor and ſides whereof are matted, and he has a carpet and pillars to ſleep on; the next room is for his women, which is furniſhed much like the other; and a third there is for the ſervants who wait upon them with betel and tobacco, for they are for ever chewing the one or ſmoking the other: the head and ſtern of the veſſel is for the watermen to ſit and row: theſe veſſels have outlayers like the Dutch, and are made with a belly or rounding on each ſide, and not flat on one ſide like thoſe of the Ladrone iſlands.

Prince his revenues, ſtates, &c.

Barges.

The Sultan has one great Miniſter, to whom he commits both his civil and military affairs; natives as well as ſtrangers apply themſelves to him for a permiſſion to trade. And as this gentleman is General alſo of the Sultan's forces, our author obſerved, that the women when they played before him, made his great actions in the field the ſubject

Government.

CHAP. VII.

The ſubject of their ſongs the great actions of their Princes.

of their ſongs; and whenever the Indian Princes call in their players to entertain ſtrangers, as is very uſual, their ſongs and ſpeeches chiefly run upon the valour or wiſdom of their Princes and great men, and particularly of thoſe before whom they act, which they will ſit and hear without any emotion, or diſcovering whether they are pleaſed or diſpleaſed, how groſs ſoever the flattery may be: this is a cuſtom very ancient, as may be collected from the ſacred writings; where we find one of the principal reaſons of Saul's enmity to David was, that the women in their dances aſcribed to Saul his thouſands, and to David his ten thouſands ſlain in the field of battle. But to return to their Sultan of Mindanao, whoſe wars are chiefly with the mountaineers of the iſland country: their weapons are a ſword and lance, and a crice which they wear in their girdles both in peace and war; this crice is a ſhort dagger, broad towards the hilt with two ſharp edges; and has a hilt much like the tines of a pitch-fork reverſed, into which they clap their full hand when they ſtrike. They ſeldom come to a general engagement; but when the armies are advanced pretty near one another they fall to entrenching, and throwing up redoubts, and pelt one another with their great ſhot; and thus they will lye two or three months, ſending out ſmall parties and skirmiſhing every day, and ſometimes will ſurprize a little fort; and as they ſeldom take priſoners, or give any quarter, if we may believe our author, they will ſell their lives as dear as they can.

I ſhall now proceed to the deſcription of the great iſland of Luconia, whoſe metropolis is Manila, the ſeat of the Spaniſh Viceroy; from whence that iſland is uſually called Manila.

CHAP. VIII.

Contains an account of the ſituation and extent of the iſland of Luconia or Manila, and of the buildings and fortifications; with an account of the air, winds, earthquakes, baths, rivers and lakes in that iſland.

CHAP. VIII.

Situation of Manila.

THE iſland of Luconia or Manila extends from 13 degrees 30 min. to 19 degrees north lat. and is generally reſembled to a bended arm, it is in length 160 Spaniſh leagues; but unequal in breadth, being in ſome places 20, in ſome 30, and in others 40 leagues over: that part of the iſland which is ſubject to the Spaniards is divided by them into eleven provinces, every one of them ſubject to an Alcade or Spaniſh Governor; of theſe provinces Manila is the chief: the city which gives name to this province being the ſeat of the Spaniſh Viceroy. The city of Manila lies 14 degrees 40 min. n. lat. upon a point of land made by a river which iſſues from the lake of Bahia, and falls into the ſea a little lower at the town of Cavite, where there is a ſpacious harbour, but of difficult entrance becauſe of the rocks and ſhallows that lye at the mouth of the bay. The city is about two miles in circumference, ſurrounded with a good wall and ditch; and fortified with baſtions and outworks; beſides which there is a fort which ſtands on the point of land between the ſea and the river, and commands the entrance of the river: there are two Alcades or Governors under the Viceroy, one of whom has the command of the Spaniards, and the other of the Chineſe or Sangles and other foreign nations.

Provinces.

Manila city.

Cathedral.

The principal buildings in Manila are firſt the cathedral, which is large, but not well adorned within, the walls being black and the altars in no good order: it has in all twelve chapels and altars, beſides the high altar. The roof is ſupported by twelve pillars, ſix on a ſide.

Convents, churches and publick buildings. Orphans

There are alſo in Manila ſeveral convents and religious houſes, churches, chapels and hoſpitals endowed: in the church of Miſericordia, dedicated to St. ELIZABETH, the orphan daughters of Spaniards and Muſtees (half Spaniſh half Indian are received, and have a portion of three or four hundred pieces of eight paid for them, and if they chooſe to be Nuns, they have a ſuitable annual allowance. The inſide of their churches and chapels are exceeding rich, that of St. AUSTIN's in particular has fifteen well gilt altars, ſome of them with antipediams of beaten ſilver; but their ſtructures are moſt of them wood becauſe of the earthquakes.

Jeſuits college.

The college of Jeſuits is very large, adorned with arches, and has ſpacious dormitories.

This college is of the invocation of St. IGNATIUS, and was founded upon the arrival of the firſt Biſhop of Manila in 1581. Adjoining to the ſame is the college of St. JOSEPH, where are forty collegians ſtudying humanity, philoſophy and divinity; for all degrees are given in it: it has particular revenues beſides the King's allowance. The collegians are clothed in purple, and have red cloth gowns; the graduates by way of diſtinction wear a thing like a collar of the ſame cloth.

Streets.

Buildings.

The ſtreets are wide and handſome, having galleries running all along the front of their houſes; but the frequent earthquakes have ſpoiled the regularity of the city, ſeveral fine houſes and palaces having been overturned by them; for which reaſon they now build very ſlightly with wood, above the firſt floor.

Inhabitants of Manila.

The inhabitants of Manila are a mixture of people, conſiſting of Spaniards, Chineſe, Indians, &c. and their complexions are as different; conſiſting of black, white and tawny, it is computed there are about 3000 ſouls within the walls of the city, and as many more in the Chineſe ſuburb: there

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there are other large ſuburbs, conſiſting of ſeveral Indian nations who live in houſes built on wooden pillars near the river, like the people of Siam; and beyond their ſuburbs on both ſides of the river lye gardens, farms and country houſes a great way up into the country, which make an agreeable proſpect.

Other buildings.

The inhabitants of the mountains live under the ſhelter of great trees, or in little huts they make of the branches; and when they have eaten up all the fruit and roots round about, remove to ſome other place.

Air.

The air of the Philippine iſlands is hot and moiſt, but the heat is not ſo violent as in ſome other countries of a more northern latitude, which proceeds not only from the many lakes and rivers which water the country, but from the great rains which fall annually and overflow the low lands: the ſea breezes alſo refreſh the air moſt part of the year, and render the heats very tolerable; but the moiſture and dampneſs occaſioned by the rains, and the great dews which fall even in fair weather, make the country very unhealthful to European conſtitutions, though the natives here live to as great an age as in any other part of the world. The Europeans are very ſubject to ſweating after their meals, and when they are aſleep, which occaſions an unuſual faintneſs and weakneſs; but this they are leaſt ſubject to in the hilly and open country, and therefore the better ſort of people retire to their country houſes from the middle of March to the end of June, being the time of their greateſt heats. In the months of June, July, and Auguſt, and part of September, the weſt and ſouth winds blow, bringing with them ſuch rains that the fields are all overflowed, and they are forced to go from one place to another in boats; and during this time there are frequent ſtorms and tempeſts, with terrible thunder and lightening; from October to the middle of December the north wind prevails; and from that time 'till May the eaſt and ſouth eaſt winds blow, which is the drieſt as well as the cooleſt and moſt healthful part of the year.

Winds or monſons.

Earthquakes.

Theſe iſlands are ſubject to great earthquakes, which are generally thought to proceed from ſubterraneous fires which give a violent motion to ſeveral minerals; and having no room to dilate and vent themſelves, puſh forwards with great force againſt thoſe ſolid bodies which ſurround them, and are ſo ſhaken, that the motion is communicated to all that is over it, even to the ſuperficies of the earth; and this is confirmed by experience, which ſhews us that thoſe places are moſt ſubject to earthquakes which abound moſt in minerals and ſubterraneous fires, as is obſerved of Campania, Calabria and Sicily, ſo famous for burning mountains.

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In September, 1627. there was ſuch a terrible earthquake at Manila, that it levelled one of the mountains called Carvallo's; and in the year 1645, a third part of the city of Manila was overthrown, and no leſs than three thouſand ſouls periſhed in the ruins: another earthquake, not much leſs dreadful, happened alſo the year following; and the old Indians pretend that the iſland was ſtill more ſubject to them in former times, which was the reaſon of building of their houſes ſlightly with wood, and not as the Spaniards do now with wood above the firſt floor.

Burning mountains.

The burning mountains about theſe iſlands, 'tis obſerved, have all thoſe effects that PLINY aſcribes to the burning mountains of Italy; namely, that they caſt out their flames, ſhake the earth, driving from them the neighbouring rivers and ſea, and ſcattering their aſhes round the country, rending the very rocks, which ſometimes give a report like a cannon.

Hot baths and rivers.

From theſe ſubterraneous fires proceeds a great variety of hot baths, and ſome of their rivers and ſtreams are ſo hot that they immediately kill any animal that falls into them; but theſe waters, though they are mineral, are as clear and as well taſted as any other, and when they are cool, are reckoned very healthful to drink of: within half a mile of one of theſe hot rivers there runs another, remarkable for its exceſſive cold, which is eſteemed as wholeſome to drink of as the former.

Lakes.

This country abounds not only in rivers but lakes, as has been obſerved, the principal of which is the lake of Bahia, not far from the city of Manila, which is about 90 miles in compaſs; it is long but very narrow, and has great plenty of fiſh in it. There are alſo abundance of crocodiles which do much miſchief, devouring both men and cattle which come near the banks: not far from this great lake is another ſmall one, upon a mountain, which the natives imagine has no bottom, not being able to fathom it: the water is blackiſh, and has only ſome ill taſted fiſh in it.

Petrifying ſprings.

There is a ſpring of hot water in the mountains, which, 'tis ſaid, petrifies every thing that falls into it, as well animals as other things.

Thunderbolts.

The Spaniſh fathers report, that when it thunders in theſe iſlands, there falls a thunder-bolt in the ſhape of a croſs, being a kind of greeniſh black ſtone, to which they aſcribe mighty virtues; but ſome of the more ingenious of them acknowledge that theſe croſſes are made by art, though the fathers frequently make uſe of them to put holy cheats upon the poor ignorant people under their care.

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Treats of the ſeveral nations that inhabit theſe iſlands; their different complexions, ſtature, make and habits; and of their diet, diverſions, ſalutations, and ceremonies.

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The ſeveral nations which inhabit theſe iſlands.

THERE may be reckoned four or five different nations or people in theſe iſlands.

1. The Blacks, who inhabit the woods and mountains, and moſt inacceſſible places. 2. The poſterity of the Chineſe, who once poſſeſſed great part of the ſea coaſts. 3. The Malayan Moors or Mahometans, who came from Malacca, Sumatra, Borneo, Macaſſar and the neighbouring iſlands. 4. The Spaniards, Portugueſe and other European people. And 5thly, the Muſtees, or mixt breed, which are a compound of all theſe.

Blacks the firſt inhabitants.

I was formerly of opinion that theſe iſlands were firſt peopled from China, which is the neareſt continent; but I find it is the receiv'd opinion that the Blacks were the firſt inhabitants; and this ſeems highly reaſonable, becauſe we find them poſſeſſed of all the inland parts of the country, having probably been driven up to the mountains and woods by the other nations which ſucceeded them, and now poſſeſs the ſea coaſts; but the greateſt difficulty is to find how theſe Blacks came thither, and from what nation they derived their original.

From the Blacks of Africa it is plain they are not deſcended, not only from the diſtance of that country from this, but becauſe their hair and features are as different as any thing can be. The Blacks or Caffres of Africk having flat noſes, thick lips and ſhort woolly hair; and the Blacks of theſe iſlands as regular well proportioned features as any European, with fine, long black hair. I ſhould make no ſcruple therefore to derive this people from thoſe Indians who poſſeſs that peninſula of India which lies on this ſide the Ganges, becauſe they exactly reſemble them in their hair and features, and are the neareſt them of any nation of Blacks upon the continent; but then it may be demanded if the Philippine iſlands were firſt peopled from India, how comes it to paſs that the ſame Indians did not alſo people Siam and Malacca, and the iſlands of Sumatra and Borneo, which lie between them and the Philippines? to which it may be anſwered, that Siam and Malacca and the neighbouring iſlands were formerly part of the empire of China; and the Indians finding theſe countries already inhabited, probably paſſed on to the Philippine iſlands, which till then were unpeopled. Father GEMELLI CARERI indeed does ſay, that ſome few of the Blacks of theſe iſlands have ſhort woolly hair, and reſemble the Caffres of Africa; but this he ſeems to have by hear-ſay, or poſſibly ſome few of the African Blacks may have been carried thither in the ſervice of the Spaniards or ſome other European nations, and run away to thoſe of the ſame complexion in the mountains and mix with them, which may have occaſioned that miſtake.

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And here it naturally falls in our way, to enquire into what it is that is the original occaſion of the different features and complexions we meet with in the ſeveral parts of the world: but firſt, it will be neceſſary rightly to ſtate the facts, before we attempt to draw any inferences from them.

The different ſorts of Blacks.

And firſt, it is to be obſerved that the Caffres, or Blacks with flat noſes and thick lips, and ſhort woolly hair, are only to be found in the hotteſt climates of Africk, or in countries as have been peopled from thence; that the only nation of Blacks in the known world beſides upon the continent, are the inhabitants of that peninſula in India, which lies on this ſide the Ganges abovementioned: theſe, at leaſt ſuch of them as inhabit the woods and mountains in the middle of the country, are of as deep a black as thoſe of Africk, but as different from them in their features as the Europeans; their features appearing very juſt and engaging, though covered with ſo dark a complexion: they have alſo long black hair, which is no ſmall addition to their beauty; and ſhews they are no more deſcended from the Blacks of Africk than we are.

An enquiry into the cauſe of black complexions. Whether from the curſe on CHAM.

Various have been the cauſe aſſigned for this difference of complexion, ſome of our pious commentators have thought it to be the effect of Noah's curſe upon his ſecond ſon CHAM, whoſe poſterity, they tell us, planted Africk; but to this there are ſeveral objections made, and 1. It appears that Canaan, one of the ſons of CHAM, poſſeſſed the land of Canaan, and thoſe people we have all the reaſon in the world to believe were never black, any more than they are at this day. 2dly, the inhabitants of the coaſt of Barbary, which is a great part of Africk, and who are ſuppoſed to be the poſterity of this curſed ſon, never were black. And 3dly, the inhabitants of India, who were ſaid to be the poſterity of SHEM, the favourite ſon, are as black as thoſe of Africk, and conſequently according to this opinion equally curſed. And laſtly, why a black complexion ſhould be looked upon as an effect of God's anger rather than tawny, which at leaſt one half of the world are, is not eaſy to conceive; that white, our own dear colour, ſhould be looked upon as a mark of God's favour towards us is not to be wondered at, ſince Providence has taken care that every nation ſhould prefer their own climate, complexion and ſituation, as well as ſenſe, to that of their neighbours; and accordingly we find every people repreſenting their own country as a perfect paradiſe, and deſpiſing

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fing every other nation, either they want the wit, the beauty, or the courage that themſelves are bleſſed with; but above all they want the honour of being derived from their noble ſtock; and we are told of ſome of the black race ſo partial to themſelves, that they repreſent every thing that is odious or abominable to them with a white complexion, which may be fully as reaſonable as our Chriſtian commentators repreſenting every man of a dusky complexion as carrying a mark of God's vengeance in his face as CAIN did.

Of from the climate.

There are other gentlemen who imagine that this dark complexion proceeds from the intenſe heat of the ſun in thoſe countries which lye near the equator; but if this was the reaſon, then thoſe who are in the ſame latitude on the continent of America would be of the ſame complexion, whereas there is not one native Black to be found in America, except thoſe born of the caffre ſlaves that have been carried thither. To which it has been replied indeed, that the ſun paſſing over the Atlantick ocean before it comes to America the air is cooled; and the heats are not ſo great there as in Africk or India; but this is an aſſertion that may well admit of ſome doubt, and it will probably be found that the terra firma of America is as hot as any part of Africk or India; but to examine a little into the reaſon of the thing, the ocean called the South-Sea ſeems to be of a much larger extent than the Atlantick ocean; as the ſun paſſes over this and another very large ocean, meeting only with ſome iſlands in its way before it comes to Africk, and conſequently the air ſhould be much cooler on the eaſtern coaſt of Africk than in Brazil or terra firma in America, if there be any thing in this argument: nor does it ſeem to be yet ſettled, whether the black complexion proceeds from the heat of the climate, or from the conſtitutions of the people. Indeed it muſt be admitted that Blacks are only to be found within or near the Tropicks; but then as has been obſerved on the continent of America, in the very ſame climates there is not one Black to be found; and of all the colonies that have been planted in Africk or India where the original inhabitants are black, there is no inſtance that theſe foreigners or their poſterity ever became black, though ſome of them have been planted there ſeveral hundred years; and if the climate had given the complexion, theſe muſt have had their skins tinged with the ſame dye as the original inhabitants; and it is obſervable, that theſe very Oriental Iſlands are peopled with black, and partly with white people, according to the nations from whence they are deſcended: from all which it may be fairly concluded, that there is ſome other cauſe of the difference of complexion (and features too) than has been hitherto aſſigned, which I ſhall enquire farther into when I come to thoſe great continents that are principally inhabited by Blacks.

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Painted people.

To proceed, one of the tawny nations which inhabit theſe iſlands, like our antient Britains and Picts, paint and ſtain their bodies; from whence they have obtained the name of Pintadoes: It ſeems they prick and wound the fleſh, making ſuch figures as they ſee fit, and then rub the part over with a certain powder which gives it the colour.

A nation with tails.

That there is ſuch a nation of Pintadoes or painted people here as the Father Miſſionaries deſcribe, I ſee no reaſon to doubt; but what they relate of another people that inhabit ſome of the mountains; namely, that they have tails half a ſpan long, is not ſo eaſily aſſented to: 'tis true the fathers tell us, they are a brutiſh people without religion or humanity; and therefore ſeem to have clapt a tail to them, as only fit to herd with their fellow brutes; but this people refuſing to ſubmit to the tyranny of the Spaniards, it is well the Fathers did not furniſh them with horns as well as a tail, for they frequently repreſent all people as monſters who oppoſe them, and indeed great allowances muſt be made for the prejudices, and ſometimes the credulity, of the Father Miſſionaries, who bring home theſe relations, or we ſhall run into very groſs miſtakes: it is, it ſeems, a great misfortune to be educated in a religion that requires its votaries to believe contradictions aad inconſiſtencies; this ſo prepares the man to ſwallow and digeſt every monſter he meets with, that however he may be qualified to make diſcoveries in other reſpects, he muſt always be read with great caution upon theſe heads, and as moſt of our accounts of diſtant nations come from theſe Miſſionaries, it requires no ordinary pains to diſcover what is to be accepted and what rejected. Indeed when they proceed to talk of nations that wear tails, or of the leaves of trees which conſtantly turn into living creatures every year, it requires no great ſagacity to diſcover the falſhood of ſuch relations, which one would think could only be inſerted for mirth ſake; but where they lie artfully, and there are none of thoſe ſhocking circumſtances in the account, there is no help for being deceived ſometimes; but I hope to take ſuch care in the examination of their writings, that this will not happen often.

Credulity and prejudices of the Miſſionaries.

Stature and make of the people.

The natives of theſe iſlands are of a middle ſtature and well ſhaped, both men and women; nor are the features of any of them, whether black or white, to be found fault with; ſome of them wear their hair long, others ſhorter; the Mahometans uſually leave but one lock on their heads, and ſhave cloſe every where elſe; inſtead of a cap they tie a cloth about their heads, letting the ends hang down behind. The women tie up their hair in a roll on the hinder part of the head, adorning

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adorning it with jewels or ſomething elſe that makes a glittering ſhew; and they have alſo necklaces and ear-rings, with bracelets on their arms and legs, and rings on their fingers: the more civilized who live among the Spaniards or near them, wear a kind of waiſtcoat, and a cloth about them which reaches below their knees, and many of them conform entirely to the Spaniſh faſhions. The Blacks, and thoſe who live on the mountains have only a cloth about their loins, and the meaner ſort are generally without ſhoes or ſtockings. The Chineſe are cloathed after the manner of their country, which has been already deſcribed, and the Spaniards and Muſtees retain their own faſhions.

Way of ſitting and food.

The natives who inhabit the ſea-coaſts ſit upon their legs like other Indians, as well at their meals as at other times: their uſual food is boiled rice and fiſh, ſeldom eating fleſh but at feſtivals. Their

Liquor.

uſual liquor is water, which they always drink hot; they have alſo palm wine and toddy, drawn from the palm and coco-trees; and they diſtil a ſpirit from both of them like brandy or arrack:

Spirit.

they have alſo a liquor called chiliam, being the juice of the ſugar cane boiled; they alſo diſtil a ſpirit from rice called arrack.

Food of the mountaineers.

The inhabitants of the mountains live chiefly on roots and fruit, and the fleſh of wild beaſts which they take in hunting, or of any vermin, 'tis ſaid, not applying themſelves at all to ſowing rice or any other kind of husbandry.

Diverſions.

The Spaniards who keep good tables uſually eat fleſh at noon and fiſh at night: the natives who

Muſick.

inhabit the ſea coaſts, have plays, muſick and dancing much like the Chineſe: in their ſongs one of them ſings a verſe and another repeats it to

Dancing.

the ſound of a gong or metal drum: their dancing is in imitation of a fight, but all their motions and actions are regular; ſometimes they aſſault each other with a ſpear, and then retire very gracefully, and their compoſitions are ſaid to be elegant enough; but their greateſt diverſion is cock-fighting.

Bathing.

Bathing is very much in uſe amongſt them, which they never neglect neither morning nor evening; and this is thought to be one reaſon why they build their houſes on the banks of rivers: even lying-in women and children newly born, 'tis ſaid, are conſtantly dipt in cold water, not apprehending any inconveniency by it; both men and women are much given to ſmoke tobacco, and chew betel and arek.

Salutations.

They ſaluted one another formerly, 'tis ſaid, by pulling off the cloth that is wraped about their heads; but now they bow their bodies and bend the knee, and joining both hands together lift them to their heads, when they would ſalute one they have a great reſpect for.

Addreſs.

They ſpeak in the third perſon like the Chineſe, and ſeldom uſe the words I or You; nor do they ever ſpeak to their betters firſt, but wait till they are ſpoke to.

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Advantageous ſituation for trade.

Manila lies ſo equally between the rich kingdoms of the eaſt and weſt, that it has been eſteemed the beſt ſituation for trade in the world, eſpecially when the Molucca iſlands were under the ſame government; then the Spaniards might be ſaid to have the beſt ſhare of the Eaſt as well as

Trade.

Weſt-Indies: hither ſilver was brought from New Spain and Peru, diamonds and other precious ſtones from Golconda, cinnamon from Ceylon, pepper from Sumatra and Java, cloves and nutmegs from the Molucca's, ſilks from Bengal, camphir from Borneo, benjamin and ivory from Cambogia, ſilks and China ware from China; and formerly there came every year from Japan two or three ſhips freighted with ſilver, amber, ſilks, cabinets and other varniſhed ware in exchange for hides, wax, and the fruits of the country: and two veſſels ſailing yearly to Acapulco in New Spain loaded with the riches of the eaſt, returned as they do at this day freighted with ſilver, and make four hundred

Fruitfulneſs.

per cent profit; nor is there a ſoil in the world that produces greater plenty of all things neceſſary

Populous.

for life, as appears by the multitude of inhabitants that are to be found in the woods and mountains, and are ſubſiſted only by the fruits of the earth and the veniſon they take.

Nor can any country in the world appear more beautiful, there is a perpetual verdure, buds, bloſſoms and fruit are found upon the trees all the year round, as well on the mountains as gardens that are cultivated.

Pearls, amber-greaſe, gold, civet.

But to be a little more particular; theſe iſlands abound in pearls, amber-greaſe, cotton and civet, and are rich in gold mines; and though they are ſeldom or never wrought, either through the lazineſs of the Spaniards, or becauſe they are in poſſeſſion of the mountaineers, with whom they have little commerce, yet vaſt quantities of gold are waſhed down from the hills by the rains, and found mixt with the ſand of their rivers.

There are alſo mines of other metals, and excellent load-ſtone found here; and ſuch numbers

Buffaloes.

of wild buffaloes there are in this country, that a good huntſman on horſeback armed with a ſpear, will kill ten or twenty in a day: the Spaniards take them for their skins, which they ſell to the Chineſe; and they ſerve the mountaineers for their

Deer, hogs, goats.

food. Their woods alſo abound with deer, wild hogs, and goats, the laſt are ſo plentiful in one of theſe iſlands, that the Spaniards gave it the name of cabras. They have alſo imported from New

Horſes, cows, few ſheep.

Spain, China and Japan, horſes and cows, which are conſiderably multiplied; but the ſheep they brought over come to nothing, which is thought to proceed from the moiſture of the earth and the heat of the climate.

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They have ſuch abundance of honey-combs that wax is exceeding cheap; the natives make candles of it, and do not uſe lamps like other Aſiaticks.

Honey and wax.

Bees.

They have ſeveral kinds of bees, thoſe they call pocoytan are bigger than ours in Europe, and make their combs full four ſpans in length, and proportionably in breadth, under the boughs of high trees, and ſometimes ſix or ſeven in the ſame place, which continue whole notwithſtanding the heavy rains that fall there: thoſe called liquam are as big as thoſe of Europe, and make their combs in hollow trees: another ſort of little ones no bigger than flies, called locat, have no ſting; but make ſour honey and black wax, and thieve from the others: There is another ſort they call camomo, which like thoſe called pocoytan, ſettle upon high trees. As to gums, the trunks of their trees put out ſeveral ſorts all the year; one kind, which is the commoneſt, by the Spaniards called brea, is uſed inſtead of pitch; of the others, ſome are medicinal, others odoriferous, and others for other uſes: there is ſuch vaſt plenty of them, that not only the trees but the ground is covered with them; and there are plats that have it on their leaves in the months of April and May.

Gums.

In theſe iſlands are monkies and baboons of a monſtrous bigneſs, and it is ſaid, they will defend themſelves if attacked by men; ſome of them go upon two feet. When they can find no fruit in the mountains, they go down to the ſea to catch crabs, oyſters, &c. and that the oyſter may not cloſe and catch their paws, they firſt put in a ſtone to prevent it ſhutting cloſe: they take crabs by putting their tail in the holes where they lye, and when the crab lays hold of it they draw him out. There are great multitudes of civet cats; and if their civet is not taken away every month, they receive ſo great a heat from it that they tumble about upon the ground till the bladder breaks, which eaſes them of their pain. Here is found alſo a cat of a fox colour, with wings like a bat; by the help of which, it is ſaid, they will leap from tree to tree above ſeven yards diſtance.

Monkies and baboons.

Prey upon fiſh.

Civet cats.

Flying cats.

They have a creature called Mago in the iſland of Leyte, which is like a mouſe, only the head is twice as big as the body.

Mago.

Serpents of a prodigious bigneſs are found here; one ſort of them called ibitin, it is ſaid, will hang themſelves by the tail on the arm of a tree, and draw in a deer, wild boar, or a man into its mouth as they paſs by, and ſwallow them whole; after which he winds himſelf round the tree while he has digeſted his prey: and the good father who relates this ſtory, acquaints us, that the Spaniards told him, the only defence againſt them was to break the air between the man and the ſerpent, which he thinks is very rational; for by that means thoſe magnetick or attracting particles ſpread in that diſtance would be diſperſed; but whoever can digeſt ſtories of this kind, had need have the faith, or rather credulity of a Miſſionary. There is another kind of ſnake called aſanguay, which eats nothing but hens; they have another called olopong, which is exceeding venomous; but the biggeſt of them are called boles, which ſometimes are 20 or 30 ſpans long.

Serpents.

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There is another creature which devours poultry, and is called ignana, it is like an alligator, the skin purple, ſpeckled with yellow ſpots, the tongue cloven, but the feet cloſe with claws; tho' a land creature it paſſes over rivers ſwiftly: the Indians and ſome Spaniards eat it, and ſay the fleſh taſtes much like that of a tortoiſe.

Ignana.

As for the crocodiles of theſe iſlands, the Fathers tell us, the females are extraordinary fruitful ſo as to bring fifty crocodiles at a time; and the rivers and lakes would be full of them in a very ſhort time, to the great damage of mankind, if they did not devour their own brood; but only thoſe few eſcape the monſter that take a different way: they tell us farther, that theſe crocodiles have no paſſage for excrements, but vomit up what remains in their ſtomachs after digeſtion: thus the meat continues there a long time, and the creature is not hungry every day; which if they were, they could not be fed without the utter ruin of infinite numbers of men and beaſts; which our Miſſionary looks upon to be very providential. In ſome of them that have been opened, there has been found men's bones and skulls, and ſtones which the Indians ſay they ſwallow to pave their ſtomachs. The female lays her eggs out of the water that they may hatch; they are twice as big as a gooſe egg, white and as hard as a ſtone; the yolk in them is but ſmall, like that of the tortoiſe's egg: the Spaniards as well as Indians eat the young crocodiles.

Crocodiles.

There is another ſpecies of crocodiles found in the lakes, generally called alligators; the difference between them and the crocodiles, the ſame Father tells us, is that they have no tongue; and for want of it can make no noiſe or ſwallow in the water, and therefore they eat their prey on the banks; it is ſaid to be a ſure defence againſt them, to carry the fruit bonga about one, which is alſo a preſervative againſt witchcraft, if we have any faith in the Miſſionaries: in the ſeas of Mindanao and Xolo there are abundance of large whales and ſea-horſes, like thoſe on the land; but without feet or tail.

Alligators.

Bonga.

Whales, ſea-horſes.

There are two ſorts of tortoiſes found in theſe ſeas, the great ones are eaten and their fleſh taſtes like beef; but the ſhell is not valued, the fleſh of the leſſer ſort is not eaten, but the ſhell is good for ſeveral uſes, ſome of them are an antidote againſt poiſon, it is ſaid.

Tortoiſes.

But

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But there is one thing very extraordinary which the Miſſionaries relate, namely, that there are ſome trees in the Philippines, whoſe leaves become living creatures, with wings, feet and tail, and remain after this metamorphoſis of the ſame colour and ſhape as the other leaves; of this ſome Fathers pretend to have been eye witneſſes, but another ingenuouſly acknowledges, it is more probable, that theſe creatures proceed from a worm which is hatcht in the leaves.

Leaves turned into inſects.

In theſe iſlands are found ſeveral ſorts of parrots and white cocatoes, ſomething larger than a parrot, with a tuft of feathers on their heads. The turkeys the Spaniards carried to the Philippines would not live, but they have a hen called comboxa, whoſe legs are ſo ſhort that their wings trail on the ground. They have a fowl alſo of another ſort called Xolo, which hath long legs and eats as well as a turkey; and beſides the common hens they have another ſort which have black fleſh and bones, but are well taſted. They have great plenty of fiſh about theſe iſlands, particularly one, which the Spaniards call peremuger or woman-fiſh, from its having breaſts and ſecret parts like a woman; and there is ſometimes ſeen a ſword fiſh fifteen foot long in theſe ſeas.

Parrots, cocatoes.

Turkies not. Comboxa hen.

Black fowls.

Women-fiſh, ſword-fiſh.

The bird called tavan is a black ſea fowl, ſomething leſs than a hen, and has a long neck; it lays its eggs in the ſand by the ſea ſide, forty or fifty in a trench, and then covers them, and they are hatcht by the heat of the ſand: their eggs are as big as a gooſe's egg, and but very little white in them; when the chickens are hatcht the yolk appears whole and ſweet, and the Spaniards often eat the chickens and the yolk of the eggs together in the ſame diſh. The chickens feed on the yolk till they have ſtrength to break through the ſand; and then the hen who keeps near the neſts calls them out: people go in ſearch of theſe neſts along the ſhore, and wherever they find the ſand thrown up they open it, and ſometimes diſcover eggs and ſometimes chickens, which are either of them very good food. There are alſo a kind of turtle doves, grey on the back and white on the breaſt, and in the middle a red ſpot like a wound with the freſh blood upon it: they have a bird alſo called colin, black and aſh coloured, as big as a blackbird; which has no feathers on the head, but inſtead of it a crown of fleſh. They have alſo the bird ſaligan, which builds her neſt on the ſides of rocks, as the ſwallows do againſt a wall, and theſe are the delicious bird-neſts ſo much eſteemed. The green bird called herrero is as big as a hen, and has ſo large and hard a beak, that it will make a hole in the body of a tree to build its neſt in; and from the noiſe it makes at this work, the Spaniards gave it this name, herrero or carpenter. Another bird we are told of called colo-colo, black and almoſt as big as an eagle, ſaid to be half fiſh and half bird, which flies and preys upon fiſh; which ſeems too much a monſter to depend on the relation. There are abundance of peacocks in the iſland of Calamianes; but there are no pheaſants or partridges in the iſlands: heathcocks it is ſaid there are, which are very good food; and quails half as big as ours, which have a red beak and feet; and in all the iſlands there are green birds called volanoes.

Tavan.

Dove.

Colin.

Saligan.

Bird neſts.

Herrero.

Colo-colo.

Peacocks. No pheaſants or partridges. Heathcocks. Quails.

One of the moſt valuable fruits is called ſanter, and grows wild in the woods; it is in bigneſs, ſhape, and colour like a ripe peach, and has five kernels like the ſeeds of an orange: the Spaniards preſerve it in the ſame manner they do quinces, and it is good pickled with vinegar when it is half ripe: the tree is like the walnut, but has large leaves which are medicinal. They have another fruit ſomewhat bigger, called magol, downy like a peach, and of the colour of an orange, but it is hard to be digeſted, and not well taſted: the tree is as tall as a pear-tree, and has thick boughs and large leaves, like the laurel; the wood is little inferior to ebony. They have alſo mangoes, durions, and moſt other Indian fruits. They have no olives, but a fruit called paxo's, which differ but little from them. Oranges of ſeveral kinds there are, different from thoſe of Europe and bigger; and they have both great and ſmall lemons which are generally ſweet: here are alſo introduced ſeveral of the fruits of New Spain; but the moſt profitable trees are their palm-trees, wherein the eſtates of the great men of the Philippine iſlands chiefly conſiſt; and among theſe they reckon 40 ſeveral kinds, the principal whereof is the ſago-tree already deſcribed: the ſecond ſort of palm-trees are thoſe that yield wine; theſe ſeldom grow big enough to be called trees, and are generally found in ſalt water marſhes; the fruit is like the date, but never comes to maturity, becauſe they cut off the boughs as ſoon as it bloſſoms, that the liquor may run into the veſſels they place under them: the leaves of theſe trees interwoven with ſmall canes, ſerve to cover the roofs of their houſes. Of the wine they draw from the palm and coco-trees they make vinegar when it is ſtale; and draw an oil alſo from the coco-nut: another ſort of theſe palm-trees is called yonola, which furniſhes them with a kind of wooll to make quilts and pillows, and with a black thread called jona, of which they make cables for ſhips; its threads in length and thickneſs are like hemp, and will laſt longer in ſea water: of the leaves of any of the palm-trees they make hats, and matts for rooms, ſails for their ſhipping and covering for their houſes, as has been hinted already; and put them to ſeveral other uſes.

Santer.

Magol.

Mangoes, durions.

Fruits of America.

Palm-trees.

The tamarinds or ſampalos are a wild fruit, and grow in cods like green peaſe; they have a ſharp taſte, and are frequently preſerved with

Tamarinds.

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ſugar: nothing is wholeſomer, or better allays the thirſt in a fever. The tree is tall and thick, the leaves ſmall, and the wood ſerves for the ſame uſes ebony does.

Caſſia.

Theſe iſlands alſo produce caſſia; the tree is not ſo large as the tamarind but has much thicker boughs; the leaves are of a beautiful green, and bigger than thoſe of the pear-tree; and being boiled with the bloſſoms, in the nature of a conſerve, work the ſame effect as the fruit, and are leſs nauſeous; alſo the young fruit made into a conſerve is ſafe, and a good laxative: the mountains ſo abound with this fruit, that in May and June they fat their hogs with it, eſpecially in the iſland of Mindanao.

Timber.

They have timber in their mountains fit for building either ſhips or houſes; among the reſt they have black ebony and red blayong. There

Ebony.

Calambac.

is alſo the calambac which has an aromatick bark,

Dying-wood.

Hard wood.

and ſeveral ſorts of wood which ſerve for dying; and one ſo hard that it cannot be cut without a ſaw and water, as marble is; and therefore the Portugueſe call it ferro or the iron-tree: on the mountains of Manila there are alſo abundance of baſtard nutmeg-trees, of which no uſe is made

Cacao plant.

The cacao plant which has been brought hither from New Spain, increaſes ſo that they have no occaſion to import it from America, but it is not

Cinnamon.

quite ſo good: they have alſo ſome cinnamon, but not comparable to that of Ceylon.

Water-tree.

Here is alſo the tree amet, from whence the natives draw water by cutting a hole in it: and

Cane

there is alſo a kind of cane, by the Spaniards called vaxuco, which if cut yields fair water enough for a draught, of which there is plenty in the mountains, where water is moſt wanted: it uſually creeps up to the tops of trees, and winds about them like ivy; but there is ſome of it very ſtrait, of which they make pikes and halberts, and the royal armory at Manila is furniſhed with ſuch.

Plantains.

In theſe iſlands there is alſo plenty of plantains, of which fruit is held by ſome, that ADAM eat when he fell; the leaves are ſo long and broad that two of them, one of the Fathers obſerves, will almoſt make a cloak. The Indians plant them about their houſes, not only for the ſhade of the leaves, but they ſerve them for ſeveral domeſtick uſes, namely, inſtead of napkins, plates, &c. of the fruit they often make vinegar; the beſt of them are called tundques, which are a ſpan and an half long, and as thick as a man's arm; theſe they eat roaſted with wine and cinnamon. There are ſeveral other ſorts of plantains, of which thoſe they call dedoes de dama, or lady's fingers, are very good; an hundred, and ſometimes two hundred of theſe plantains hang by one twig, ſo that they are forced to prop them up.

Sugar-canes.

Here is alſo plenty of ſugar-canes, ginger, indico, and tobacco, and potatoes, which are very nouriſhing to the Indians, and much valued by the Spaniards; and theſe they have of ſeveral kinds, as the camotes, which look like great radiſhes, and have a pleaſant taſte and ſmell. The glabis are like great pine-apple-nuts, and boiled ſerve the Indians inſtead of bread, and the Spaniards inſtead of turneps. The ubis is as big as a pompion, and the plant like ivy, and there is ſuch vaſt plenty of all kinds of roots throughout the iſlands, that many thouſands of the natives live chiefly upon them: nor are garlick and onions wanting. Pienna's, or pine-apples, by the Portugueſe called anana's, which are one of the fineſt fruits of the eaſt, are alſo found here; but they are accounted feveriſh: it is ſaid that a knife ſtuck into one of them half an hour will loſe its temper; but I never knew the experiment made, and therefore will not anſwer for the truth of it.

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Camotes. Glabis.

Ubis.

Pine-apples.

There are abundance of odoriferous herbs and flowers in theſe iſlands, which grow there naturally without any labour; nor do the natives endeavour to cultivate or improve them, any more than the Spaniards; ſo that the gardens are not ſo fine as in Europe. Amongſt their flowers the zamaga is one of the fineſt, it is like a little white roſe, with three rows of leaves, and much ſweeter than jeſſamin. The daſa has an aromatick root, and the fields are full of it. The tala alſo is an odoriferous herb and very fragrant.

Flowers and herbs.

Gardens.

As for medicinal herbs no country abounds with more than the Philippines; for beſides ſage, St. Mary's wort, balm, houſeleek, and others known in Europe, they have many peculiar to this country. The herb called del pollo is like purſlane, and grows every where; they have given it this name becauſe in a very ſhort time it cures any wounds their game-cocks receive. Panſipan is a taller herb with a white flower like the bean bloſſom, which being pounded and laid on a wound, ſoon draws out any poiſon, and cleanſes all corruption. There is alſo the herb del ſapo, and many others of great virtue in the iſlands of Mindanao and Xolo; one of them is uſed for the ſame purpoſes as the Turks do opium, to ſuſpend the uſe of their reaſon and make them void of fear when they engage an enemy; and the credulous Miſſionaries really believe as they are told, that the wounds of thoſe that have taken it will not bleed. We have the ſame authority for two other wonderful herbs ſaid to be found here, one of which applied to the reins makes a man inſenſible of wearineſs; and the other held in the mouth prevents fainting, and give ſuch vigour, that a man may travel two days without eating.

Medicinal herbs.

Theſe iſlands being hot and moiſt produce abundance of venomous creatures, as the ſoil does poyſonous herbs and flowers, which do not only kill thoſe that touch or taſte them, but ſo infect the air, that many people die in the time of their bloſſoming:

Poiſonous herbs.

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blossoming: on the contrary, these islands are well furnished with antidotes, particularly the bezoar stone, which is found in the belly of a creature much like a deer; and the root dilao, which is like ginger, and heals wounds made by any venomous beast, being bruised and boiled with oil of cocoes.

Antidotes.

Snake-herb.

The herb called by the Spaniards culabras, or snake-herb, the Fathers tell us, has such virtue, that a snake cut in two will heal and join itself together again with it; and the like virtue is ascribed to a wood called doćton, but this seems to want confirmation.

The tree camandag is so venomous, that the pilchards eating the leaves which fall into the sea die; as will the persons who eat the poison'd fish. The liquor which flows from the trunk of this tree serves these people to poison the points of their darts which they blow through the trunks above-mentioned: the very shadow of the tree is so destructive, that as far as it reaches no herb or grass grows; and if transplanted, it kills all the other plants it stands near, except a small shrub which is an antidote against it, and always with it; a bit of a twig of this shrub, or a leaf carried in a man's mouth, is said to be a security against the venom of the tree, and therefore the Indians are never without it.

Giver of life.

The maka bukay, which signifies the giver of life, is a kind of ivy which twines about any tree, and grows to the thickness of a man's finger; it has long shoots like vine branches, of which the Indians make bracelets, and esteem them a preservative against poison. There are many other trees and plants of extraordinary virtue in these islands; of which GEORGE CAROLI, a German, apothecary to the college of Jesuits at Manila, has given a description in two volumes in folio. Among others there is the sensitive plant, in all respects like a colewort, which growing out of a rock avoids the touch and retires under water: there is another that grows on St. PETER's hill about Manila, which is not very tall, and has little leaves, which whenever it is touched, draws back and closes all its leaves together; for which reason the Spaniards call it la vergin cosa, that is the bashful.

A plant [illegible]

There grows near Catbalagan in the island of Samar, a plant of a surprizing virtue, discovered by the Fathers of the society, as they tell us, of late years: the Dutch have also some knowledge of it, and 'tis said, will give double the quantity of gold for it. The plant is like ivy, and twines about any tree it grows near: the fruit which grows out of the knots and leaves resembles a melocotoon in bigness and colour, and within has eight, ten or sixteen kernels as big as a hazel-nut, each green and yellow, which when ripe, drop out of themselves.

The usual dose given of it is the weight of half a royal, that is, the 16th part of an ounce, powdered and mixed in wine or water; if it has no effect the first time, the dose is repeated, and is a powerful antidote against any poison, either of venomous herbs or darts which are used by the natives of Macassar, Borneo, and the Philippines: the Fathers also, if we have faith to believe them, assure us, that it is not only a preservative against poison, but destroys him that designs to poison or destroy another. This is so certain, says my credulous author, that F. ALEXIUS a Jesuit, having one of these nuts he found accidentally in his pocket, and an Indian coming to poison him with a venomous herb, instead of doing the Father any harm, he himself dropt down in his sight; and enquiring into the occasion of this accident, the Indians assured him this was usual, being very well acquainted with the virtue of the herb; and it is not only an antidote against poison, but good against the colick and windy distempers, being drank in wine: it also takes away all pains in the belly and stomach, is a remedy against convulsions, helps women in labour, but if applied before the time, it will cause miscarriage; it is good against tertian and quartan agues, given when the fit comes on, and being applied to wounds, stops bleeding either whole or in powder; it helps catarrhs, tooth-aches and pains in the gums, and worn about one it is good against witchcraft, and according to the Fathers, has many more virtues; in short, like a mountebank's receipt it is good for every thing, and perhaps is good for nothing, or not half what is pretended.

The orange, lemon, and several other trees bear twice a year: if they plant a sprig, within a year it becomes a tree and bears fruit; and therefore without any hyperbole, says our author, I may affirm, that I never saw such a verdant soil, nor woods full of such old and thick trees, nor trees that yield more sustenance to man in any part of the world.

CHAP. X.

Treats of the language, government and forces of the respective nations which inhabit the Philippines.

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THE most universal language in the Philippines, as well as in the rest of the Oriental islands within the straits of Malacca, is the Malayan tongue. The Spanish and Chinese colonies no doubt speak the language of their respective countries, and that of the Blacks probably is a dialect of the Malabar or Jentoe, spoke in the peninsula of India from whence they came; but the Spaniards have so little commerce with this people, that the Father Missionaries give us no other account of their language than that they cannot

Language.

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cannot tell what to make of it: nor do we hear of any writing amongſt them; but the tawny nations that inhabit the plains and the ſea coaſts, the Miſſionaries inform us, write upon paper, where it is to be had, and in other places on long coco leaves, or the ſmooth part of the cane with an iron pencil, beginning at the bottom and writing upwards, placing the firſt line on the left hand and proceeding towards the right.

Writing.

Mechanicks.

The Chineſe ſeem to be the only mechanicks amongſt them: in that ſuburb where they live in Manila are found all ſorts of workmen and trades, while the Spaniards and Indians ſeldom apply themſelves to any buſineſs but when neceſſity compels them. In the ſpeculative ſciences the natives have but little knowledge, and particularly are ſo ignorant in aſtronomy, that if an eclipſe happen they beat upon their drums and brazen veſſels, like ſome of their neighbours, to frighten away the dragon that would devour the ſun and moon.

Civil government.

As to the civil government of theſe iſlands, the Spaniards have a Viceroy or Captain General, who keeps his court in the city of Manila: this is one of the moſt profitable poſts belonging to the Spaniſh monarchy, and would be deſired by moſt of the grandees, if it was not at ſo great a diſtance from Europe; he has under him two and twenty Alcades or Governors of towns and provinces, two whereof reſide in the city of Manila, the government of the Europeans being committed to one, and that of the Aſiaticks to another: there is alſo a tribunal of three or four Judges, in which the Captain General preſides, but has no voice; and where the opinions are equal, he appoints ſome Doctor to give the caſting vote: theſe Judges as well as the Solicitor for the crown have their places for life, and cannot be turned out by the Viceroy; but all military employments are in his gift, and he appoints the ſeveral Alcades or Governors of provinces under him: He has the nomination alſo of the Captains of the Galeons which ſail every year to New Spain, which poſt alone is worth 50,000 crowns a year: he keeps a garriſon of about eight hundred ſoldiers in the city, and has three or four thouſand more under his command in other parts of the country, whoſe pay is two pieces of eight and fifty pounds of rice a month per man.

When a Captain General is recalled, proclamation is made for all perſons to come in and exhibit their complaints againſt him for ſixty days, and he undergoes a ſevere trial, the ſucceſſor frequently being his Judge; and the preceding Governor, when his trial is over is ſent back to Spain with an account of his conduct and the proceedings againſt him.

Spiritual government, Arch-biſhops and biſhops.

As to the eccleſiaſtical government, there is an Arch-biſhop at Manila elected by the King, who determines all appeals from his ſuffragan Biſhops, as well as all matters in his own dioceſe; but there lies an appeal from him to the Pope's Delegate, who reſides in one of the Philippine iſlands. The Arch-biſhop has ſix thouſand pieces of eight per annum from the crown, and the Biſhops of Sibu, Camerines and Caguayan five thouſand. Beſides theſe, there reſides at Manila a titular Biſhop or Coadjutor, who aſſiſts in the firſt vacant church, that there may be no intermiſſion in the cure of ſouls, during ſix years, before a new Prelate can come. As for the inquiſition, there is a Commiſſary appointed by the court of inquiſition at Mexico.

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Chineſe.

The Chineſe had formerly the dominion of moſt part of the ſea coaſts, as has been hinted already, but they abandoned theſe iſlands either becauſe they were at too great a diſtance from them, or that they found it very chargeable maintaining them; however, ſuch numbers of Chineſe were left behind, that there were found no leſs than forty thouſand in and about the city of Manila ſince the Spaniards arrived there, who ſometimes contended with them for the ſovereignty; whereupon the Spaniards having compelled them to ſubmit, baniſhed all Chineſe the iſland, except three or four thouſand, whom they ſuffered to remain there on account of their uſefulneſs to the government, theſe being the only mechanicks and artiſans in the country, and without whom they could hardly poſſibly ſubſiſt: and the Spaniards, though the moſt bigotted people in the world, ſuffer them to profeſs their religion openly at Manila, rather than be without them; which is a favour they do not uſually grant in their colonies. There is an Alcade and other Spaniſh officers appointed over them, whoſe ſalary they are obliged to pay: and beſides ſeveral other duties and taxes to the crown of Spain, they pay no leſs than ten thouſand pieces of eight per ann. only for the liberty of gaming ſome few days at the beginning of every new year.

Gaming.

Their uſual game is called metua, which is no more than even and odd, a ſmall heap of money is laid down, and a perſon gueſſes whether the number laid down is even or odd, if he gueſſes right he wins the heap, if not he anſwers ſo much. The Spaniards do not ſuffer them to remain in any Chriſtian houſe in the night time, nor to have any light or fire in their own after it is dark. This people, it is obſerved, are much given to ſodomy, nor did they apprehend it to be any crime, till they were made ſenſible of it by the puniſhments inflicted on them.

Chineſe kept in ſubject on.

Sodomy.

Number of people in theſe iſlands.

In all the Philippine iſlands there are about two hundred and fifty thouſand ſouls ſubject to the crown of Spain; and yet theſe, it is computed, do not amount to the twelfth part of the people who inhabit the Philippines. The Spaniards exact a duty

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a duty of ten royals per ann. from every maſter of a family under their government, and from every ſingle man five royals, who is above eighteen and under ſixty years of age; as it is ſaid they do alſo from every maid who is upwards of twenty-four and under fifty years of age: and the Spaniards parcel out their territories in little diſtricts among the great men of the iſlands, who alſo exact farther duties from the ſubject, and make their yoke ſit heavy upon them.

As there is no writing there can be no records which may inform us, what was the antient government of the inhabitants of theſe iſlands: however, the Spaniards pretend to tell us, that they firſt came over under ſeveral captains and leaders, and that every one retained the government of his own people, and were never ſubject to one ſole Monarch; and this indeed may reaſonably be ſuppoſed, becauſe every mountain almoſt is poſſeſt by a particular tribe, which has a Governor of its own, independent on the reſt, and that they frequently make war upon one another to this day.

Laws and cuſtoms among the Natives.

But however ſavage the Spaniſh Miſſionaries may have repreſented the natives, they are not however, according to their own confeſſion, without laws and cuſtoms which may deſerve the imitation of other nations: and firſt, they enjoin that the profoundeſt reſpect and ſubmiſſion be paid to parents and governors; and ſo tender they are in the caſe of life, that theft is only puniſhed by fine or impriſonment. The eldeſt ſon ſucceeds to the father's honour and eſtate, and where there are no ſons, his effects are divided among the daughters. When they ſwear it is before ſome wild beaſt, or a lighted torch, wiſhing they may be devoured by ſuch beaſts, or conſumed like the torch, if they do not perform what they ſtipulate for.

Slaves.

There are a great number of ſlaves amongſt them, who become ſo by their poverty; for when any perſon is unable to pay his creditor, he is obliged to be his ſlave till the debt is paid; nor is it uncommon with them to ſell their children when they are in any diſtreſs: they make ſlaves alſo of all priſoners they take in the wars: the great men alſo have their vaſſals, to whom they aſſign certain portions of land for their ſubſiſtence; and theſe are allowed to live with their families in their own houſes, and only cultivate their Lord's lands, and do other ſervices in husbandry at certain ſeaſons for them; which has ſome reſemblance to the antient tenure of villenage in this part of the world.

Arms.

The arms of the natives are a bow and arrows, and lance headed with iron, or wood hardened in the fire; they have alſo broad daggers with two edges; and trunks through which they ſhoot little poiſoned darts, and the ſlighteſt wounds given by theſe darts are mortal, if there be not ſome immediate application made: they have alſo a long narrow ſhield for their defence, and a helmet; and ſome ſay back and breaſt; but theſe are made only of cane, covered with a buffalo's hide, to defend them from the little poiſoned darts.

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Blacks ſtill a free people.

The Blacks of the mountains, the Miſſionaries tell us, will never ſubmit to the government of the Spaniards, and have hardly any commerce with them, but chooſe to continue in their barbarous cuſtoms, out of a fooliſh love of liberty, ſay the Miſſionaries, and are ſuch enemies to the Spaniards, that if they happen to kill one, they invite all their family to rejoice for three days ſucceſſively, drinking out of his skull while the entertainment laſts.

Nor can the Spaniards much complain of the acts of hoſtility, when they acknowledge they make ſlaves of all the Blacks that fall into their hands: but tho' the Spaniards have no commerce directly with the mountaineers, yet it ſeems they have ſome intercourſe with them by means of the Indian nations who inhabit the flat country; for to theſe the Spaniards ſell tobacco, and ſeveral other things; for which the Blacks exchange their gold, bees-wax, &c.

CHAP. XI.

Treats of the religion, marriages, and funeral rites obſerved by the inhabitants of the Philippines.

CHAP. XI.

Antient government. Religion.

THERE can be nothing recorded in writing either of the religion or government of the firſt inhabitants of theſe iſlands; but they retain ſome traditions in their ſongs, concerning the genealogy and heroick acts of their Gods, or antient heroes. By theſe it appears they worſhipped one ſupreme Being, the maker or father of all their ſubordinate Deities: they adored alſo birds and beaſts, like the Ægyptians; and the ſun and moon, like the Aſſyrians; and indeed there is not a rock, ſtone, promontory, or river, but what they ſacrifice to; or any old tree to which they do not pay divine honours, inſomuch that it is looked upon as a kind of ſacrilege to cut them down on any account whatſoever. This ſuperſtition ſtill prevails ſo far amongſt the moſt civilized of the people, that no arguments will prevail with them to cut down a certain great old tree called balette, whoſe leaves are like thoſe of a cheſnut-tree, and its bark good for wounds; or ſome antient tall canes, vainly believing the ſouls of their anceſtors dwell in them, and that the cutting of thoſe trees or canes would put them to pain; which part of their ſuperſtition being ſo exactly agreeable to that of ſome of their neighbours on the continent, ſhews from whence they are derived. They worſhip alſo their fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers, like the Chineſe; which is not at all

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all to be wondered at, when that nation ſo long poſſeſſed great part of the country.

Temples.

There were antiently no temples amongſt them, but they had certain caves wherein they placed thoſe idols to which they offered ſacrifice, which was done by the mediation of their Prieſts: ſome young handſome girl giving the firſt ſtroke to the victim with a ſpear, which being ſlain was cut in pieces, dreſſed, and eat in a *reverential manner*.

Superſtition

They were ſo ſuperſtitious, if we may believe the Miſſionaries, that if a ſnake was found on their clothes they would never wear them again; and upon a ſnake's croſſing the way, they would return home again, whatever buſineſs they were going about. We are told alſo, that they determined every thing of importance by caſting lots.

Marriages.

Upon a marriage the woman hath no fortune, but the husband pays a ſum of money to the father or neareſt relations for his wife: and the marriage is celebrated by a Prieſteſs: they are both obliged to eat out of one diſh, ſignifying that they are to run the ſame fortune, and partake of the ſame joys and ſorrows, and having ſacrificed ſome beaſt, afterwards an entertainment is made as uſual in other countries. They always marry in their own tribes or caſt, and the neareſt of their kindred, excepting the firſt degree. Divorces are allowed on either ſide, but polygamy is not allowed among ſome of them, unleſs they have no children, and then the man may take his ſlave to his bed; but ſome other of the Indian nations allow two or more wives, and the children born of the firſt have a double portion.

Some of the Indians in theſe iſlands have no other ceremony at their weddings than joining of hands before their parents or friends.

As to that part of the country which are Mahometan, they allow a plurality of women, as in other Mahometan countries.

Names.

The mothers give their children their names, and they are generally taken from ſome circumſtance of their birth; as for inſtance, MALIVAG, which ſignifies difficult, becauſe it was brought into the world with difficulty. MALACCA's, that is ſtrong, becauſe it appears ſuch at the birth. At other times they give it the name of the firſt thing that occurs, as DAMA, the name of an herb; and by this only they are known till they are married: then the firſt ſon or daughter gives the name to its parents, as AMANI-MALIVAG, IMMANI-MALACCA's; that is, the father of MALIVAG; the mother of MALACCA's. The difference between the names of men and women conſiſts in the addition of the ſyllable IN; as for inſtance ILOGE is a man's name, and ILOGIN a woman's.

Mourning.

When a perſon of condition dies, not only his relations but ſtrangers are hired to come and mourn, and in their country ſongs lament the departure of the deceaſed. The body being waſhed and perfumed with benjamin, and other ſweet gums, and wrapt up in ſilk, according to its quality, 'tis put into a coffin made of one piece of precious wood, ſo cloſe as to keep out all air; and then being placed upon a table in the houſe, with lattices before it, the clothes and arms of the deceaſed are laid in a cheſt by the coffin; and if it be a woman, the utenſils neceſſary for her work, and all ſorts of meat are ſet before the corpſe. After ſome time the body is interred in the burying place of the family, and a feaſt is made for the people invited to the funeral; but the widow and children keep faſt for ſome time, abſtaining both from fiſh and fleſh, and living only on rice and herbs. Some of theſe nations mourn in black and others in white, ſhaving their heads and eyebrows on theſe occaſions; and formerly when a great man died, the neighbourhood were obliged to keep ſilence for ſeveral days: ſacrifices are alſo offered to them who die in defence of their country.

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CHAP. XII.

Contains a deſcription of the reſt of the Philippine iſlands that are moſt reſorted to.

CHAP. XII.

I Shall here only deſcribe the ſituation of ſuch other of the Philippine iſlands as are moſt frequented. As to their manners and cuſtoms, they have already been mentioned in the deſcription of Luconia, and therefore need not be again repeated: and firſt,

Samar.

The iſland of Tandaya or Philippina, which has of late obtained the name of Samar, lyes to the ſouth-eaſt of the iſland of Luconia, between which and that iſland is a narrow ſea, called the ſtreights of Manila. This iſland is about 130 leagues in circumference, and the chief town is Catbalagan, which is governed by an Alcade. The north-eaſt point of this iſland makes the cape called Cabo du Spirito Sancto.

Misbate.

Masbate lyes to the weſtward of Philippina or Samar, and ſouth of Luconia, in the latitude of twelve degrees, and is about thirty leagues in compaſs.

Mindoro.

Mindoro lyes to the weſtward of Masbate, in the latitude of thirteen degrees, and is ſeventy leagues in compaſs.

Luban.

Luban is a little iſland of five leagues in circumference, which lyes to the northward of Mindoro, and is only famous for a burning mountain.

Paragoyr.

The third iſland in magnitude of the Philippines is Paragoyr, which lyes moſt to the weſtward of any of them; it is about 100 leagues in length, and from ten to twenty-five in breadth; that part of it which lyes next to Borneo is go-

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verned by the King of that iſland; and the inhabitants, like thoſe of Borneo, are Mahometans; but the north-eaſt part of it is under the dominion of Spain; the middle of the iſland is poſſeſſed by Indians, who are ſubject to neither. It lyes in nine degrees north latitude.

Calamines.

To the north of the iſland of Paragoya lye three ſmall iſlands, called the Calamines, famous for their edible birds neſts.

Panay.

Panay lyes thirty leagues to the eaſtward of Mindoro, and is one hundred leagues in compaſs; the middle of it is in the latitude of ten degrees, and is ſeparated from Samar only by the ſtreight of Juanilo.

Leyte.

Leyte lyes twenty leagues to the northward of Mindanao; it is about an hundred leagues in compaſs; a mountain which runs through the middle of it is ſaid to make a great alteration in the air, it being often cold on one ſide when it is exceſſive hot on the other.

Bohol.

Bohol lyes to the ſouth-weſt of Leyte, in the latitude of ten degrees, and is about forty leagues in circumference.

Sebu.

Sebu or Sibu lyes to the ſouth-weſt of Leyte, the chief town whereof is Nombre de Dios, which lyes in ten degrees; this iſland is about 20 leagues in length, and eight in breadth: here MAGELLANS firſt ſet up the King of Spain's ſtandard; and from hence the Spaniards afterwards proceeded to the conqueſt of the other iſlands. The city of Nombre de Dios was the firſt town built by the Spaniards in the Philippine iſlands; it was afterwards made a Biſhop's ſee, has in it a cathedral church and ſeveral monaſteries: this town had formerly alſo the privilege of ſending ſhips to New Spain, and was a place of great trade; but the trade is now removed to Manila.

Negroes.

Negroes iſland lyes between that of Panay and Sebu, in the latitude of nine degrees, and is about 100 leagues in compaſs: it takes its name from the Blacks who principally inhabit it, and reſemble thoſe of Africk, as 'tis ſaid; but it is moſt probable they deſcended from the Blacks of the peninſula on this ſide Ganges.

Xolo.

Thirty leagues ſouth-weſt of Mindanao lyes the iſland of Xolo, governed by a Prince of its own. All the ſhips of Borneo touch here. And it may be called the mart of all the Mooriſh kingdoms in the Eaſt; it abounds in rice, and is the only iſland of the Philippines that breeds elephants, which multiply exceedingly, 'tis ſaid, becauſe the inhabitants never take them. The ſea throws up abundance of Amber-greaſe on the ſhore here.

Amber-greaſe.

There are a multitude of other little iſlands which go under the name of the Philippines, but theſe are reckoned the principal: I proceed now to give an account of ſome iſlands lately diſcovered, which lye to the eaſtward of them.

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CHAP. XIII.

Gives an account of ſome iſlands lately diſcovered, called the New Philippines.

New Philippines.

THERE have lately been diſcovered ſeveral other iſlands to the eaſtward of the Philippine, from their neighbourhood to the former called the New Philippines, of which Father CLAN, in a letter from Manila (inſerted in the Philoſophical Tranſactions) gives the following account, that he happening to be at the town of Guivam in the iſland of Samar found 29 Palaos, or inhabitants of certain new diſcovered iſlands, who were driven thither by the eaſterly winds, which blow in theſe ſeas from December to May. They had run before the wind for ſeventy days together, according to their own relation, without being able to make any land till they came in ſight of the town of Guivam: they were thirty five perſons, and embarked in two boats with their wives and children when they firſt came out, but ſeveral periſhed by the hardſhips they underwent in the voyage; they were under ſuch a conſternation when a man from Guivam attempted to come on board them, that all the people which were in one of the veſſels, with their wives and children, jumped over-board; however they were at length perſuaded to ſteer into the harbour, and they landed the 28th of December, 1696. They eat coco-nuts and roots which were brought them very freely, but would not touch boiled rice, the common food of the Aſiaticks. Two women, who had formerly been caſt a-ſhore from the ſame iſlands, were their interpreters; they related that their country conſiſted of 32 iſlands, and by the form of their veſſels and ſails their country ſeemed to be in the neighbourhood of the Marianas or Ladrone iſlands; they related that their country was exceeding populous, and that all the iſlands are under the dominions of one King, who keeps his court in the iſland of Lamarec: the natives go half naked, and the men paint and ſtain their bodies, making ſeveral ſorts of figures upon them, but the women and children are not painted; the complexion and ſhape of their face is much like thoſe of the tawny Philippines or Malayes: the men wear only a cloth about their loins which covers their thighs, and another looſe about their bodies which they tie before. There is little difference betwixt the dreſs of men and women, but that the cloth which the women wear hangs a little lower on their knees; their language is different both from the people of the Philippines and the Ladrone iſlands, and comes neareſt to that of the Arabs: the women that

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seem most considerable amongst them, wear necklaces, bracelets, and rings of tortoise-shell; they subsisted themselves all the time they were at sea with the fish they catched, in a kind of wicker basket with a great mouth, and ending in a point, which they halled after them; and happened to be supplied with rain-water to drink: they have no cows or dogs in their islands, and they run away at the sight of the one and the barking of the other; neither have they any horses, deer, cats, or any fourfooted beasts whatever; or any land fowls but hens, which they breed up, and never eat their eggs: they were surprised at the whiteness of the Europeans, having never seen any people of this complexion, as they were at their manners and customs: it does not appear that they have any religion, nor do they use any set meals, but eat and drink whenever they are hungry or thirsty, and then but sparingly. They salute any person by taking him by the hand or foot; or gently stroaking his Face: among their tools they have a saw made of a large shell, sharpened with a stone, having no iron or other metals in their country; and were surprised to see the many tools used in building a ship. There arms are lances or darts, headed with human bones and sharpened. They seem to be a people of much life and courage, but of a peaceful disposition; and are well proportioned, but not of a large size.

When they were to be conducted to the Father Missionary, who from the respect that was paid him, they took to be the Governor of the country, they painted their bodies yellow, which they look upon as a compleat dress, and fit to approach great persons in. They are very expert in diving, and sometimes find pearls in the shells they fetch up, but throw them away as of no real value.

Another letter we meet with in the Philosophical Transactions, concerning these islands, written by Father GOBIEN. He says they are 87 in number, and make one of the finest archipelagoes of the East; that they lye from the tropick of cancer to the equator, having the Ladrone or Marianas on the east, and the old Philippines on the west; and he gives us a map of them, made from an account he received of the natives.

A farther account of the New Philippines.

He says the people are of a peaceful disposition, and never do violence to one another, that murder or homicide was never heard of amongst them; and it is a proverb, "That one man never "kills another;" that every island has its Governor, subject to the King of the country, who keeps his court in the island of Lamarec or Falu. He observes that tho' these islands have never been heard of till of late years, yet the natives of Samar have long since from their mountains discovered thick smokes to the eastward, where these islands are supposed to lye, in the summer time, when those islanders set fire to the woods to clear the ground.

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Reflections on the account of the New Philippines.

By Father GOBIEN's map of these islands, which is also inserted in the Philosophical Transactions, they appear to lye in the eastern seas, almost in form of a crescent, or great arch: but this map seems to be drawn rather by the strength of imagination, than any certain discoveries that can be depended on; for he tells us, it was not made by Europeans, none having ever sailed that way; but some of the islanders who were cast ashore on the Philippines, ranged some little stones upon a table in such a manner as these islands are laid down in his map; but as he has made them to extend from two degrees south latitude to seventeen north, and as far east and west, I don't see how it is possible illiterate people, who are perfectly ignorant of the mathematicks, and the frame of the globe, should be able to describe the situation of them. There is this farther objection against the account given of these islands, that in some instances it contradicts itself: for we are told in one part of it, that these islanders had been driven seventy days before the wind, when they were cast a-shore on the Philippines; which at a hundred miles a day (and this is but moderate sailing with a brisk gale) must make them seventy hundred miles distant from the Old Philippines; and yet it is said the people of the Philippines can see the smoke of their fires from their coasts; from whence, either we must conclude that these islands are not so far from the Old Philippines as is pretended, or that those people have a much better eye-sight than the inhabitants on this side the globe; not that I would infer from hence, that this relation is to be entirely discredited, or that there are no lands or islands to the eastward of the Philippines; probably there are many that are not yet discovered, or will be some hundred years hence; but I think the Spaniards have been a little too hasty in describing their situation and extent before they have ever been visited by any one man who is capable of giving a description of them.

We are told also that some of the people who came from these eastern islands reported, that one of them was inhabited only by women; and that the men of the neighbouring islands visited them at certain times, for the sake of propagation, and brought away all the male children when they returned; but left the females with their warlike mothers, who constitute a new nation of Amazons.

Now there are three or four circumstances which frequently make me suspect the veracity of new discoverers, and these are their meeting with giants, monsters, canibals, and amazons; not that I absolutely reject every thing of this nature, but most of our fabulous gentlemen having gone in the

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the ſame track for near three thouſand years, it is enough to make a wary man be upon his guard, when he finds a repetition of theſe prodigies in nature: for thoſe who attended MAGELLANS in his diſcoveries, it ſeems, talked of giants and monſters that have never been ſeen ſince, and yet they traced out the way through the Pacifick ocean, and give a very juſt account of the circumnavigation of the globe at their return home: we muſt therefore conſider the capacity, the intereſt, the vanity and prejudices of the traveller; and though we cannot believe every thing, neither are we to reject every thing, but make uſe of the reaſon God has given us, and weigh the probability of every relation till we can arrive at a greater certainty: infallibility is not to be expected any where but at Rome, and ſince we remain ſo much in the dark in the hiſtory of our own country, mathematical certainty, 'tis preſumed, will not be required in an account of the moſt diſtant nations: if we ſet theſe things in the beſt light they are capable of, and make ſome improvements on thoſe who have gone before us, I am ſatisfied my countrymen, remarkable for their humanity and good nature, will countenance the undertaking.

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Treats of the iſland of Celebes, or Macaſſar.

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Situation of Macaſſar.

TO the ſouthward of the Philippines lyes the iſland of Celebes, or Macaſſar, extending from one degree 30 minutes north lat. to five degrees 30 minutes ſouth; having the great iſland of Borneo on the weſt, and the Molucca's on the eaſt. The length of it from the ſouth weſt point to the north eaſt is about five hundred miles, and in the broadeſt part of it, it is near two hundred miles over. The ſouth part of the iſland is divided by a bay of ſeven or eight leagues wide, which runs forty or fifty leagues up into the country, and on the eaſt ſide of the iſland are ſeveral bays and harbours, and abundance of ſmall iſlands and ſhoals: towards the north there is ſome high land: but on the eaſt the country is low and flat, and watered with many little rivulets.

Provinces.

This iſland is divided into ſix petty kingdoms or provinces, the principal whereof are Celebes, on the north weſt, lying under the equinoctial; and Macaſſar, which takes in all the ſouth part of the iſland: the reſt of the provinces were uſually under the dominion of one of theſe; whereupon the iſland ſometimes receives its name from one, and ſometimes from the other.

Air.

The air is hot and moiſt, the whole country lying under or very near the line, ſubject to great rains. It is moſt healthful during the northern monſons: if they fail of blowing their accuſtomed time, which is very ſeldom, the iſland grows ſickly, and great numbers of people are ſwept away.

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Mines.

They have mines of copper, tin and gold, but I do not find they are much wrought; the gold they have is found chiefly in the ſands of their rivers, and at the bottom of hills, waſhed down by torrents.

Woods.

In their woods they have ebony, calambac and ſanders, and ſeveral ſorts of wood proper for dying; and no place, it is ſaid, affords larger bamboos, ſome of them being four or five fathoms long, and above two foot diameter, which they make uſe of in building their houſes and boats.

Fruits.

Their fruits and flowers are much the ſame with thoſe in the Philippines, and therefore I ſhall not tire the reader with a repetition of them, only mention ſome of the principal.

They have pepper and ſugar of their own growth, as well as betel and arek, in great plenty; but no nutmegs, mace or cloves; however, of theſe they uſed formerly to import ſuch quantities from the Spice iſlands that they had ſufficient for their own uſe, and ſold great quantities to foreigners.

Rice.

Their rice is ſaid to be better than in other parts of India, it not being overflowed annually as in other countries, but watered from time to time by the husbandmen as occaſion requires; and from the goodneſs of their rice, it is thought the natives are of a ſtronger conſtitution than thoſe of Siam or other parts of India.

Cotton.

Their fruits are alſo held to be of a more delicious taſte than the fruits of other countries which are expoſed to floods: the plains here are covered with the cotton ſhrub which bears a red flower, and when the flower falls, it leaves a head about as big as a walnut, from whence the cotton is drawn; and that which comes from Macaſſar is accounted the fineſt in India.

Opium.

Of all their plants, opium is what they moſt admire; it is a ſhrub which grows at the bottom of mountains, or in ſtony ground: the branches afford a liquor which is drawn out much after the ſame manner as palm wine, and being ſtopped up cloſe in a pot, comes to a conſiſtency, when they make it up in little pills: they often diſſolve one of theſe pills in water and ſprinkle their tobacco with it; and thoſe who are uſed to take it can never leave it off: they are lulled into a pleaſing dream, and intoxicated as with ſtrong liquor; but it inſenſibly preys upon their ſpirits and ſhortens their lives: they will take the quantity of two pins heads in a pipe of tobacco, when they enter into a battle, and become almoſt inſenſible of wounds or danger till the effect of it is worn off.

Poiſons.

The natives of this iſland are famous for the poiſons they compound of the venomous drugs and herbs their country produces; of which, it is ſaid, the very touch or ſmell occaſions preſent death:

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they dip the points of their crices or daggers in theſe fatal mixtures, as they do their darts which they blow through their hollow trunks; and tho' they have been poiſoned twenty years the ſtrength of the poiſon is not loſt, but the leaſt wound proves mortal; and ſo ſuddenly does the poiſon operate and ſeize the vitals, that we are told of a certain criminal, who by way of experiment, was wounded in the toe with one of theſe little poiſoned darts, who died notwithſtanding two European ſurgeons ſtood ready to cut off the part as ſoon as he was wounded.

Some of theſe poiſonous plants are ſo like opium, that it is difficult to diſtinguiſh one from the other, tho' the cattle have that ſagacity, it is obſerved, that they ſeldom touch a noxious herb; and if they happen to tread near one, fly from it, as if they knew better than man the danger of approaching them.

Animals. Monkeys.

Few countries afford larger or better cattle than Macaſſar, and ſuch numbers of large monkeys and baboons infeſt the iſland, that it is ſaid, they are dangerous to travellers, and a man muſt be very well armed to defend himſelf againſt them. Some of them have no tail, others very long; ſome go on all four, and others walk upright on two feet, like men, never uſing their forefeet but as hands. The white are as big as an Engliſh maſtiff, and much more dangerous than the black or ſtraw coloured, but their principal ſpight, it is ſaid, is at the women, if they meet with one alone they will call their companions together, and if they are not prevented, ſtrangle her and pull her in a thouſand pieces.

Theſe monkeys it ſeems are maſters of the foreſts, and by keeping in bodies will be too hard for any wild beaſt, ſerpents only they are afraid of, who continually make war upon them, and will purſue the monkeys to the very tops of trees, and devour them.

In ſome of theſe apes, 'tis ſaid, is found the bezoar ſtone, which is much better, and conſequently dearer than thoſe found in goats.

Elephants there are none bred in the iſland, but little horſes they have abundance for riding; the natives uſe no other ſaddle than a painted cloth without any ſtirrups, and a cord with a bit made of wood ſerves them for a bridle; they have a very hardy hoof and never ſhod; they are not put to drawing, their oxen and buffaloes ſerve for that uſe.

Rivers.

There is but one large river in the iſland, which runs from north to ſouth, into the bay of Macaſſar, in about the fifth degree of ſouth latitude, where it is about half a league broad, and waſhes the walls of Macaſſar city. This river is much infeſted with crocodiles, who have the boldneſs, it is ſaid, to ſet upon a boat of people ſometimes, but this I am inclined to rank with another ſtory they tell us of their mermaids, which I never ſaw any foundation for. The channel of the river is deep enough in ſome places to carry the largeſt veſſels, but the depth is very unequal, ſo that in other places a veſſel of fifty tuns can hardly paſs; but the Dutch are in poſſeſſion of another port called Jompadan four or five leagues to the ſouthward, which is as commodious a harbour as is to be found in the Indian ſeas; this was the firſt conſiderable place the Dutch made themſelves maſters of in the iſland; and here it was they fell upon the Portugueze fleet when they were at peace with that nation, and ſunk and ſeized them all; but this they could not effect till they had ſpirited up a rebellion againſt the King of Macaſſar, who was a faſt friend to the Portugueſe; and when they found all other means fail, the Dutch got the advantage of the King by poiſoning the waters where they obſerved his ſoldiers went to drink. They ſet fire alſo to the rice fields which were juſt ready for harveſt, and burnt all his country round about; and having by famine compelled that place to capitulate, they afterwards blocked up the capital city of Macaſſar, and having undermined and blown up great part of the walls, they compelled the King to ſign a capitulation to let them enjoy Jompandan, and all the trade of the iſland, and to expel the Portugueſe. Since this, in the year 1669, they compelled the King to ſurrender the fortreſs and city of Macaſſar into their hands, and to accept of ſuch conditions as the council of Batavia were pleaſed to impoſe upon him, particularly, they would not ſuffer him to have any communication with the Spice iſlands, which brought him in his greateſt revenue, and was the principal trade of his people; for they carried over rice, and the produce of their country thither, for which they receive ſpices in return, and with theſe traded with the Europeans and all other nations; ſo that while this King was able to make head againſt the Dutch, which he did for many years, the Dutch were not able to monopolize the ſpice trade, as they have done ſince. The Macaſſarians may well be ſaid to have fought the battles of the Europeans, and particularly of the Engliſh, and it is pity they were not timely aſſiſted by our Eaſt India Company; and even yet, would we ſend out a ſmall detachment to aſſiſt that injured people to recover their liberties, we might ſoon recover our ſhare in the ſpice trade. Nor is there a nation in India but would gladly aſſiſt the Engliſh, in extirpating their tyrannical Dutch maſters, who have been guilty of ſuch cruelties, ſuch oppreſſion and treachery, that they are avoided and deteſted by all the kingdoms of the eaſt.

Dutch oppreſſion at Macaſſar.

To proceed, Macaſſar is ſeated on the banks of the great river above-mentioned, here the Dutch Company have a ſtrong fort defended by a numerous artillery, and a garriſon of ſeven or eight hundred

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dred men. The ſtreets of the town are wide and neat, but not paved, and trees are planted on each ſide of them. The palaces, moſques, and great houſes are of ſtone, but the houſes of the meaner ſort of wood of various colours, which make them look very beautiful, but are built on pillars like thoſe of Siam, and the roofs like theirs alſo are covered with palm or coco leaves.

Markets.

There are ſhops along the ſtreets, and large market places, where a market is held twice in twenty four hours, viz. in the morning before ſun-riſe, and an hour before ſun-ſet, where only women are ſeen; a man would be laughed at to be found amongſt them: from all the villages you ſee the young wenches crowding to market with fleſh, fiſh, rice and fowls; they abſtain only from pork, which their religion forbids.

Upon a computation of the number of inhabitants in this city and the neighbouring villages, ſome years ago, they amounted to 160,000 men able to bear arms; but now are not half that number, many of them having forſaken their country ſince the Dutch deprived them of their trade. The reſt of the towns and villages were once equally populous, but are now many of them deſerted.

The people of Macaſſar have excellent memories, and are quick of apprehenſion, they will imitate any thing they ſee, and would probably become good proficients in all arts and ſciences, if they did not want good maſters to improve their talents.

Good bodies of men, and good ſoldier.

They have alſo ſtrong robuſt bodies, are mighty induſtrious, and as ready to undergo fatigues as any people whatever: nor are any people more addicted to arms and hardy enterprizes, inſomuch that they may be looked upon as almoſt the only ſoldiers on the other ſide the bay of Bengal; and accordingly are hired into the ſervice of other Princes and ſtates on that ſide, as the Swiſs are in this part of the world: even the Europeans frequently employ them in their ſervice, but have ſometimes ſuffered by truſting them too far; or rather, our people being too apt to uſe them like ſlaves, as they do the poor Portugueſe and Muſtees in their ſervice; this is a treatment which the Macaſſarians will not bear, and never fail to revenge whenever it is attempted by our little unthinking European Governors.

Stature and complexion.

The people of Macaſſar are of a moderate ſtature, their complexions ſwarthy, their cheek-bones ſtand high, and their noſes are generally flat; the laſt is eſteemed a beauty, and almoſt as much pains taken to make them ſo in their infancy, as to make the Chineſe Ladies have little feet.

Hair.

Turbants.

They have ſhining black hair, which is tied up and covered with a turbant, or cloth wound about their heads when they are dreſſed, but at other times they wear a kind of hat or cap with little brims.

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Infants.

They continually rub and ſupple the limbs of their infants with oil, to render them nimble and active; and this is thought to be one reaſon there is hardly ever ſeen a lame or crooked perſon among them, either man or woman.

Education.

Their male children of the better ſort, 'tis ſaid, are always taken from their mothers at ſix or ſeven years of age, and committed to the care of ſome remote relation, that they may not be too much indulged and effeminated by the careſſes of the mother; they are ſent to ſchool to their prieſts, who teach them to write and read and caſt accompts, and the precepts of the Alcoran: their characters very much reſemble the Arabick, which is not ſtrange, ſince their anceſtors, many of them, were Arabians.

But beſides their books, every child is bred up to ſome handicraft trade; they are alſo taught ſeveral ſports and martial exerciſes, if they are of quality; but the meaner ſort are employed in husbandry, fiſhing, and ordinary trades, as in other places.

Character of the people.

This people ſeem to be inſpired with juſt notions of honour and friendſhip, and there are inſtances of many of them who have expoſed their lives even in defence of foreigners and Chriſtians; and of others who have generally relieved and maintained people in diſtreſs, and even ſuffered them to ſhare their eſtates. They retained that love of liberty, that they were the laſt of the Indian nations that were enſlaved by the Dutch, which did not happen neither till after a long and very expenſive war, wherein almoſt the whole force of the Hollanders in India was employed.

It muſt be acknowledged at the ſame time that no people are more ſubject to paſſion; but it is ſoon over, and they will condemn their own raſhneſs if they are in the wrong.

Women.

The women are remarkably chaſte and reſerved, at leaſt they cannot help appearing ſo; for the leaſt ſmile or glance on any but their husbands, is held a ſufficient reaſon for a divorce: nor dare they admit of a viſit even from a brother, but in the preſence of the husband: and the law indemnifies him for killing any man he ſhall find alone with his wife, or on whom ſhe has conferred any mark of her favour.

On the other hand, the man keeps as many wives and concubines as he pleaſes, and nothing can be more ignominious than the want of children, and the having but one wife: the love of women, and the deſire of children is univerſal; and according to the number of women and children the man poſſeſſes his happineſs is rated.

To proceed, though the women of faſhion generally keep cloſe, yet upon certain feſtivals they are ſuffered to come abroad and ſpend their time

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in publick company, in dancing and other diverſions uſed in the country; but the men do not mix with them as in this part of the world, only they have the happineſs to ſee and be ſeen, which makes them wait for theſe good times with impatience.

Parents uſually match their children in their infancy, ſometimes ſoon after they are born. When the young fellow is arrived to ſixteen or ſeventeen, and has gone through his exerciſes, he is allowed to wait on his miſtreſs, and marries ſoon after: he learns to ride, to draw the bow, diſcharge a fuſee, handle his ſcymitar and crice, and to ſhoot thoſe little darts already mentioned through a ſmooth trunk of ebony, or ſome ſuch wood: this dart is pointed with the tooth of a ſea fiſh which is dipped in poiſon; and with theſe, 'tis ſaid, they will hit a ſmall mark fourſcore yards.

One who has made arms his profeſſion, is ſo much a gentleman ſoldier, even in that part of the world, that it is very ſeldom he will ſubmit to follow husbandry or any mean employment afterwards.

Diverſions. Among their diverſions they have games not unlike draughts and cheſs; but they are prohibited to play for money, ſo that they ſeldom quarrel on theſe occaſions: the flying the paper kite is not beneath their quality, and even old men are taken with the ſport; and cock-fighting is a great entertainment with them.

Girls houſewifery. The girls are bred up to write and read, and in all kind of houſewifery; they learn to ſpin, to ſow, to embroider and make their own and the men's clothes, for there are no taylors in the country any more than cooks; and therefore they learn alſo to dreſs ſuch diſhes as are in uſe amongſt them, which may ſoon be done, having very little variety in their diet.

Diet. Their ordinary food is rice, herbs, roots, fiſh and fruit: they have alſo beef, kid and poultry, which being boiled and high ſeaſoned with pepper and ſpices, is cut in ſmall pieces and laid by their rice, and this ſerves to reliſh it; but fleſh is eaten in very ſmall quantities in this part of the world; it would be of ill conſequence to eat a belly-full as we do here. They have but two meals, one at eight or nine in the morning, and the other about ſun-ſet, which is their heartieſt meal: the reſt of the day they chew betel and arek, or take tobacco with a mixture of opium: their uſual drink is water or ſherbet; they drink alſo tea, coffee and chocolate, the laſt of which the Spaniards of the Philippines furniſh them with; and they have palm wine, arrack and ſpirits as in the neighbouring countries, which they mix, 'tis ſaid, ſometimes with the ſherbet, though their law forbids it.

Liquor.

Sit croſs-legged. They eat all together, and not ſeparately, like ſome other Indian nations. They ſit croſs-legged on the ground, and have low lackered tables on which their meat is ſet, in diſhes or voiders of ſilver, copper, or wooden ware; no ſpoons, knives, forks, or napkins are uſed, but they take up the rice with their hands, and making it up in hard lumps of the bigneſs of an egg, cram it into their mouths.

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Habits. The better ſort of people are clothed in a veſt, which reaches down to their knees, and is often of brocaded ſilk, or ſcarlet cloth with gold plate buttons: it has a ſtrait ſleeve like a waſtecoat, and is buttoned at the wriſt; they have alſo a rich ſaſh, the ends whereof hang down below their knees. Their crice or dagger they wear in their ſaſh, as they do alſo their knife and purſe. The clothes of the poor people are made of cotton; none of them wear ſtockings or ſhoes, but ſometimes the quality put on a kind of ſlippers or ſandals: their turbants are not cloſe on the crown of their heads, like the Turks, but are only a piece of ſtuff or linnen wrapped about their heads of any colour: they uſually dye their nails red, and their teeth either red or black.

Teeth.

Women's garb. The women have ſhifts of fine muſlin, which reach down to their knees; the ſleeves are ſtrait as a waiſtcoat, and come no lower than their elbows; the neck ſo narrow and cloſed that their breaſts are not ſeen; they wear alſo a kind of drawers or breeches made of ſilk or cotton, which ſit cloſe upon them, and reach down to the middle of the leg, and thoſe of quality have the knees richly embroidered; for they make their clothes themſelves, and there are no better work-women to be found: over all they throw a looſe linnen cloth, or a piece of ſtriped muſlin, when they go abroad.

They have no other head-dreſs but their hair tied up in roll on the hinder part of their head, with ſome curls which fall gracefully on their necks; they perfume their hair and oil it, which makes it appear ſtill blacker than it naturally is, and gives it a gloſs. The men wear jewels in their hair, but the women have none; nor have they any other ornaments than a gold chain about their necks.

Slaves. There are but few ſlaves in the country, the laws prohibiting their making ſlaves of their brethren of the ſame faith, which is one reaſon this people are more active and induſtrious than other Indians, being uſed to labour and do their work themſelves. However their great men are never without a train of vaſſals or hired ſervants, when they appear in publick; but many of them are only hired on thoſe occaſions, and may be had on very reaſonable terms.

Their houſes, as has been obſerved, being built with ebony and other fine wood of various colours, the inſide is poliſhed and kept rubbed every day, which makes the wood look more beautiful than any

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any wainſcot; they are very neat alſo in their houſes in other reſpects, having the matts and carpets, which they ſit on, cleaned and duſted every morning, and veſſels on purpoſe to ſpit in when they chew their betel or take tobacco. They have not much furniture in their houſes, it ſeems; for beſides what is neceſſary for the kitchen, and their carpets, cuſhions, pillows and couches which they ſleep on, and the little tables, and voiders they eat off; I do not hear any other mentioned.

Furniture.

Both gentlemen and ladies of quality, when they go abroad have a ſtated number of ſervants to attend them according to their condition, nor will they ever ſtir out, till they have procured the uſual number, by hiring or borrowing them if they have not ſervants of their own.

Grandees.

At their viſits a carpet and cuſhion is always brought for the ſtrangers to loll upon, as chairs are ſet in this part of the world; and as the Chineſe once poſſeſſed theſe iſlands, they retain many of their ceremonies, which I will not tire the reader with the repetition of, only obſerve, that their compliments are preſcribed them, and they uſe but few words in their ſalutations.

Viſits.

The Princes in this iſland antiently parcelled out ſome of their lands to the great Lords, as is practiſed in ſeveral neighbouring countries; all that inhabit ſuch a lordſhip or diſtrict, are in a manner vaſſals or tenants to thoſe who poſſeſs the lordſhips, and the Lord holds of the Prince theſe lands by certain rents and ſervices, and particularly to attend the King in his wars with a certain number of ſoldiers at his own charges: nor do theſe Lords ever appear at court, or in any publick place, without fourſcore or a hundred of their vaſſals and tenants to attend them. Theſe are looked upon as the principal nobility of the iſland, and take place immediately after the Royal Family. There are two other inferior orders of nobility or gentry, who hold their eſtates by much the ſame tenure, who have ſmaller diſtricts, or perhaps a particular village only, under their command.

Vaſſals and military tenures.

Nobility.

The chief wife here is ennobled, and bears her husband's title, but retains her own name. The children alſo, all of them, inherit their father's honour; ſo that their nobility are frequently as poor and as numerous as in Germany; the eldeſt ſon going away with the bulk of the eſtate.

The government is monarchical, and the crown hereditary, if it may be called ſo, where the eldeſt brother inherits to the excluſion of the children. The reaſon whereof is ſaid to be, that the crown may never deſcend upon the head of an infant unable to govern or protect his people. But though the Prince is ſaid to be abſolute, I perceive great part of his power is transferred to his Prime Miniſter, who diſpoſes almoſt of all places of truſt in the civil government, firſt giving a liſt of them to the King, who never refuſes to confirm them, or to enquire into the qualifications of ſuch officers: the houſhold indeed and the revenues the King looks into himſelf, and muſters his troops twice every month; but as to the civil government, it is left almoſt entirely to the Prime Miniſter.

Government.

The forces of the King of Macaſſar in time of peace maintain themſelves, having nothing more than their clothes, arms and ammunition allowed them, unleſs they are drawn out into actual ſervice, and then they are ſubſiſted at the King's charge; and it is ſaid, in ſome of his former wars, he has brought twelve thouſand horſe and fourſcore thouſand foot into the field, of which his foot are accounted the beſt in India; but their horſes are ſmall, and they have no ſaddles, arms or accoutrements proper for that ſervice: their ſmall arms have been mentioned already; they carry a ſhield made of light cane covered with a buffaloe's hide for their defence: as for their artillery, the great guns are of a large bore, but their powder is ſo weak they ſeldom do much execution with them: they divide their armies into ſeveral regiments and battalions; and thoſe again into companies of two hundred men each, with three officers equivalent to our Captain, Lieutenant and Enſign.

Forces.

Here are no lawyers, attornies, or bayliffs in this country, but every one exhibits his complaint in perſon, and ſpeedy juſtice is executed as in other Mahometan countries. Indeed in criminal matters they are frequently allowed to do themſelves juſtice; whoever takes a murderer, adulterer or robber in the fact, may execute him himſelf; and it is ſaid the highwaymen in this country hardly ever murder thoſe they rob, except in their own defence. Houſe-breakers eaſily break in here, the houſes being ſo ſlightly built of wood; but ſurely the ſtory of charming thoſe they rob was carried thither by our European Miſſionaries, it being ſo like the tales of this nature among the vulgar here: by repeating ſome unintelligible words, or touching the party with a wand, the Miſſionaries tell us, the people who are robbed will lye ſtill with their eyes open, without having the power to ſpeak or ſtir; and ſometimes the charm will throw them into a fit of laughter, which will continue for ſeveral hours. This I had not troubled my reader with the repetition of, but to give him an opportunity to laugh in his turn at the Fathers who firſt make and then report theſe idle ſtories, which none but their own credulous diſciples can ſurely be ever impoſed upon by.

No lawyers.

Charms.

The daughters have no portion upon their marriage, nor any thing ſettled upon them by their husbands, but the preſents made them before marriage: the ceremony, it ſeems, is performed by a prieſt; after which, while all the gueſts are rejoicing at the wife's father's for three days, the new married couple are ſhut up in an apartment by

Marriages.

CHAP. XIV.

by themſelves, having only a ſervant to bring them what they want; and at the end of the three days the bride and bridegroom come out of their apartment and receive the congratulations of their friends: after which the bridegroom carries his bride to his own houſe, where ſhe immediately applies her ſelf to houſewifery and the buſineſs of the family, the ladies here not being indulged in that lazy way they are in moſt other eaſtern nations. *If the woman ſurvives* her husband and has no children, ſhe retains one half of the preſents which were made her, and the other goes to the father or mother of her husband: if ſhe has children ſhe keeps the whole, and has the diſpoſal of the children as ſhe ſees fit; unleſs ſhe marries again, and then ſhe has but a third part of the jewels, &c. Where the parents die without diſpoſing of their effects, they are divided among the ſons; and if no ſons, among the daughters, but they never ſhare the inheritance with the brothers, only they are maintained by them till they marry: thoſe ſlaves they have are divided and diſpoſed of as other goods, upon the deceaſe of their maſter; and where there are vaſſals or villains belonging to an eſtate, they deſcend with the inheritance.

Inheritances.

Divorce.

A man has no more to do if he deſires to be divorced, but to repair to the Prieſt and acquaint him with the caſe; and if there be the leaſt colour to ſuſpect the woman of levity, or but an unguarded conduct, it is never denied; and the divorce is pronounced by the ſecular Judge, who ſettles the conditions of it, after which either party are at liberty to marry again.

Their concubines occaſioning all the uneaſineſs between the men and their wives, perſons of quality generally inſiſt upon their being kept in an apartment diſtinct from the houſe; and ſuch a ſpirit are the Macaſſarian Ladies of, that there are inſtances of the wife's ſtabbing the beloved concubine to the heart in the husband's arms.

Their ceremonies on their purifications and circumciſion of their children, will be taken notice of in other Mahometan countries, and are therefore omitted here. As to their funerals, the meaneſt perſons make ſome preparation, and lay up money to defray the expence of them while they are in full health; and they are in nothing more profuſe and laviſh than in their funerals: when any dangerous ſymptoms appear in their ſickneſs, they apply no more to the Phyſician, but ſend for their Prieſts, who have recourſe to prayers and exorciſms, attributing the diſeaſe to the practices of ſome evil ſpirit: they write alſo the names of God and MAHOMET on little ſcrolls of paper, and hang them about the patient's neck; and if theſe have no effect, they proceed to prepare him for his diſſolution.

Funerals.

The perſon being dead, his corps is waſhed and perfumed, and clothed in a white robe with a turbant on his head, and ſet in a chamber hung with white, which is conſtantly perfumed with incenſe and aromatick gums: he is carried on a couch or palanquin to the burying place by his ſlaves, and followed by the Prieſts, perfumes and incenſe being burnt all the way they paſs: the corps is interred without a coffin, and covered only with the plank on which it lay, and the earth thrown in upon it. A tomb is afterwards erected, ſuitable to the quality of the deceaſed, adorned with flowers; and perfumes burnt for forty days: after which a noble entertainment is prepared for thoſe who come to pay their laſt devoirs to the deceaſed.

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CHAP. XV.

Treats of the ſituation and produce of the iſlands of Banda, Amboyna, and the Molucca's, uſually called the Spice iſlands.

CHAP. XV.

THE iſlands of Banda are firſt, Banda Proper, which gives name to the reſt, and yet is itſelf frequently called Lantor from the chief town upon it, 2. Pooloway, 3. Pooloroon, 4. Nero, 5. Roſinging, and 6. Gonapi: there are alſo ſeveral other ſmall iſlands which go under the name of Banda, but are not thought worth the notice of travellers.

Names of the Banda iſlands.

Theſe iſlands lie from three degrees and a half to the fifth degree of ſouth latitude, having the iſland of Ceram to the north, the iſland of Celebes or Macaſſar on the weſt, the ocean on the eaſt and ſouth, and are diſtant from Amboyna about 25 leagues.

Their ſituation.

The iſland of Gonapi is ſevered from Nero but by a very ſmall channel; theſe, together with the iſland of Banda or Lantore, make a very commodious harbour.

Gonapi

The caſtle of Nero or Naſſau ſtands on a plain cloſe by the water-ſide; it is large and well fortified, but on the land-ſide there is a riſing ground about a muſket ſhot diſtance which commands it; for which reaſon the Dutch have built another ſtrong fort upon this hill, and they are both defended by numerous garriſons.

Nero.

Lantor or Banda Proper is the largeſt and richeſt of all the iſlands of Banda, by nature ſtrong as a caſtle, and almoſt inacceſſible: the town is built on the brow of a ſteep hill, the aſcent to it as difficult as by a ladder, but the Dutch made an eaſy conqueſt of it; for while the natives ſtood to defend their town againſt one party towards the ſea, the Dutch diſcovered a little creek in another part of the iſland, where they landed a body of men unperceived, and ſurpriſed the natives; who finding the enemy upon their hills above them, forſook their country and fled over to the neighbouring iſlands.

Banda Proper or Lantor.

Pooloway

The ISLAND of CELEBES, or MACASSAR with The Islands of BANDA, AMBOYNA, and the MOLUCCA'S. Agreable to Modern History.

By H. Moll Geographer.

115 120 125 130 135

Equinoctial Line

P. of BORNEO ISLAND

CELEBES I.

TERRA DE PAPOS

NEW GUINEA

TIMOR ISLAND

BANDA ISLANDS

CERAM

GILOLO I.

MOLUCCAS

SPICE IS.

CELEBES or MACASSAR

St Iohanna
Sungni I.
Calanga
Tulaon
I. Palmas
I. de St Iohns
Pangules
Sion
Sian
Biaru
Tromps Pt
Boo
Tetoly
Bohol
Manado
Boulon
Caidupa
Dampellas
Balayssan
Silensa
Layo
Tafenry Meao
Ternate
Tydore
Motyr
Machian
Dey
I. Moretuy
Sequita
Orang C.
Gilolo
Folo
Bachian
Cayali
Badings
Turata
Bancala
Goroulalle
Tomine
Iloboto
Ouby Gapy
Bengay
Gaba
Bilato
Xulla
Ouby I.
Mamoia
Lit P. Nosters
Tortaja
Bouguis
Soppen
Majndar
Linques
MACASSAR
Poppoe
Cronron
Goa
Cata.
Laoot I.
Tello
Macassar
Dowang
Iompandan
Salayer I.
Colouro
Str. of Salayer
Tabuco
Beneaqui
Pantian
Buto
P. Laqua
Buro I.
Dutch Fort
Bouton
Callasusong
P. Penjocha
Besty
P. Mata
C. Nos
Mesol
Ambay a Dutch Fort
Amboyna I.
Victoria Castle
Boangbessy
Harrouka C.
Hinomoa I.
Rosingin I.
Nero
Nassau C.
Conapi
Lantor I.
Pulo Sabuda
Goram I.
Mavabuco I.
Lit. watila
Low Land
Mackarel Bay
Freshwater Bay
Koy
Arow
Luco Paros
Bird I.
Burning I.
Peter Nosters
Cumbava
Lombock
Allas
Str. of Lombock
Cumbava I.
Str. of Sappy
Lisataja
FLORIS I.
Sirbro
Laulana
Panterre
Misacomby
I. Solor
Dutch
Babo
Liphao
Concordia
D. Fort
Ambo
Rotte
Terra Alta
Teeuw
Damme
Gallian
Micella
Cera
Schilpads Islands
Timor Land
K. williams L.
Cayoa
Manene
Batochina
Labo
C. of Good Hope
I. Providence
G. Providence
Schoutens I.
Mackarel Bay
Freshwater Bay
Low Land
Lit. watila
Koy
Arow
Schilpads Islands
Timor Land

0 60 120 180 240
English Miles

Deg. East from London

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Pooloway is a perfect paradiſe, where nutmegs and the moſt delicious fruits abound; the trees are cut into pleaſant walks, and the whole iſland ſeems a garden furniſhed with all manner of varieties. Their only want is ſprings and rivers, which is ſupplied in ſome meaſure by the frequent rains, and when theſe fail, the natives import water from Lantore. On the eaſt ſide of this iſland the Dutch have a fort called the Revenge, being a regular pentagon, and held to be one of the ſtrongeſt places the Dutch have in India; and much the pleaſanteſt reſidence of their Indian Governors. Pooloway.

Pooloroon had neither pleaſure or profit to invite the Dutch to raviſh it from the Engliſh in the manner they did: the ſole deſign of that expedition was, to ingroſs the whole ſpice trade to themſelves, which they could not eaſily do while other nations had acceſs to this iſland. Pooloroon.

The largeſt of theſe iſlands is not above twenty leagues in circumference, and moſt of them much leſs.

The many vulcanoes and frequent earthquakes which happen here are very terrible; not a year hardly paſſes without ſome miſchief done by them, which very much leſſens the pleaſures the Dutch would otherwiſe enjoy in this their terreſtrial paradiſe. Vulcanoes.

Amboyna lyes in 3 degrees, 40 min. ſouth latitude, and is about 24 leagues in circumference; ſhe ſits as Queen, ſays Mr. HERBERT, between the iſles of Banda and the Molucca's, being almoſt in the form of a creſcent, which makes a very fine bay for ſhipping to ride in: this iſland is ſo narrow about the middle, that the natives frequently hale their barges over a little ſandy plain from one ſea to the other. Amboyna ſituation.

It has plenty of fruit, fiſh and freſh water, nor is there much want of fleſh; but her greateſt riches are the cloves, which are now only ſuffered to grow in this iſland, the Dutch having rooted them up in the Molucca's. Fruits.

The caſtle of Amboyna is quadrangular, defended by outworks and a numerous artillery, with a garriſon of ſeven or eight hundred men: this is looked upon to be the beſt government the Dutch have in India next to Batavia.

In Amboyna, beſides cloves, there are oranges, lemons, ſugar canes, cocoes and other fruits; they have alſo potatoes and ſome tobacco; but the Dutch are ſo far from encouraging any plantations, or making any improvements in the ſpice iſlands, that they endeavour to render them as barren as poſſible, that the natives may depend on them for every thing they want, and no other nation may find a ſubſiſtence here if they ſhould attempt to ſurprize them.

The Molucca iſlands, properly ſo called, are Bachian, Machian, Motyr, Ternate and Tydore; and lie to the northward of Amboyna, under or very near the equinoctial. Molucca's. Names of them. Their ſituation.

Bachian is ſituated a little to the ſouthward of the equinoctial; and is called Great Bachian to diſtinguiſh it from a little iſland of the ſame name which lyes near it. Here is a good harbour, and the Dutch have a ſtrong fort called Barnevelt, built with ſtone to defend the entrance of it. The iſland abounds in ſago, fruit and fiſh, and had formerly its ſhare of cloves. Bachian.

Machian lyes almoſt under the equator, but rather to the northward of it: this is very high land in form of a ſugar loaf, its top reaching above the clouds; it was a very fertile country formerly, and yielded the Dutch the greateſt revenue of any of the Molucca's. They have three forts here, ſeated on inacceſſible rocks: the ſhips uſed to take in their goods at the fort Noffaquia, there being no riding for ſhips near any other part of the iſland: here is ſaid to be a clove tree differing from all others, and much eſteemed for its variety and goodneſs, there being no other like it in all the Molucca's. The fruit of this tree is not to be purchaſed for money; but is ſent by the Governor to his friends by handfuls and half-handfuls, as the moſt acceptable preſent he can make. Machian.

Motyr very much reſembles Machian in its form and height, but is not ſo large: it lyes about half a degree to the northward of the line; the Dutch have a fort at the north end of it: this iſland formerly produced great quantities of cloves; but not ſo much as Machian. Motyr.

Tydore lyes very little to the northward of Motyr, and is upwards of thirty miles in circumference; the chief town is of the ſame name, and has been a tolerable good harbour; but ſuch a chain of rocks lye before it that the entrance is very hazardous: the town is ſtrongly ſituated by nature, but the Dutch have made it much ſtronger by art, having fortified it after the modern way. Tydore.

Ternate, the principal iſland of the Molucca's, lyes in one degree of north latitude, and is about eight leagues in circumference; the chief towns whereof are Gamolamo, Malayo, Tallaco and Tycone: the road of Gamolamo, where the ſhipping uſually rides, is not good. The firſt fort the Dutch built here was Tallaco, the next the ſtrong caſtle of Orange, after which they looked upon themſelves to be ſo well fixed, that they defied all the nations of Europe to diſpoſſeſs them, and have uſed them accordingly, as will appear hereafter. Ternate.

In the Molucca's they have neither corn or rice, or hardly any butchers meat, but goats fleſh. They eat chiefly ſago, the pith of a tree made into cakes inſtead of bread; and their ordinary drink is water, though they have ſome ſtrong liquors which they draw from the bambou and the coco-tree. Here are alſo almonds, oranges and lemons, and other delicious fruits; but what is peculiar to theſe iſlands, and in return for which they Molucca's. Their produce.

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Cloves.

they were once furniſhed with the produce of every other country, is their cloves. This tree bears within eight years after it is planted, and reſembles the bay-tree; the fruit grows in cluſters at the end of the branch, where it hangeth like a bunch of grapes; the bud is firſt white, afterwards it turns green, then red; and when it is full ripe, brown; they dry them in the ſun after they are gathered, which makes them almoſt black. No graſs or herb will grow under the branches of this tree, and it dries up all the moiſture near it, inſomuch that a heap of cloves laid in a room after they are gathered, 'tis ſaid, will ſuck up a tub of water; and this is a method the Dutch ſeamen often take, it ſeems, to ſwell and increaſe their bulk when they have robbed their maſters. It is called by the natives Chamque, but the Spaniards gave it the name of Clavos, from its likeneſs to a nail.

Produce of Banda.

The Banda iſlands are as famous for nutmegs as the Molucca's and Amboyna are for cloves. The nutmeg-tree is like the peach, only its leaves are rounder and ſomething leſs. The fruit is encloſed in a thick rind like a walnut, under this is a leaf which covers the ſhell, and is what we call mace, and within this lyes the nutmeg.

Wild beaſts there are none in theſe iſlands, and very few others. Their birds are parrots, cockatoes, and the bird of paradiſe, which has the moſt beautiful feathers of any bird that flies, and is ſaid not to be found in any other part of the world. Here are ſome ſnakes of an unuſual bigneſs, but not ſo venomous as in other places. There are very few rivers; but the want of them is ſupplied by the frequent ſhowers which water the earth, and create a perpetual verdure.

There are four iſlands, much larger than any of the Spice iſlands, which lye near them, but produce neither cloves or nutmegs, or ſuch ſmall quantities as are not worth mentioning: theſe are Gilolo, ſometimes reckoned among the Molucca's, Ceram, Bouro and Bouton.

Gilolo Situation and extent.

Gilolo, frequently called Batochina, lyes from two degrees north to one degree of ſouth latitude, a little to the eaſtward of the iſlands of Ternate and Tidore, and is upwards of two hundred miles in length, but not above fifty broad in moſt places. It is divided by three deep bays which make it appear like ſo many ſeveral iſlands at a little diſtance; and in theſe bays are very ſafe riding for ſhips.

Ceram lyes in three degrees ſouth latitude, having the iſlands of Amboyna and Banda on the ſouth, from either of which it is not many leagues diſtant, and the iſland of Gilolo and the Molucca's on the north: it ſtretches from eaſt to weſt, being about fifty leagues in length, but not twenty in breadth: it is high land and very woody. The chief town is Cambello, where their King reſides: but the Dutch have a fortreſs here, and both King and people are vaſſals and ſlaves to them. It is obſervable that the people of this, and all the neighbouring iſlands, were formerly accounted canibals, tho' all the foundation there ſeems to be for this opinion was their barbarous uſage of ſome Chriſtians who fell into their hands; as roaſting them alive and putting them to very cruel deaths. The moſt intelligent travellers who have viſited theſe countries, give us to underſtand, that this cruel treatment was occaſioned by the inſolence and hard uſage ſeveral of the natives met with from the Portugueze and Dutch: and I do not find one man among all the Europeans who have ever reſorted to theſe parts that ever was witneſs to this ſavage cuſtom of eating their own ſpecies; and if human fleſh was ſuch delicious food to them as is pretended, they would certainly ſometimes have made a meal of their enemies; but though they had conſtant wars for many years among themſelves, to which the Europeans were witneſſes, and often ſaw them return in triumph with the heads of their enemies, not one of our travellers pretend to ſay they ever ſaw them eat any of their captives. They frequently alſo ſurprized and cut in pieces both Portugueze and Dutch when they were oppreſſed and their liberties invaded; and yet I do not find they ever devoured one of theſe, ſo that I am inclined to think there is very little credit to be given to theſe ſtories of canibals.

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Canibals, whether any ſuch people.

Bouro.

Bouro lyes in four degrees of ſouth latitude, having Ceram on the eaſt, and the iſland of Bouton towards the ſouth weſt, and is about twenty leagues in length and ten in breadth. The Dutch have a fort here alſo, and are maſters of the iſland.

Bouton.

Bouton lies in 5 degrees 40 min. of ſouth latitude, and is about four or five leagues diſtant from the ſouth eaſt part of the iſland of Celebes or Macaſſar; it is twenty five leagues long and ten broad, ſtretching north eaſt and ſouth weſt. The harbour lyes on the eaſt ſide of the iſland, in four degrees fifty minutes ſouth latitude. The land is high, but even and well covered with wood. The chief town is Callaſuſung, fortified with a ſtone wall, and the houſes are built like thoſe of Mindanao; the ſtreets clean and ſpacious.

The Spice iſlands deſtitute now of all the neceſſaries of life.

But to return to the Spice iſlands, however fruitful thoſe of Banda once were, according to a modern author, the Dutch have taken care that they ſhall no more produce the neceſſaries of life; they chooſe to ſend them their proviſions every year from Batavia, rather than they ſhould have them of their own growth, which is looked upon to be the moſt effectual way to ſecure their poſſeſſion; for if an enemy ſhould ſurprize them, he would now find it impoſſible to ſubſiſt there, eſpecially as they are maſters of all the neighbouring countries, from whence they uſed to be ſupplied.

As

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All the cloves in the Molucca's rooted up.

As for the Molucca's, they have actually rooted up all the cloves in them, becauſe they lay diſperſed and expoſed to the attempts of other nations; while their dominions were ſo far extended, they were apprehenſive they might be diſpoſſeſſed of them in their turns, as they themſelves had diſpoſſeſſed the Portugueſe: for this reaſon they encouraged the planting of cloves in Amboyna only, which have encreaſed to ſuch a degree, that that iſland alone is now ſufficient to ſerve the whole world with cloves. Here therefore their garriſons are ſo ſtrong, that poſſibly no nation will ever attempt to reduce them.

The King a vaſſal to the Dutch, and the people miſerable ſlaves.

Ternate they look upon now only as a frontier town, and neceſſary to be kept in their poſſeſſion, leſt it ſhould be planted again by foreigners, and therefore when they had dethroned that King, and ſufficiently humbled him, they permitted him to reſume his title again, and ſo much of his authority as was neceſſary to keep his ſubjects from being troubleſome to them; and becauſe he has no ſubſiſtence, ſince the cloves have been rooted up, they allow him and ſome few of his Miniſters penſions. The reſt of the natives are the moſt miſerable of mankind, not being allowed to cultivate their lands, leſt ſome foreign Prince ſhould think them worth his protection.

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Treats of the firſt inhabitants of the Spice iſlands, and of the ſeveral people which have ſucceſſively poſſeſſed them; and particularly of the practices of the Hollanders, to exclude all other nations from that beneficial trade: and in order to this, a view is here taken of the firſt voyages made by the Portugueſe, Spaniards, Engliſh and Dutch to the Eaſt Indies.

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First inhabitants of the Spice iſlands.

THE firſt inhabitans of the Spice iſlands were probably the Chineſe, for in the earlieſt accounts we have of theſe iſlands, we find them under the dominion of that empire, and the inhabitants of the inland country ſtill retain a great deal of their manners and cuſtoms.

Spices, &c. brought to the Mediterranean by the Arabians.

Europe has for above two thouſand years partook of their delicious ſpices, though it is not much above two hundred that we have been acquainted with the iſlands themſelves, where they grew. The Perſians, Arabians, and Egyptians, uſed to bring them to the ports in the Mediterranean; and hither the Venetians, the Genoeſe, and Catalans reſorted to buy the ſpices and ſilks of India, which they again diſperſed all over Europe at a moſt extravagant profit.

Arabians and colonies to the Oriental Islands.

The Moors or Mahometans of Arabia, and the neighbouring countries, in order to engroſs this trade to themſelves, and at the ſame time propagate their religion in the eaſt, ſent numerous colonies to the Oriental iſlands, drove the firſt inhabitants up into the mountains and inacceſſible places, planting themſelves upon the ſea-coaſts, and in time became ſtrong enough to ſubdue the natives, compelling them to embrace their religion and ſubmit to their government. Under the dominion of theſe Arabian Moors or Mahometans, were moſt of the Oriental iſlands when the Portugueſe firſt diſcovered a paſſage to India by the Cape of Good-Hope: nor was it without infinite labour and patience that that diſcovery was made; the greateſt inducements to which enterprize, was the hopes of becoming maſters of the ſpices and other rich treaſures of the Eaſt; no hazards or fatigues were thought too great to obtain the propriety of theſe; the very tranſporting whereof from Cairo and Alexandria brought ſuch immenſe wealth to ſome little commonwealths in the Mediterranean. But to be a little more particular.

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First attempt to ſail round Africk, 1418.

It was about the year 1418. that Prince HENRY, third ſon of JOHN King of Portugal, firſt ſent out ſhips for diſcovering the weſtern coaſt of Africa, and until the year 1486. did the Portugueſe continue to proſecute their diſcoveries to the ſouthward, when King JOHN II. ſent out

Cape diſcovered, 1486.

BARTHOLOMEW DIAZ, who diſcovered the moſt ſouthern promontory of Africk, by the Admiral named, CABO TORNENTOSO, from the tempeſtuous weather he met with there; but King JOHN named it the Cape of Good-Hope at his return, having great hopes now of diſcovering a way to the Eaſt-Indies.

Covillan travels to India by land, 1487.

In the year 1487, King JOHN II. diſpatched PEDRO COVILLAN by land to India, who went firſt to Alexandria, from thence to Cairo, and ſo to Aden, where he took ſhipping in the Arabian fleet, and arrived at Calicut, on the weſtern ſide of India; he afterwards ſailed back with the Arabs to Sofala, on the coaſt of Africa, in 20 deg. ſouth latitude, and ſent the King of Portugal a map of that coaſt, but did not live to return to Portugal.

Columbus diſcovers America, 1492.

The famous COLUMBUS reſiding in Portugal at this time, and having ſailed with the Portugueſe in ſome of their expeditions, being encouraged by the ſucceſs the Portugueſe had met with in their diſcoveries to the ſouth-eaſt, and from ſome intelligence he had met with of timber and human bodies different from what had been ever ſeen in Europe, drove aſhore on the Azores and other weſtern iſlands in the Atlantick ocean, propoſed to the King of Portugal the making diſcoveries weſtward; but it ſeems his propoſals were rejected at that court: hereupon he applied himſelf to the court of Caſtile, and after ſeveral years tedious attendance there, he did at length obtain three ſhips from King FERDINAND, in the year 1492, with which he began that famous voyage, wherein he diſcovered the new world, of which

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I shall speak more at large when I come to treat of America.

To return to our East-Indian discoveries, the Spaniards and Portuguese having agreed that all the western discoveries should belong to Spain, and the eastern discoveries to Portugal, Don EMANUEL King of Portugal sent VASCO DI GAMA in the year 1497, with three ships to trace out a way to the East-Indies; but his men mutinying at the hazard of the undertaking when they were at sea, it was with great difficulty that he persuaded them to pass the Cape of Good Hope, which he did on the 20th of November, 1897. He afterwards sailed to the northward till he arrived at Mosambique, in the latitude of 15, where he found seven sail of ships manned by Arabians, who treated them very freely at first, imagining they had been of the same faith and of the same or some neighbouring country with themselves, it never entering into their thoughts that the Europeans had found a way round Africa into their seas. It was observable, that these Moors had the mariners compass, with sea cards and quadrants, which were not known to the Europeans till about the time that COLUMBUS ventured on that voyage to America; and 'tis thought by some, that we were first let into these improvements by the eastern nations. To proceed, the Arabians no sooner understood that GAMA and his men were Christians, but they did them all manner of ill offices, well foreseeing that if the Europeans should proceed to India, it would in time be the ruin of their trade.

GAMA first doubles the Cape of Good Hope 1497.

Comes to Mosambique.

From Mosambique, DE GAMA sailed for Melinda, in the latitude of two degrees south, where he arrived on Easter-day, 1498, here he found some Christians of India, and met with a kind reception, and procured a pilot to sail with him to India.

Melinda.

On the 19th of May 1498, he made the high mountains near Calicut, and the same day arrived within two miles of the town; the next day he sent a person ashore to acquaint the King of Calicut with his arrival, at which the King was at first overjoyed, imagining he should find a considerable encrease of his customs, which are his principal revenues, by the arrival of another people in his ports; but the Moors or Arabians justly apprehending the loss of their Indian trade, if these strangers were entertained by that Prince, represented them as pirates, or spies at best, who came to discover his weakness; and by bribing the principal men about the court, they set the King so much against the Portuguese, that he ordered some of GAMA's men to be seized and detained ashore; whereupon GAMA, to procure satisfaction, made prize of one of the ships in the road, in which he took several persons; but finding no probability of establishing a trade here at that time, he set sail for Portugal again, where he arrived in the year 1499, bringing with him one MONZAIDA a merchant of Tunis whom he found at Calicut; from whom the Portuguese learnt many material articles concerning the Indian trade.

Arrives at Calicut, 1498.

Moors hinder his settling a trade there.

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King EMANUEL soon after fitted out another fleet, consisting of thirteen sail; and fifteen hundred soldiers, under the command of PETER ALVAREZ CAPRALIS, who sailed from Lisbon the 8th of March 1500, and on the 23d of April following first discovered the coast of Brazil, and finding a good harbour there, he gave it the name of Porto Seguro; where he staid till the 5th of May, and then proceeded in his voyage to Calicut, arriving there the 22d of August following.

Another fleet sent by Port. 1500

Braz. discover. 1500.

CAPRALIS was at first well received by the King of Calicut; but the Moorish faction again prevailing against the Portuguese, the people of the country set upon them in the house the King had assigned for their factory, and killed above fifty of them; to revenge which CAPRALIS attacked a fleet of moorish ships, and killed six hundred of their men; making slaves of the rest, and seizing all their merchandize, after which he sailed to Cochin, 170 miles to the southward, where he established a factory; and returned to Lisbon the last of July 1502.

First fact. of the Portuguese at Cochin 1502.

The King of Portugal, before the return of CAPRALIS had fitted out three other ships for India, which were followed soon after by VASCO DI GAMA a second time with ten ships: SODERIUS also was sent out with a squadron of fifteen frigates to attack the Moors, and make himself master of the Indian seas, which was easily effected, the Moors having few ships of force, nor indeed needing any till now, having no enemy to encounter till the Portuguese found the way to them by the Cape of Good Hope.

The Portuguese proceeded to endeavour the settling a trade at Malacca; but the natives, incited by the Moors, proved treacherous, surprizing forty of their men on shore, and attacking their ships in the road, but were beaten off with loss. The famous ALBUQUERQUE not long after laid siege to the city of Goa and took it; and afterwards took Malacca, the King MANCUDIAS being killed in defending it. Whereupon several Indian Princes desired an alliance with the Portuguese, finding they were in no condition to oppose them; and ANTONIUS AMBREUS was sent out in search of the Spice islands. The two Kings of Ternate and Tydore, the most potent Princes of the Molucca's, courted their friendship, and were ready to refer their differences to them, having long been engaged in wars; and with one or the other of these Princes most of the islands in those seas were confederated. The Portuguese taking advantage of the differences between these Princes, found no great difficulty in settling their

Goa taken by ALBUQUERQUE and Malacca, 1511.

Spice islands discovered, and factories settled there by the Portuguese.

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factories and building forts; the people being ready to grant them every thing they propoſed, in hopes of their alliance. Thus the Portugueſe eſtabliſhed themſelves in the Spice iſlands, being the firſt Europeans that ever arrived there; upon the merit of which they looked upon themſelves to be ſolely entitled to this trade, to the excluſion of all other nations; eſpecially having the Pope's bull, as well as an agreement with the Spaniards, to back their pretenſions: and accordingly they ſtiled themſelves lords of the navigation, conqueſt and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Perſia and India; and built them forts and cities at convenient diſtances along the African, Arabian, Perſian and Indian coaſts, and particularly in the Spice iſlands.

I proceed now to give an account of the ſucceeding European nations which have traded thither.

Spaniards ſail weſtward, and claim the privilege of trading thither, 1521.

And among theſe, the next in time is the Spaniard, who employed the famous MAGELLANS to make diſcoveries weſtward: this commander having ſailed through the ſtreights of Magellan, ſo called from the diſcoverer, paſſed through the South Sea, or Pacifick Ocean, and arrived at the iſlands of Ladrone the 6th of March, 1520. He afterwards made the Philippines, where he was unfortunately killed, but his ſhips arrived at Ternate, the chief of the Molucca iſlands, on the 8th of November, 1521. being about ten years after the firſt arrival of the Portugueſe here. The King of Tidore ſuffered the Spaniards to ſettle a factory in his country; and they left one of their ſhips behind them either to be refitted or to attend the buſineſs of the factory: and as all diſcoveries weſtward were to belong to the Spaniards, they looked upon themſelves to be entitled at leaſt to a ſhare of the trade of theſe iſlands.

Beaten out by the Portugueſe.

However, the Portugueſe without any ceremony, made prize of the Spaniſh ſhip that was left there ſoon after, and ruined their factory. They alſo erected forts at Ternate, Amboyna, and Banda in order to bridle the natives and ſecure the ſpice trade to themſelves: theſe proceedings gave great offence to the Spaniards; however, after they had conteſted this matter with the Portugueſe for ſeven or eight years, the Emperor CHARLES the 5th having great occaſion for a ſum of money, mortgaged all his intereſt in the ſpice trade to the Portugueſe, in the year 1529. for 350,000 ducats, which were never repaid by Spain.

1529. And the Spaniards for a ſum of money relinquiſh their right.

The next European nation which viſited the Spice iſlands was the Engliſh, under the command of Sir FRANCIS DRAKE, who ſet ſail from Plimouth the 13th of December, 1577. with five ſhips and an hundred and ſixty four men, among whom were ſeveral gentlemen of quality, one of whom, Mr. THOMAS DOUGHTY, was tried by a Court Martial, and executed at Port St. Julian near the ſtreights of Magellan, where they found a gallows that had been erected by MAGELLAN, on which ſome of his mutineers had been executed before: what Mr. DOUGHTY's crime was, does not appear to me; but it ſeems DRAKE was ſeverely cenſured by the people at his return for this execution.

Sir FRANCIS DRAKE begins his voyage round the world, 1577.

On the 17th of July, 1578. DRAKE ſailed from St. Julian, and the 20th came to the ſtreigths of Magellan through which he paſſed, and the 6th of September entered the South Sea; after which he was driven by a ſtorm into 57 degrees ſouth latitude, and loſt company of one of his ſhips commanded by Captain WINTER, who returned back to England through the ſtreights of Magellan.

Paſſes the ſtreights of Magellan, 1578.

Mr. DRAKE afterwards ſailed northward, and arrived at Lima in Peru, which lyes in 11 deg. 50 min. ſouth lat. on the 13th of February. Here lay twelve ſail of Spaniſh merchant ſhips very ſecure, as they thought, having never ſeen an enemy in thoſe ſeas: theſe DRAKE plundered of what treaſure they had, but having intelligence of a rich ſhip called the Cacafogo, which was loaden with nothing elſe but treaſure; he ſet ſail from thence and came up with her about 150 leagues from Panama: ſhe made little reſiſtance, and he took out of her thirteen cheſts full of rials of plate, fourſcore pound weight of gold, and ſix and twenty tun of ſilver, beſides a great quantity of jewels and precious ſtones.

Takes poſſeſſion of Nova Albion.

Mr. DRAKE having ſailed into 43 degrees north latitude, and obſerving the weather to be exceſſive cold, returned into 36 degrees, where he found a commodious bay, and was hoſpitably entertained by the people; and the King reſigned his crown into Mr. DRAKE's hands, deſiring his country might be taken into the Queen of England's protection. The Admiral thereupon gave this kingdom the name of Nova Albion being the north weſt part of that country, now called California: here he ſet up a pillar with a plate upon it, on which was engraven her Majeſty's name, the time of their being there, with an account of this Prince's reſignation of his dominions to the Queen of England; and if there be thoſe mines of gold and ſilver which DRAKE's company apprehended there were, it ſeems a little ſtrange we have never ſent a colony thither, eſpecially ſince the Spaniards had never been in the country at that time, or even diſcovered the land for many degrees to the ſouthwards of this place.

Arrives at the Spice iſlands.

From hence Mr. DRAKE ſailed for the Eaſt-Indies, and arrived at the Molucca iſlands the 14th of November, 1579. The next day he ſent a preſent to the King of Ternate, acquainting him that he was come to trade with his people, which meſſage appeared very acceptable to his Ternatian Majeſty, who very much deſired to be taken under

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King of Ternate resigns his country to the Queen of England, 1579.

der the protection of the Queen of England, being weary of the insolent behaviour of the Portugueſe, who pretended to debar his ſubjects from trading with any other nation but themſelves; and as a teſtimony of his ſubmiſſion to the Queen, gave the Admiral his ſignet. This iſland of Ternate is the chief of the Molucca's, and there are ſaid to be above ſeventy other iſlands under the dominion of this Prince; therefore if the ceſſion of the reigning Prince could confer a title, no European nation could make a better claim to the Molucca's than the Engliſh, to whom they were thus voluntarily ſurrendered without the leaſt appearance of compulſion: the Admiral having had ſeveral conferences with the King and the chief men in the country, and being ſplendidly entertained, after he had taken in a good quantity of cloves ſet ſail for England, where he arrived the 3d of November, 1580, having been out almoſt three years. This year the kingdoms of Caſtile and Portugal became united under one head.

Spain and Portugal united 1580.

Mr CANDISH touches at the Molucca's.

In the year 1587, Mr. CANDISH made another voyage round the world, purſuing Admiral DRAKE's courſe through the ſtreights of Magellan; and having touched at the Molucca's, found the natives deſirous of trading with the Engliſh; from hence he ſailed to Java, and afterwards returned to England by the Cape of Good Hope.

First voyage of the Dutch to the East-Indies, 1595.

The firſt voyage the Dutch made to the Oriental iſlands was in the year 1595, when the city of Amſterdam fitted out four ſhips for the Eaſt-Indies, and in June 1596, they arrived at Bantam in the iſland of Java, where they had a houſe aſſigned them for a factory; but the Bantameſe afterwards, at the inſtigation of the Portugueſe, took ſeveral of their men priſoners, whereupon the Dutch made repriſals by ſeizing three or four veſſels in the harbour, and then fell to battering the town. From hence the Dutch ſailed to Jacatra, now Batavia, a little to the weſtward of Bantam, where they met with better uſage, and having taken in a cargo of ſpices, and ſuch other goods as they could pick up thereabouts, returned to Holland the 11th of Auguſt, 1597, not having ſeen the Spice iſlands in this voyage.

Second voyage of the Dutch, 1598.

In the year 1598, OLIVER NOORT, a Dutchman, ſailed through the ſtreights of Magellan, into the South Sea, and returned home by the Cape of Good Hope; but I do not find he ſo much as touched at the Spice iſlands.

The firſt trade the Dutch had with the Spice iſlands, 1599.

In the year 1599 the Hollanders ſet out another fleet of eight ſhips, under the command of Admiral NECCIUS, who ſailed to Bantam, and was better received than his countrymen had been two years before; the Portugueſe having been expelled the place on a quarrel between them and the natives. Here four ſhips took in their loading of pepper, and the other four under the command of Admiral WARWICK, ſailed for the Molucca's the 8th of January, and on the 3d of March arrived at Amboyna, two of them took in their lading of cloves there, and at Ternate, and the other two ſailed to Banda, where they ſettled a factory, as the other ſhips did at Ternate, and freighted themſelves with nutmegs and mace, returning to Holland in the beginning of the year 1600.

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Only the province of Holland concerned in the trade, till the year 1600.

Before theſe ſhips arrived, the Dutch had ſet out three ſhips more for the Eaſt-Indies, under the command of Van HAGAN; they alſo diſpatched the four ſhips again that returned with Admiral NECCIUS, as ſoon as they were unladen: however, to this time, none but the citizens of Amſterdam, or the ſubjects of the province of Holland, had concerned themſelves in the Indian trade; but upon their ſucceſs ſeveral other companies ſtarted up, and fitted out ſhips for India, and carried on a trade by ſeparate ſtocks, inſomuch that the Indian ſeas ſwarmed with Dutch veſſels. The States apprehending it would prove of great advantage to their country, if they were all united; becauſe they would thereby be in a condition to repel any force the Spaniards or Portugueſe might raiſe to attack them in the Indian ſeas, in the year 1601 they were all formed into one corporation, or company, in which Amſterdam was allotted one half of the ſtock, Middleburgh a fourth ſhare, and the cities of Delft, Rotterdam, Enchuſen, and Hoorn, each of them a ſixteenth ſhare in the capital ſtock; the whole amounting at that time to ſix millions of florins.

Now ſeveral other companies ſend out fleets.

Who are all united.

The Dutch beat the Portugueſe out of all their forts and factories but Goa.

With this treaſure, and their united forces, they manned out ſtrong fleets to the Eaſt-Indies, and being an over-match for the Portugueſe, fell upon their ſhips wherever they met them, and took one place after another, till they hardly left them a fort or factory in India; but the time and manner of their diſpoſſeſſing the Portugueſe, I ſhall ſpeak of as the reſpective towns and countries come in my way, and confine myſelf at preſent to the Spice iſlands.

Second voyage of Admiral NECCIUS 1602.

Admiral NECCIUS ſailed a ſecond time, with a fleet under his command from Holland, and arrived at Bantam in March 1602; from whence he ſailed to the Molucca's, to attack the Portugueſe fleet; but in this attempt he did not ſucceed, for the Portugueſe obliged him to retire. However, in the year 1605, the Dutch having a fleet of twelve ſhips under the command of Van HAGEN, routed the Portugueſe, and made themſelves maſters of their fort of Amboyna: part of their fleet afterwards ſailed to Tydore, and attacked a fortreſs the Portugueſe had in that iſland, and the magazine of powder in the caſtle happening to blow up, and deſtroy great part of the wall, the Dutch had a much eaſier conqueſt than they expected.

He is beaten by the Portugueſe at Molucca's.

Dutch take their fort at Amboyna, 1605.

And another at Tydore.

The Spaniard, who had hitherto been reſtrained from attempting any thing againſt the Molucca's,

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Dutch beaten out of the Molucca's by the Spaniards.

ca's, as well from his own agreement with Portugal, as the Pope's prohibition, thought himſelf at liberty, on the expulſion of the Portugueſe, and the acceſſion of the Dutch, to try his fortune againſt their High Mightineſſes, and accordingly, having fitted out a ſtrong fleet from the Philippines, attacked the forts in the Molucca's, and retook them from the Hollanders, within a year after they had been in their poſſeſſion. However, the Dutch ſoon got footing there again, as allies to the Ternatians, and between the Kings of Ternate and Tydore, or rather between the Spaniards and the Dutch, the wars continued in the Molucca's for many years.

In the year 1609, they fitted out a very ſtrong fleet, with land forces on board, and arriving at Banda, their Admiral demanded leave of the Orancaya's, or ſtates of the country, to build a fort in Nero, to defend them, as they pretended, from the inſults of the Portugueſe and Spaniards; but the Bandaneſe, alarmed at the propoſal, as well as the great fleet they ſaw upon their coaſts, and juſtly apprehending their liberties to be in imminent danger, abſolutely refuſed to comply with the high and mighty demand: whereupon the Dutch, not troubling themſelves much about the juſtice of the enterprize, made a deſcent with a good body of troops, fell upon the Bandaneſe, and cut off great numbers of them. The Bandaneſe finding it impoſſible to defend themſelves againſt ſo great a force, pretended to ſubmit to the building a fort; but the Dutch deſiring to treat farther with them, upon the point of excluding all other nations, the natives drew the Admiral VARHEUF and ſeveral of his officers into a wood, where having laid an ambuſcade they cut them in pieces. This gave the Dutch ſome pretence for a war with that people; nor did they ever deſiſt till they had reduced them to a ſtate of ſlavery. The natives, as the beſt expedient to preſerve their expiring liberties, implored the protection of the Engliſh, who had traded to theſe iſlands ſome years, as will appear hereafter, and the ſtates, or Orancay's of the ſeveral iſlands, made a formal ſurrender of their country to King JAMES I. Nor could it ever have entred into the heart of man to believe a nation, juſt ſaved from deſtruction by the arms of England, as the Dutch then were, could have been guilty of ſuch ingratitude, of ſuch horrid injuſtice and cruelty, towards a people to whom they were indebted for their very being, as they practiſed on this occaſion! Such cruelties are not to be parallelled in the Chriſtian, or even in the Heathen world, amongſt thoſe nations we eſteem moſt barbarous.

The Dutch cut to pieces great numbers of the Bandaneſe, and build a fort by force.

The Bandaneſe put themſelves under the protection of England.

But before I proceed to a relation of theſe facts, I ſhall in order to the better underſtanding of the ſeveral tranſactions, give an account of the riſe and eſtabliſhment of the Engliſh Eaſt-India trade, and of their voyages thither: from whence it will appear, that England had a much better right to the trade, and even the dominion of the Spice iſlands, than the ungrateful Dutch, or any other European nation could ever pretend to.

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I have already mentioned Admiral DRAKE's ſailing to the Molucca's, long before the Dutch uſed thoſe ſeas, and of the King of Ternate's putting himſelf under the protection of the Engliſh, to avoid the inſults and oppreſſion of the Portugueſe. I come now to ſhew the progreſs this nation ſoon after made in the Indian trade.

First voyages of the Engliſh to the Eaſt-Indies.

In the year 1583, RALPH FITCH of London, merchant, went by the way of Tripoli in Syria to Ormus, and ſo to Goa in the Eaſt-Indies; from thence he ſailed to Bengal, Pegu, Siam, and Malacca: he alſo viſited the iſland of Ceylon, and the cities of Cochin and Calicut; after which he returned to Ormus, and ſo through Turky to Tripoli, where he embarked for England, arriving in his own country again the 29th of April, 1591.

1583. Mr. FITCH's voyage to India by the Levant.

He had ſent before him a very particular account of the trade, product, and manufactures of the Eaſt-Indies, which induced ſeveral merchants of London to fit out ſhips, to follow the Portugueſe thither by the way of the Cape of Good Hope.

The firſt voyage the Engliſh attempted to the Eaſt-Indies round the Cape, was with three ſhips, viz. The Penelope, Admiral; the Merchant Royal, Vice-Admiral; and the Bonaventure, Rear-Admiral; commanded by Capt. RAYMOND, Capt. JAMES LANCASTER, and Capt. KENDAL.

First voyage of the Engliſh to India by the Cape, 1591.

Theſe ſhips ſet ſail from England the tenth of April, 1591, and arrived at the Canaries the 25th; the ſecond of May they made Cape Blanco, on the coaſt of Africk; the 13th they were within eight degrees of the Equinoctial, when they met with contrary winds; however, they croſſed the line the ſixth of June, and about the ſame time took a merchant-ſhip of Lisbon, which had in her a glorious cargo of wine, oil, and olives, and other good proviſion. While they were near the line their men grew very ſickly, occaſioned by the heat and wetneſs of the ſeaſon, and they had perpetual tornadoes, with thunder and lightning. The wind being at ſouth-eaſt they ſtood over for the coaſt of Braſil, till they came into 26 degrees ſouth latitude, where the wind came about to the north, and then they bore away for the Cape of Good Hope, where they arrived the 28th of July.

They come to the Cape.

When they landed, the Negroes would not come near them at firſt; but afterwards they brought down large oxen and ſheep, of which they bought enough to ſupply their wants: and an ox, it ſeems, might be had for a couple of knives, and

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and a ſheep for one; the cattle being large, and in good caſe, but not very fat.

One ſhip ſent back.

Having loſt many of their men, they ſent the Royal Merchant back to England; after which Capt. RAYMOND and Capt. LANCASTER with the other two ſhips purſued their voyage.

Another loſt in a ſtorm.

The 14th of September they met with a furious ſtorm which parted them, and the Admiral was never heard of more.

Terrible thunder.

Four days after this ſtorm they had a terrible clap of thunder, which killed four men outright, their necks being perfectly wrung aſunder, according to Capt. LANCASTER's expreſſion; and of ninety-four men they had aboard, there was not one untouched; ſome were ſtruck blind, others bruiſed in their legs and arms, or breaſts, ſo that they voided blood for two days after, and others were ſtretched out at length, as if they had been extended on the rack: however they all recovered but the firſt four, who were killed outright.

By the ſame thunder-clap their main-maſt was ſtrangely torn from the top down to the deck; and ſome iron ſpikes which were ten inches in the timber, were melted by the lightning.

32 Men cut to pieces at Comoro.

After this they took in freſh water at Comoro, where the King came on board, and the people treated them with great civility for ſome time; but at length they took an opportunity when the boat went aſhore for water, to fall upon the men, and cut two and thirty of them to pieces in ſight of the ſhip; and the Captain having no other boat found it impoſſible to relieve them. They ſailed from hence the ſeventh of November, and came to Zanzibar, a Portugueſe factory, where they built a new boat, and continued till the 15th of February; but the Portugueſe underſtanding they were Engliſh, would have no commerce with them; and it ſeems had informed the country people that the Engliſh were canibals, and deterred them from dealing with them.

Portugueſe give out the Engliſh are canibals.

They come to the Nicobar iſlands, and the coaſt of Malacca, where burying more men are forced to return home.

In May, 1592, they doubled Cape Comorin, the moſt ſouthern promontory of India; and ſix days after came to the Nicobar iſlands; from thence they ſailed to the iſlands of Poolo Piſang, in ſix degrees and half north latitude, and five leagues from the coaſt of Malacca. Here they continued till the end of Auguſt, and loſt twenty-ſix more of their men by ſickneſs; ſo that they were not now in a condition to undertake any thing conſiderable, therefore having made prize of ſome Portugueſe ſhips they met with on the coaſt of Malacca, they ſailed for England, and came to St. Helena the third of April, 1593.

In great diſtreſs.

After they left St. Helena they were reduced to very great diſtreſs, inſomuch that they lived upon ſkins and hides they had on board, till they arrived at St. Domingo; where the Captain and moſt of his men going aſhore to find proviſion, their ſhip drove away to ſea with five men and a boy; and the Captain, after he had remained a conſiderable time on the iſland, got a paſſage to England in a French veſſel, and arrived in his own country again, the 24th of May, 1594. One reaſon of this voyage proving ſo unfortunate, it ſeems, was their ſetting out at the wrong ſeaſon of the year: this was the reaſon of their meeting with more bad weather, and contrary winds and calms, than uſual, and occaſioned the ſickneſs of their crews.

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Loſe their ſhip, and come home in a French veſſel.

1596. Second voyage ſtill more unfortunate.

The next voyage of the Engliſh was ſtill more unfortunate; not one of the company returning to give an account of what became of the reſt. In this alſo were three ſhips fitted out chiefly at the charge of Sir ROBERT DUDLEY, and commanded by Captain WOOD: they ſet ſail from England in the year 1596, and were deſigned for China, having Queen ELIZABETH's letter to that Emperor.

All that ever we could learn of them, was from an intercepted letter of the Auditor's of the royal audience of St. Domingo, and Judge of Porto Rico, written to the King of Spain, and his council of the Indies.

Some account of it from the Spaniards.

The Auditor acquaints his Majeſty, that there went three ſhips out of England for the Portugueſe Eaſt-Indies (as he calls them) and in their voyage took three Portugueſe ſhips, ſubjects to his Majeſty (for Spain and Portugal were at this time both under the dominion of one Prince, and at war with England): that one of the Portugueſe ſhips which were taken came from Goa, and the Engliſh took from the Captain a very rich ſtone deſigned for his Majeſty, and ſeveral other jewels, with a great deal of treaſure. That ſome time after there happened ſuch a ſickneſs among the Engliſh ſailors, that of all the three ſhips companies but four men remained alive; who getting together the moſt valuable goods they had taken in the Prizes, went into their boat and landed at an iſland three leagues from St. Domingo. Three of the Engliſhmen went over to St. Domingo for freſh water, leaving one of their comrades, whom their Auditor calls GEORGE, upon the little iſland where Don RODRIGO DE FUENTES, and ſix other Spaniards found him, and underſtood what rich jewels and treaſure they were poſſeſſed of. Soon after the other three Engliſhmen returned, and the Spaniards pretended great friendſhip for them, and eat, drank, and ſlept with them for ſome time; till at length the Spaniards agreed to ſurprize the Engliſh, and cut their throats, and divide the treaſure amongſt them, and accordingly they killed three of them; but the fourth, one THOMAS, made his eſcape, and on a piece of timber paſſed over to the iſland of St. Domingo. However, Don RODRIGO and his companions, imagining they ſhould hear no more of him, went to the Governor of St. Domingo, and carried him

A mortality among the ſailors.

Thoſe that remained alive murdered by the Spaniards.

ſome

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ſome of the bars of ſilver and ſilks they had taken, making oath that this was the whole prize, though they had concealed the ſtone ſent to the King, with all the gold and jewels: they pretended alſo, that they had killed the three Engliſhmen fairly in fight, and conſequently had a right to the goods; but THOMAS, the ſurviving Engliſhman, at length finding his way to the city of Domingo, the whole villany was diſcovered, and Don RODRIGO made to produce the reſt of his treaſure; only the ſtone deſigned for the King, and ſome other precious ſtones, he ſtill concealed, though the Spaniſh Governor proceeded againſt him and his accomplices with great ſeverity. During this proſecution, it ſeems, Don RODRIGO procured THOMAS the Engliſhman, who was evidence againſt him, to be poiſoned by a Phyſician; which being afterwards made appear, ſentence of death was paſſed upon RODRIGO and his accomplices, but they made their eſcape out of priſon. And this is all the account I could ever meet with of this ſecond unfortunate attempt of the Engliſh, to open a trade with India.

Engliſh Eaſt-India Company firſt eſtabliſhed, anno 1600. Stock.

But notwithſtanding this ill ſucceſs, the merchants of London were not diſcouraged from fitting out another fleet for India. However, they firſt formed themſelves into a ſociety or company, and raiſed a common ſtock, amounting to ſeventy-two thouſand pounds: they alſo obtained letters patents of incorporation, which were dated the 30th of December 43 ELIZ. anno Domini 1600.

Adventurers.

Among the adventurers named in the patent, of whom there were not fewer than one hundred and eighty, were GEORGE Earl of Cumberland, Sir JOHN HART, Sir JOHN SPENCER, Sir DAVID MICHELBURNE, WILLIAM CANDISH, Eſq; nine Aldermen of London, and the moſt conſiderable merchants in England.

Style.

They were ſtyled in their patent, "The Governor and Company of merchants of London, "trading to the Eaſt-Indies:" and THOMAS SMITH Alderman of London, was conſtituted the firſt Governor: There were alſo a Deputy-Governor and twenty-four Committees, or Directors, appointed by the ſaid letters patents, who were to be annually elected for the future.

Their Governors.

Their powers.

They had alſo a power conferred on them to make by-laws, and puniſh offenders by fine and impriſonment; and no goods they exported were to pay any duties for four years; and all other ſubjects of England were prohibited to trade within their limits without leave of the company, on pain of forfeiture of ſhip and goods.

To import as much treaſure as they carry out.

And the company engage to bring in every year as great a quantity of gold, ſilver and foreign coin as they carry out.

The firſt fleet ſet out by the company.

The company in their firſt expedition ſet out four ſhips commanded by Capt. JAMES LANCASTER, who had the Queen's commiſſion, and an authority to exerciſe military diſcipline: her Majeſty alſo, to encourage the undertaking, ſent letters by him to ſeveral Princes of India, deſiring her ſubjects might be well uſed, and enjoy a freedom of trade. Capt. LANCASTER, the Admiral as he was then ſtyled, went on board the Dragon, a ſhip of ſix hundred tuns; the other three ſhips, namely, the Hector, the Aſcenſion and the Suſan, were commanded by Capt. JOHN MIDDLETON, Capt WILLIAM BRAND, and Capt. JOHN HAYWARD.

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Queen's letters.

Theſe ſhips having 480 men on board, ſet ſail from Woolwich in the river Thames the 13th of February, 1600; but were ſo often put back by contrary winds, that they did not ſail from Dartmouth till the 22d of April, 1601, and the 9th of September following arrived at the Cape of Good Hope; when three of their ſhips had ſo many men down with the ſcurvy, that they were not able to let go an anchor, or hoiſt out their boats till they were aſſiſted by the Admiral, who it is ſaid, preſerved his men from that diſtemper, by giving them three ſpoonfuls of lime juice every morning faſting. However, by the freſh proviſions and garden-ſtuff they met with here, moſt of the men ſoon recovered of the ſcurvy.

Arrived at Achen, 1602.

They ſet ſail from the Cape the 1ſt of November, and arrived in Achen road in the iſland of Sumatra, on the 5th of June 1602, and here the General having delivered her Majeſty's letter and preſents to the King, obtained very advantageous conditions of trade, which I ſhall enlarge upon when I come to Sumatra.

Having taken in what pepper, cinnamon and cloves they could get, the Admiral ſet ſail the 9th of November for Priaman on the weſt coaſt of Sumatra, where he took in more pepper and cloves; and from thence came to Bantam the 16th of December, 1602.

Here the Admiral had audience of the King, and having delivered the Queen's letter and the preſents, ſettled a factory, and found vent for the goods he had left, for which he took pepper in return. From hence the Captain diſpatched a veſſel of forty tuns, with factors on board, to ſettle a trade with the Molucca's and Banda, but meeting with contrary winds, they were forced back again to Bantam. The Admiral ſailed for England the 22d of February, and arrived in the Downs the 11th of September, 1603.

Return to England, 1603.

Second voyage, 1604.

On the 25th of March, 1604, Capt. HENRY MIDDLETON ſet ſail from Graveſend, with four ſhips under his command, for the Eaſt-Indies; and the 20th of December following arrived at Bantam, where having delivered a letter and preſent from King JAMES I. to the young King of Bantam, and diſpatched two of his ſhips for England, he ſailed himſelf with the Dragon and Aſcenſion

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Amboyna.

Ascension for Amboyna; but the Dutch having a little before taken the fort which the Portuguese had built upon that island, would not suffer the inhabitants to trade with the English. From hence the Admiral sent the Ascension to Banda, to take in a freight of nutmegs and mace, and she took in her lading without any molestation from the Dutch there. The Admiral, in the Dragon, sailed to the Molucca's, where he found the Kings of Ternate and Tydore engaged in war, most of the other islands in these seas taking part with the one or the other. The Dutch also sent forces to the assistance of the King of Ternate, as the Portuguese did to the assistance of the King of Tydore: Admiral MIDDLETON sailing along the coast of Tydore, observed two gallies with a white flag, rowing towards him with all their might, and making signals of distress. At the same time he observed seven other gallies, or cura-curroes of Tydore, between him and the shore, whose design was to cut off the two vessels he saw first, in which was the King of Ternate himself, with several of his nobility, and some Dutch merchants: They begged of the Admiral, for God's sake, to protect them, for they expected no mercy from the Tydorians. The galley in which the King of Ternate was, had the good fortune to come up with the Admiral, who received him and his people into the ship; but the other galley was boarded by the Tydorians, and every soul of them put to the sword, except three who jumped over-board, and were taken up by the English: The King of Ternate shivering for fear when he came on board; the Admiral thinking he had been cold, threw over him a black damask gown, of which he made his Majesty a present.

Trade to Banda and the Molucca's.

King of Ternate preserved by the English, as well as several Dutch merchants.

The King of Ternate threatned by the Dutch for offering to trade with the English. The characters the Dutch give the English and themselves.

The Admiral after this sailed to Tydore, and from thence to Ternate, where the King seeming inclined to trade with the English, the Hollanders threatned to desert him, and join his mortal enemy the King of Tydore; declaring, "That "the English were thieves and robbers, and that "the King of Holland was stronger by sea than "all the Princes of Christendom together." To which the Admiral in short replied, That the Hollanders lied, as he was ready to make appear against any one that should dare to affirm any thing of this nature before him; and at the same time acquainted the Ternatians, that the Dutch had been utterly ruined by the King of Spain, and used as slaves and traitors, if the Queen of England had not taken pity of them, and prevented it.

Admiral MIDDLETON having taken in great part of his lading of cloves at Tydore, set sail for Bantam, and from thence with the Ascension to England, where he arrived the 6th of May, 1606, bringing with him the two following letters directed to King JAMES I. from the Kings of Ternate and Tydore.

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The King of Ternate's letter to the King of England, ann. 1605.

'HEaring of the good reports of your Majesty, 'by the coming of the great Captain Sir 'FRANCIS DRAKE, in the time of my father, 'which was about some thirty years past: by 'which Captain, my predecessor did send a ring 'unto the Queen of England, as a token of remembrance between us; of which, if Captain 'DRAKE had been living, he could have informed your Majesty, as well as of the great 'love and friendship professed on either side; he 'on the behalf of the Queen, and my father for 'himself and successors: since which departure of 'the said Captain, my father lived many years in 'expectation of his return, as I myself have done 'since, who am now the father of eleven children: and since the said Captain's being here, 'several other nations have arrived amongst us, 'who reported that your Majesty's subjects the 'English, came not as peaceable merchants, but 'to dispossess us of our Kingdom; though by the 'coming of the bearer we are very sensible of the 'contrary, and greatly rejoice at it: but to tell 'your Majesty the truth, after many years expectation of English forces, promised by Captain DRAKE, here arrived certain ships which 'we well hoped had been Englishmen; but finding otherwise, and being out of all hope of succour from the English nation, we were reduced 'to write to the Prince of Holland, to crave aid 'and succour against our antient enemies the Portuguese; and according to our request, he hath 'sent hither his forces, which have expelled them 'out of all the forts which they held at Amboyna and Tydore: And whereas your Majesty 'hath sent to me a most kind and friendly letter, 'by your servant Captain HENRY MIDDLETON, which doth not a little rejoice us; and 'the said Captain MIDDLETON was desirous to 'leave a factory here, we were willing thereunto, 'but the Captain of the Hollanders, understanding 'it, came to challenge me of a former promise 'which I had made to the Prince of Holland, 'That if he would send me such succours as 'should expel the Portuguese out of these parts, no 'other nation should have trade there, and we 'were compelled against our minds to yield unto 'the Holland Captain's request for this time, for 'which we crave pardon of your Highness; and 'if any of your nation shall come hither hereafter, they shall be welcome; for notwithstanding the chief Captain of the Hollanders doth solicite us not to hold any friendship with your nation, nor to give ear to your Highness's letters; 'yet if you please to send hither again you shall 'be welcome; and in token of our friendship

'for

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'for your Majeſty, we have ſent you a ſmall remembrance, a bahar of cloves, our country being poor, and yielding no better commodity; which we pray your Highneſs to accept in good part.

'TERNATA.'

The King of Tydore's letter to the King of England.

'THIS writing of the King of Tydore to the King of England is to let your Highneſs underſtand, that the King of Holland hath ſent hither into theſe parts a fleet of ſhips, to join with our antient enemy the King of Ternate, and they jointly together have over-run and ſpoiled part of our country, and are determined to deſtroy both us and our ſubjects. Now underſtanding by the bearer hereof, Captain HENRY MIDDLETON, that your Highneſs is in friendſhip with the King of Spain, we deſire your Majeſty that you would take pity of us, that we may not be deſtroyed by the Kings of Holland and Ternate, to whom we have offered no wrong; but they by forcible means ſeek to bereave us of our kingdom; and as great Kings upon the earth are ordained by God, to ſuccour all thoſe who are wrongfully oppreſſed, I apply to your Majeſty for ſuccour againſt my enemies, not doubting but to find relief at your Majeſty's hands; and if your Majeſty ſhall ſend hither, I humbly intreat that it may be Captain HENRY MIDDLETON, or his brother, with whom I am well acquainted. God enlarge your kingdom, bleſs you and all your counſels.

'TYDORE.'

Capt. KEELYNG's voyage, 1607.

The Dragon and Hector were diſpatched again to the Eaſt-Indies the 1ſt of April, 1607, under the command of Captain KEELYNG, but meeting with calms and contrary winds, did not arrive in India until the 26th of July, 1608, when the Dragon came to an anchor in Priaman road, on the coaſt of Sumatra, and having taken in what pepper they could get there, came to Bantam the 4th of October, 1608. The Hector having been at Surat, arrived at Bantam alſo the 2d of December. The 23d of December the Dragon ſet ſail for England, and Captain KEELYNG came on board the Hector, and proceeded to Banda, where he arrived the 8th of February, 1608. He was ſaluted by the Hollanders at his coming a-ſhore, and having delivered his Majeſty's letter and preſent to the Oran Caya's, or States of the iſland of Nero, deſired he might erect a houſe for a factory there, and that they would enter into articles with him in relation to trade; to which they agreed, and he built a houſe there for the uſe of the company. He afterwards delivered a letter from his Majeſty, and a preſent to the Oran Caya's of Lantor, or Proper Banda. The 23d he agreed with the Oran Caya's of Pooloway, to ſettle a trade with them, and erect a factory there, and received of them 225 cattees of mace, and 1307 pound of nuts.

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Concludes articles of trade with the States of the iſland.

On the 8th of April, the Dutch Admiral VAN-HOEF came into the road, and exhibited a writing to the Oran Caya's of Nero; importing, that Count NASSAU and the States-General, would confirm ſuch agreements as the Admiral ſhould make with any Princes or States in the Eaſt-Indies. After which the Admiral propoſed the building a fort in the iſland of Nero: The Bandaneſe hereupon were all in an uproar, and abſolutely refuſed it; whereupon the Admiral, on the 15th of April, 1609, landed 1200 men, fell upon the Bandaneſe, and killed great numbers of them; after which they went about building their fort.

Dutch fall on the Bandaneſe, and erect a fort in their country by force.

They alſo abuſed the Engliſh, interrupted their trade, and prevented their taking the ſpices aboard they had agreed for with the natives. The iſlands of Pooloway and Pooloroon notwithſtanding agreed with Captain KEELYNG, by a writing under their hands, to deal with the Engliſh only, for all their mace and nutmegs, declaring that the Dutch ſhould not have a handful; "They would die before they would have any "thing to do with thoſe boors." Soon after the Oran Caya's of Nero drew the Dutch Admiral and his Council into an ambuſcade, and cut them to pieces: and had not Capt. KEELYNG preſerved ſeveral other Dutch merchants from the fury of the people, they had undergone the ſame fate; for which he had at firſt the thanks of their Vice-Admiral: but notwithſtanding this ſervice, the Vice-Admiral in a day or two offered to put a reſtraint upon the Engliſh trade again; and ſent to ſearch their boats as they went aſhore, on pretence they might carry ammunition and proviſion to the Bandaneſe.

Abuſe the Engliſh and ſtop their goods.

The Dutch admiral and his Council cut in pieces by the natives.

The firſt of July the Dutch ſtormed the town of Labataca, and took it; and the ſixteenth burnt ſeveral veſſels belonging to the Oran Caya's; the eighteenth they commanded Captain KEELYNG to be gone out of the road, out of the reach of their guns, which they had mounted on their new fort of Naſſau.

Labataca taken 1609.

Afterwards, according to their wonted inſolence, they ſent Capt. KEELYNG a poſitive order in writing to be gone, with their reaſons, the tenor whereof follows, viz.

The Dutch order Capt. KEELYNG to be gone.

'THAT Admiral PETER WILLIAMSON VAN-HOEF, arriving at Banda the eighth of April, 1609, and underſtanding by the company's factors that the Bandaneſe often inſulted them,

Dutch reaſons for making war on the Bandaneſe, and expelling the Engliſh merchants.

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'them, and compelled them to give extravagant 'prices for their nutmegs and mace, and that 'ſometimes they were robbed of their goods, and 'went in danger of their lives from the natives; 'and that the Bandaneſe were indebted a great 'ſum to the Dutch merchants, of which they de-'ſigned to defraud them; and alſo had encou-'raged ſome of the Dutch ſailors to renounce their 'Chriſtianity: for theſe reaſons the ſaid Admiral 'was moved to erect a caſtle on the iſlands of 'Banda for the ſecurity of the Dutch factors, 'and to prevent their being impoſed on and in-'ſulted by the natives for the future: as alſo to 'defend themſelves againſt the Portugueſe. Which Nothing more falſe. 'propoſal being aſſented to by the majority of the 'Oran Caya's, he accordingly proceeded to build 'a fort upon the iſland of Nero; and the fort 'being about half finiſhed, the ſaid Admiral pro-'poſed to the Oran Caya's to meet him and enter 'into a treaty in order to form an alliance between 'them and his maſters. That the Oran Caya's 'did accordingly agree to a treaty, and appointed 'Ratoo for the place of their conferences, whither 'the Admiral with ſeveral of his council and a 'guard of Dutch ſoldiers went to meet them: 'but a meſſenger came from the Oran Caya's to 'let him know, that they were in a neighbouring 'wood, not daring to advance farther for fear of his 'Dutch ſoldiers; and therefore deſired he would 'leave his ſoldiers at Ratoo, and come to them 'with his council into the wood; with which the 'Admiral complied, but had no ſooner entered the 'wood than he and the council were ſurrounded 'by the Oran Caya's and cut in pieces, who alſo 'afterwards killed the Dutch fiſcal, or juſtice, 'whom he had ſent to them as an hoſtage, and 'ſeveral other Dutchmen who had ſtraggled into 'the woods. They alſo attacked the Admiral's 'guard, but were repulſed with the loſs of ſeveral 'of the natives. That thereupon the Dutch were 'provoked to make war on the Bandaneſe to re-'venge the death of their Admiral and country-'men thus treacherouſly killed. And that the 'Engliſh furniſhed the Bandaneſe with ammu-'nition, and made ſignals to them, whereby they 'diſcovered the deſigns of the Dutch: the Vice-'Admiral by virtue of his commiſſion from Prince 'MAURICE, commanded Capt. KEELYNG to 'be gone out of the road, and out of the reach 'of his artillery in the new fort of Naſſau with-'in five days. And inaſmuch as the Dutch had 'now made a conqueſt of the iſland of Nero, he 'held that all the ports and roads about the iſland 'belonged to them, and would not permit any 'nation to anchor there while the war with the 'Bandaneſe continued.

They made war on the Bandaneſe firſt without any provocation.

This is alſo falſe.

Ordained, paſſed and abſolutely reſolved by the Vice-admiral and council in the ſhip Hollandia in the road of Banda 28 July, 1609.

To all this bluſter Capt. KEELYNG cooly anſwered, that unleſs he was commanded otherwiſe than by their orders, he ſhould ſtay in the road till he had taken in all his lading, which would be about twenty-five days: and obſerved, that raſh men often threatned what they durſt not execute.

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Captain KEELYNG refuſes to obey the Dutch orders.

On the firſt of Auguſt a peace was concluded between the Bandaneſe and the Dutch; and the tenth Capt. KEELYNG ſailed for Bantam, where having ſettled an Engliſh factory, he ſailed for England the 3d of November, and the 10th of May, 1610, came into the Downs.

Comes to England.

Capt. DAVID MIDDLETON, in the Conſent, ſet ſail from England the 12th of March 1606, and the 16th of July 1607, came to an anchor at the Cape, and the 14th of November arrived in Bantam road: having taken in ſeveral factors and merchandize proper for the Molucca's, they arrived at thoſe iſlands in the beginning of January, where after they had ſpent ſome time in feaſting and entertainments with the Spaniards and Moluccan Princes, they were permitted to trade; but were ſoon after prohibited again by the Spaniards, and forced to depart without their full lading: but going afterwards to Bouton met with a Java junck from Amboyna, of whom they bought as many cloves as they could ſtow: the 22d of May 1608, they came into Bantam road, and from thence ſailed for England.

Capt. DAVID MIDDLETON'S tranſactions with the Spaniards at the Molucca's, 1607.

Capt. MIDDLETON'S voyage to Banda, and tranſactions with the Dutch and the Oran Caya's there 1609

Capt. DAVID MIDDLETON, in the Expedition, ſet ſail from the Downs for India again the 24th of April, 1609, and came to the Cape the 10th of Auguſt, from whence he ſailed the 18th, and arrived at Bantam the 7th of December: on the 8th of January he ſet ſail for the Molucca's, and touched at Bouton, hoping to have found ſpices to freight his ſhip there: but the King aſſured him his warehouſes had been burnt down, ſo that he could not furniſh him with any: afterwards he came to the iſland of Bangaia, over againſt Amboyna, where he found a drunken Dutchman who kept a ſeraglio conſiſting of two large houſes full of young wenches, daughters of the natives, and who had the abſolute command of the iſland: this fellow, the Captain tells us, would ſing and dance naked all day long, according to the cuſtom of the country; his buſineſs was to collect the King of Ternate's duty in all the neighbouring iſlands.

The wind not ſerving for the Molucca's, Capt. MIDDLETON went away for the Banda iſlands, where he arrived the 5th of Auguſt; the country people came aboard him and told him, the Dutch would ſuffer none but their own people to trade thither; and at this time had detained fifteen China juncks in the road of Nero.

The Governor of Naſſau Fort commanded Capt. MIDDLETON to bring his ſhip into the road under

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under his guns and come aſhore; which the Captain refuſed, and told him he ſhould defend himſelf if any violence was offered.

Pooloway and Pooloroon not yet conquered by the Dutch.

The people of NERO came aboard, and were willing to deal with the Captain, if the Dutch would have permitted them: and the iſlands of Pooloway and Pooloroon ſtill held out againſt all the forces the Hollanders could bring againſt them.

The Dutch claim a property in the iſlands of Nero and Lantor where they have maſſacred the natives and then erected their forts.

Capt. MIDDLETON underſtanding that the Dutch had a deſign to clap him on board with a fire ſhip; and if that did not ſucceed, to ſend two ſhips of a thouſand tun each, with ſome frigates to ſink him, went on ſhore and ſhewed them his commiſſion, expoſtulating with them for their barbarous uſage of him. They told him the iſlands of Nero and Lantor were their own, and no nation ſhould trade thither; whereupon he offered to deal with them for ſpices, but they refuſed to ſell him any. Then he ſailed to Pooloway and purchaſed his ſhip's lading of nutmegs and mace, and enough to lade a ſmack beſides; but the natives upon his going over to a neighbouring iſland to find a good harbour for his ſhip, thinking he had been gone quite away, were about to impriſon his factors and ſeize their effects; but on his return releaſed them: when he demanded the reaſon of this uſage, they acquainted him, that for many years the Portugueſe, and after them the Hollanders had traded with them as he did now, but afterwards came and took their country from them; and they ſuppoſed that he was gone to bring a fleet to make a conqueſt of thoſe iſlands which ſtill retained their liberty, and therefore had ſeized his men and goods for their own ſecurity; but now he was returned and found he had no ſuch intent, they readily delivered them to him again, and they parted very good friends the 7th of September.

The natives upon the coaſt of Java uſage Capt. Middleton well from the Portugueſe and Dutch

The 9th of October 1610, he came into Bantam road; but the Dutch, it ſeems, had followed Capt. MIDDLETON with two great ſhips and ſeveral frigates, determining to have ſunk or taken him, but were prevented by calms and contrary winds: while the Captain lay at Bantam the Dutch diſpatched eight European ſhips to Banda and Ternate, with planks and other neceſſaries to furniſh their fortifications there; and about the ſame time arrived a fleet from Holland with a great number of Dutch women on board for breeders.

Dutch frees unite the Oriental iſlands for breeders.

The Spaniards and Dutch at this time had their ſeveral forts at Ternate, and many ſkirmiſhes happened between them.

Capt. SARIS's voyage to the Molucca's.

Capt. SARIS, the 14th of January, 1612, ſailed from Bantam for the Molucca's, and the 22d of February arrived there. He found the Kings of Ternate and Tydore ſtill engaged in war, while the Spaniards and the Dutch were building forts, and ſtrengthning themſelves in order to exclude all other nations from the trade of theſe iſlands.

However, the country people came on board Capt. SARIS, and offered to ſell him cloves for ten rials a bahar more than the Dutch gave, and accordingly ſome quantity of cloves were brought aboard. The Dutch hereupon threatned to cut the natives in pieces that brought them, and took ſeveral boats loaden with cloves as they were coming off to the ſhip. Two Dutch ſhips alſo came to an anchor juſt by Capt. SARIS, to prevent any cloves being brought on board him, uſing all manner of reproachful language to the Engliſh.

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Dutch prohibit the natives to trade with the Engliſh, and take away their cloves by force.

The Dutch afterwards ſent the Captain a letter, acquainting him that the natives had contracted with them for all their cloves, in conſideration of their delivering them from the tyranny of the Spaniard; that they now looked upon the people of theſe iſlands as their ſubjects by right of conqueſt, and would not ſuffer any other nation to have any commerce with them. To which Capt. SARIS anſwered, he ſhould continue to trade with any people that were willing to trade with him, not regarding theſe idle ſtories of conqueſt and compact, which were not conſiſtent.

Pretend a contract with the natives.

They afterwards ordered the Prince of Ternate to lye with his barge a-ſtern of the Captain, to prevent the natives bringing off any cloves: but notwithſtanding all their caution, when the King ſailed the natives brought off a conſiderable quantity.

Uſe the Prince of Ternate as their vaſſal.

The Captain ſailing by the Spaniſh fort at Tydore, the Governor ſent a boat on board him, and afterwards made him a preſent, giving the inhabitants liberty of trading with him for ſome things: but while he lay here the Prince of Tydore came from an expedition againſt the Ternatians, with the heads of an hundred Ternatians; among which was the head of the Prince of Ternate himſelf, which the conqueror brought to his wife, ſiſter to the deceaſed Prince. In this action alſo was killed a young brother of the Ternatian Prince, and the King of Gilolo. This Prince of Tydore had ſome little time before ſurprized and taken a Dutch man of war, and was ſo enterprizing a young gentleman, that though he ſent Capt. SARIS a compliment, and let him know he would viſit him, and he ſhould trade in his country; the Captain did not know how to truſt him, but ſet ſail for Japan rather than venture to let him come aboard his ſhip.

Spaniards more obliging than the Dutch.

Prince of Tydore's victory over the Ternatians and K. of Gilolo.

Oran Caya's of Pooloway deſire protection, 1615.

The 2d of October, 1615, one of the Oran Caya's of Pooloway came with SOPHON COZOCKE to the Engliſh factory at Bantam, deſiring their protection and aſſiſtance againſt the Dutch oppreſſions, and particularly to aſſiſt them in taking the caſtle of Nero, or Naſſau: to which the factory anſwered, they could not engage againſt the Dutch without orders from England; and it ſeems the next year orders came from England to treat with the Bandaneſe, as appears by the following relation.

Mr,

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Spurway's account of the ſtate of Banda, 1616.

Mr. Thomas Spurway, factor or merchant for the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company at Banda, in a letter to his maſters, acquaints them, that he arrived at Macaſſar the 19th of November, 1616. with two of the company's ſhips, viz. the Swan and the Defence, commanded by Captain Courthop, where they ſtaid ſome time to take in rice: that in the mean while a great Dutch ſhip appeared about five leagues off at ſea, and ſent her boat with eight men on ſhore.

That the Engliſh met them at their landing and told the Dutch they run a great hazard of their lives in coming thither; for that the King of Macaſſar and all the Princes in that part of the iſland were their mortal enemies; their countrymen the Hollanders, having lately committed many outrages there, taken ſeveral of the natives priſoners; and amongſt the reſt, a Sabander or Governor, and carried them away to ſea.

While they were giving them this account the natives aſſembled about them, and the King came down to the ſea ſide with two thouſand men, and had cut them to pieces; but they were ſpared at the interceſſion of the Engliſh, and ſuffered to return to their ſhip.

Some Dutchmen cut off at Macaſſar.

The next day the Hollanders ſent another boat towards Macaſſar, with ſixteen men; at which the King was ſo provoked, that he commanded out his gallies or curra-curroes, who boarded them, and killed every one of the Dutch before they reached the ſhore.

The Engliſh ſhips ſet ſail from Macaſſar the 8th of December, 1616. and having ſupplied the Dutch ſhip with rice and water upon their earneſt requeſt, pretending to be in diſtreſs; they purſued their voyage to Pooloroon, where they arrived the 13th of December, the Dutch ſhip attending them as far as Amboyna; where in recompence for the ſervice the Engliſh had done them, they reported that the Engliſh were the occaſion of their men being killed at Macaſſar.

Treaty between the Bandaneſe and the Engliſh.

The Oran Caya's of Pooloway and Pooloroon came on board the Engliſh the 24th of October, 1616. to treat of making a formal ſurrender of their country to the Engliſh; in conſideration of their being protected againſt Dutch uſurpation, and annually ſupplied by the Engliſh with rice, clothing, and other neceſſaries.

The Engliſh demanded of them whether they had ever made any contract with the Hollanders, or ſurrendered up their iſlands to them? To which they all replied, they never had nor never would, for that they took them to be their mortal enemies; and both the Oran Caya's of Pooloroon and Pooloway (who fled to Pooloroon when the Dutch landed there, and took their country from them by force) did aver and maintain, that Pooloway belonged to the King of England by a voluntary ſurrender of the Oran Caya's, into the hands of Captain Richard Hunt for the uſe of his Majeſty before the Hollanders came into the road, or made a deſcent upon that iſland: and that as ſubjects to his Majeſty, they had cauſed the Engliſh colours to be placed on their fort, which the Dutch ſhot down ſeveral times; abuſing his Majeſty in the vileſt language, ſuch as Dutch boors excel in.

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That they defended the iſland as long as they could for the King of England, and when they were forced out of it they fled to Pooloroon and the neighbouring iſlands; but never ſubmitted to the Dutch.

In the evening the 14th of December, 1616. Articles of ceſſion or ſurrender of the iſland of Pooloroon and Pooloway, to the King of England, were executed by the Oran Caya's of the iſland, and delivered by their own hand to Mr. Nathaniel Courthop, Mr. Thomas Spurway, and Mr. Sophon Cozocke to his Majeſty's uſe. They alſo delivered a nutmeg-tree with the roots and fruit upon it, and a live goat by way of ſeiſin; deſiring to have the Engliſh colours planted on the iſland of Pooloroon, and thirty ſix great guns fired in memory of this ceſſion or ſurrender, which was done accordingly; and after a ſuitable enterainment, the Oran Caya's were conducted to Pooloroon.

The ſurrender of the iſlands of Pooloway and Pooloroon in Banda, to his Majeſty.

'THIS writing is an agreement between all 'the Oran Caya's of Pooloway and Pooloroon alſo, and the Engliſh, in manner as follo'weth: whereas in the time that Pooloway was 'not yet ſurprized by the Hollanders, the people 'of Pooloway and Pooloroon did ſurrender the 'two foreſaid iſlands unto the King of England, 'and gave a turf of earth to Richard Hunt, 'merchant there; withall, ſetting up the King 'of England's flag upon the caſtle of Pooloway, 'and ſhooting off three pieces of ordinance in 'token of the covenant, whereby the men of 'Pooloway and Pooloroon did ſurrender the two 'aforeſaid iſlands to the King of England (which 'was done before the ſurprize of Pooloway eight 'days;) and after that it was taken by the Hol'landers: and whereas at that time there were 'but two Engliſhmen upon Pooloway, who be'ing not able to defend the country, went away 'to Pooloroon, together with the men of Poolo'way in a ſmall praw; bringing away with 'them earth and writings for the eſtabliſhing of 'covenants betwixt them. Theſe are therefore 'to teſtify, that the two aforeſaid iſlands do actu'ally belong to the King of England only, ac'cording to our aforeſaid ſurrender: but where'as at this time, through the aſſaults of the

'Hollanders,

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'Hollanders, Pooloway is fallen into their hands 'and poſſeſſion; if it ſhall pleaſe his Majeſty to 'recover it to himſelf again, he ſhall do therein 'nought but juſtice. But this is ſure, that we 'the men of Pooloway and Pooloroon have ſur-'rendered the two aforeſaid iſlands into his Ma-'jeſty's power, and cannot go from, or revoke 'our word again, even to the laſt day; and 'having linked our ſelves with the Engliſh in 'one bond to live and die together, we the men 'of Pooloway and Pooloroon do farther cove-'nant, to ſend every year to the King of Eng-'land a branch of nutmegs in token of our fi-'delity; deſiring that this ſurrender of all the 'Oran Caya's of Pooloway and Pooloroon be not 'had in oblivion unto the King of England, &c. 'And whereas King JAMES, by the grace of 'God, is King of England, Scotland, France 'and Ireland, and now alſo by the mercy of 'God, King of Pooloway and Pooloroon, we 'do moreover all of us make an agreement that 'the commodities in the two aforeſaid iſlands, 'namely, mace and nutmegs, ſhall not be ſold 'to any other nation but only to the King of 'England and his ſubjects, according to the true 'meaning of our covenants and ſurrender; for 'which reaſon we cannot, nor will trade with any 'other people. And whereas all the Oran Caya's 'of the two foreſaid iſlands have made this a-'greement; let it be remembred that it was not 'made in madneſs, or looſely, as the breathing 'of the wind, but upon mature deliberation; 'nor can they revoke or ſwerve from the ſame 'again. Moreover, all we together do deſire of 'his Majeſty, all ſuch things as are not fitting 'in our religion, as immodeſt uſage of women, 'maintaining of ſwine in our country, forcibly 'taking away of men's goods, miſuſing of our men, 'or any ſuch like that are excepted againſt in our 'laws, be not put in practice, being contrary to 'our cuſtom, that they may not prove a blemiſh 'unto our religion; and that we may receive no 'occaſion to deal unkindly with the Engliſh. 'Furthermore, if any Engliſhman will become 'of our religion, we will accept of him upon 'counſel: or if any of our people will become a 'Chriſtian, he ſhall be ſo likewiſe upon like coun-'ſel; deſiring this promiſe, that ſuch things be 'not done in ſuch manner as may breed diſ-'content betwixt us and the Engliſh, which 'we do very earneſtly deſire of his Majeſty. 'Finally, at this time all the Oran Caya's of 'Pooloway and Pooloroon do again covenant with 'NATHANIEL COURTHOP, Captain of the two 'ſhips riding here, SOPHON COZOCKE and THO-'MAS SPURWAY giving a turf of earth, and 'ſurrendering the two aforeſaid iſlands unto the 'King of England, being already partly in the 'hands of NATHANIEL COURTHOP, SOPHON 'COZOCKE and THOMAS SPURWAY; and 'that not only now, but as being done long 'before, when Captain CASTLETON went from 'Pooloway with four ſhips, when all the Oran 'Caya's of the two foreſaid iſlands agreed with 'RICHARD HUNT, merchant of Pooloway, ſet 'the King of England's flag upon the caſtle of 'Pooloway, and ſhot off three pieces of ordnance 'in token of the covenant between the Oran 'Caya's of Pooloway and Pooloroon, and the 'Engliſh; and as it has been done heretofore, 'ſo at this time we do renew it, with NATHANI-'EL COURTHOP, SOPHON COZOCKE, and 'THOMAS SPURWAY:

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Emmon Pooloway,	Hattib Ittam,
Sabandar Pooloway,	Hattib Pootee,
Sabandar Wrat,	Sabandar Treat,
Sabandar Pooloroon,	Emmon Lancecoe,
Sabandar Lamecoe,	Sabandar Locon.
Nahoda Coa,	

N. B. Capt. CASTLETON was at Banda, November, 1615. with four Ships, viz. the Clove, the Defence, the Thomas and Concord, when Mr. HUNT took the ſurrender of the Oran Caya's of that country.

The ſurrender of Roſinging and Wayre to his Majeſty King JAMES.

'THIS writing is for the agreement between 'all the Oran Caya's of the country of 'Wayre, and of the iſland of Roſinging, and the 'Engliſh nation, in manner as followeth, viz. 'That whereas in the time that the country of 'Banda was in trouble by reaſon of their ene-'mies, ſo that they were no longer able to with-'ſtand them; they therefore agreed with NA-'THANIEL COURTHOP, SOPHON COZOCKE 'and THOMAS SPURWAY thus much in effect, 'that is, that they do ſurrender the country of 'Wayre and the iſland of Roſinging unto the 'King of England, in reſpect that they are not 'able any more to ſtand for themſelves againſt 'their enemies; that now the ſaid country of 'Wayre and the iſland of Roſinging is only in the 'power of the King of England. And whereas 'the agreement is once made, we the aforeſaid 'Oran Caya's cannot in our conſcience diſſolve 'it again, but agree that it ſhall laſt for ever until 'the laſt day of doom: and that the Engliſh ſhall 'be as the men of the country of Wayre in all 'privileges. Furthermore the men of the afore-'ſaid country of Wayre and the iſland of Roſing-'ing, do promiſe and agree to ſend unto the King 'of England one branch of nutmegs as a token 'of their aforeſaid agreement of all us the afore-

'ſaid

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'said Oran Caya's; on condition that the said 'token of our agreement be not out of memory 'nor diſſolved, nor we diſeſteemed; and we do 'wiſh that Almighty God would vouchſafe to 'give proſperity to the King of England, Scot-'land, France and Ireland, and now by the 'grace and mercy of God the King of the coun-'try of Wayre and the iſland of Roſinging; and 'that more, we will ſtoop to no other King or 'Potentate but only unto his Majeſty, and after 'him to all his poſterity. Furthermore as con-'cerning our trade, we do all truly agree not to 'ſell any of the nuts or mace which the aforeſaid 'countries do afford to any other but only to the 'King of England's ſubjects; becauſe we have 'wholly unto him ſurrendered the aforeſaid two 'countries of Wayre and Roſinging, with all 'that therein is, or whatſoever it doth or ſhall 'yield, it is the King of England's own: and this 'ſhall ſtand for a reaſon that we cannot trade 'with any other nation. Moreover, we intreat 'the King's Majeſty of England in earneſt man-'ner, that ſuch things as are not befitting to our 'religion, as unmannerly uſage of our women, 'maintaining of ſwine in our country, beating 'and abuſing of our men, or taking away of them 'per force againſt their wills as if they were their 'own ſlaves, or any other ſuch like attempts that 'are held unbeſeeming in our laws: (we ſay) 'that we do entreat his Highneſs, that none of 'thoſe or ſuch like be put in practice by his ſub-'jects, becauſe they are things diſallowable in our 'laws, and ſo being committed, will redound to 'the overthrow thereof; and we thereby might 'be forced to deal unkindly with the Engliſh: 'therefore, moreover if any of the Engliſh here-'after ſhall have an affection to be circumciſed 'and become as one of us, it ſhall be done upon 'ſufficient counſel between the reſt of the Eng-'liſh and us; or if any of us will become a 'Chriſtian in that cauſe, the like counſel ſhall be 'held; and this ſhall not be done for any miſde-'meanour of the party willing ſo to turn, becauſe 'that may breed a diſſenſion between the Eng-'liſh and us. And whereas this agreement was 'made in the preſence and by the conſent of the 'King and Sabander of Wayre, the Sabander of 'Roſinging, Emmon Hattib, and all the reſt of 'the Oran Caya's of the countries of Wayre and 'the iſlands of Roſinging: this ſhall be for a teſti-'mony that it is not done in madneſs, or in the 'manner of the breathing of the wind; but that 'it was alſo as well thought in our hearts as ſpo-'ken with our mouths, and therefore we cannot 'nor will go from it again, but that it ſhall ſo 'ſtand until the diſſolution of the world: neither 'ſhall there any doubts riſe in our hearts of any 'other, but that we the men of Wayre and Ro-'ſinging are only the King's Majeſty of Eng-'land's ſubjects; and if any trouble hereafter do 'happen in the foreſaid countries, we will be 'contented as well to die, as to live together 'with the Engliſh, becauſe we will be ſubject to 'one King; and this ſhall ſtand for a reaſon, 'that any being in league with us, ſhall alſo be in 'league with the Engliſh, & per contra, he that 'is near the Engliſh ſhall be near us, becauſe we 'will by no means again divorce our ſelves one 'from the other. Finally, at the time this agreement 'was made, all the Oran Caya's of Pooloway and 'Pooloroon were witneſſes thereunto, all the 'Oran Caya's of Wayre and Roſinging have unto 'the ſaid premiſes ſet their hands:

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The King of Wayre,	Sabandar of Roſinging,
The Sabandar of Wayre,	Emmon of Roſinging,
Emmon of Wayre,	Hattib of Roſinging.

On the 28th of December ſeveral Dutch ſhips appeared, and one of them took down her antient and put up a bloody flag, whereupon the Engliſh ſhips expected to have been attacked, and therefore landed ſeveral pieces of ordnance, and threw up a redoubt on the iſland of Pooloroon, whereby they had the command of the road: on the third of January there came three Dutch ſhips from Nero, one of eight hundred, another of five hundred, and the third of one hundred and ſixty tuns, full of men, with an intention to have attacked the Engliſh: whereupon the Engliſh Captains ſhewed them the ſurrenderers of Pooloway and Pooloroon to the King of England; and alſo demanded poſſeſſion of Pooloway. Nor did the Dutch at this time pretend to any prior ſurrender to their ſtate; but on the contrary, acknowledged they had none. The Dutch had infallibly attacked their ſhips however, if they had not perceived the guns mounted on the ſhore, and the preparations made to receive them; and they ſoon after found means to effect their deſigns without much hazard to their perſons; for Capt. DAVIS, maſter of the Swan, going over to Wayre (a town of Lantore which was not yet in the poſſeſſion of the Dutch) two Holland ſhips filled with ſoldiers from Nero, poured in their broadſides upon him without any declaration of war, and took him after ſome little reſiſtance; for not having more than thirty ſound men on board, the reſt ſick or left at Pooloroon aſhore, it is not to be ſuppoſed he could ſtand before them, what made the loſs the greater, was the death of Mr. SOPHON COZOCKE, who was beat to pieces by a cannon ſhot at the beginning of the engagement.

Dutch come to attack the Engliſh.

They take the Swan.

Captain COURTHOP finding the Dutch in earneſt, and that it was impoſſible to reſiſt them at ſea, and well weighing at the ſame time of what conſequence theſe iſlands were to the crown of England, bravely reſolved to take his guns out of the

Captain Courthop erects a fort to defend himſelf from the Dutch.

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the Defence, and erect a fort upon a little island close by Pooloroon which commanded the road, and here he did not doubt to stand his ground against all the power the Dutch had in India, till he should be relieved from England; but as misfortunes frequently come one upon the neck of another, the few men that were left on board the Defence run away with her to the Dutch, probably dreading the hardships they were like to suffer on a barren island (where was neither water nor food) before they should be supplied from England.

Dutch plunder the English ships.

The Dutch broke open the cabbins and chests in the English ships, and plundered them of every thing that was valuable, throwing the rest over board. They afterwards laid the men in irons,

And use the English prisoners barbarously.

threw them into stinking loathsome dungeons, or rather bog-houses, where in contempt they dunged upon their heads; insomuch that many of them were killed with the loathsome stench; others were carried about the country in cages by way of triumph, declaring that the English were but slaves and vassals to the Dutch in Europe, where they used them often, as they did these unhappy prisoners; and they would have the natives know that this was but a specimen of their humanity, they had much worse in store for those who dare yet oppose them. In short, never were enemies, taken in a declared war, used with half that barbarity the English were by the Dutch in time of full peace, and had it been from an enemy, they might have born it; but to be thus dealt with by people obliged by all the ties that gratitude or religion could lay upon them, required an uncommon patience, and such as no nation but the English ever discovered.

Though it was a time of full peace.

To proceed, Capt. COURTHOP a little while after, sent to Nero to reclaim the Defence; but the Dutch refused to return either ship or goods, unless the Captain would desert the people of Pooloroon, and relinquish all pretensions to the Banda islands: some wrongs the Dutch also complained of, such as Sir HENRY MIDDLETON wearing a Dutch flag in the Red Sea, which Mr. COURTHOP, who was on board Sir HENRY, told them was false; adding, that the English were above wearing Dutch colours. Then the Dutch told him, they had the King of England's orders that no English ships should pass to the eastward of Macassar, which it seems was as false as the other trivial matters they alledged, with equal truth, for their inhuman treatment of the English; and had they better reasons, no doubt we should have heard of them.

Captain Courthop sends to Bantam for a reinforcement.

Captain COURTHOP finding nothing to be done by way of treaty, dispatched Mr. SPURWAY with a Sabander, and several Oran Caya's to the English factory at Bantam, to acquaint them with the state of their affairs. The Dutch gave chase to the vessel which carried them, and had no doubt prevented their telling tales, if the English had not put into Bouton and been protected by the King, who sent them to the farther part of the island, and provided another vessel to carry them to Bantam, where they arrived the 3d of June 1617.

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When the Dutch were at any time told they must answer for these wrongs to our nation in Europe, they would reply, they could make as good friends in the court of England as our English East India company; that they did not matter paying for a ship or two; a little gold well applied would heal all: nor did they value the expence, so as they could destroy the English trade at Banda.

This is the account Mr. SPURWAY and other factors gave in their letters to the East-India company; adding, that they hoped they would so prize the blood of their servants, who had been maimed, wounded, imprisoned and murdered by the Dutch; that they would procure satisfaction to be made, that the Dutch might be deterred from acting the same villanies over again. They represented also, that if the factory at Pooloroon was not supplied and reinforced speedily, the English name must undergo the greatest disgrace imaginable in that part of the world, and the nation would suffer such a loss as was never to be retrieved. For, as Mr. SPURWAY adds, though Pooloroon was not indeed the most fruitful of these islands, it did however afford good store of mace and nuts, and more there would be if they were well cultivated: besides Lantore and Rosinging had great plenty of them, and it would be impossible for the Dutch to hinder their transporting their fruits to Pooloroon, if the English supplied them with rice, salt, pepper, and other necessaries in return for these spices.

Captain COURTHOP's journal, 1616.

To this account, I shall add such particulars out of Captain COURTHOP's journals and letters, as are omitted in Mr. SPURWAY's. The Captain, it seems, had the command of the Swan and the Defence, and sailed with them from Bantam the last day of October 1616; arriving at Macassar the 17th of November following. He gives the same account of the Dutch boats coming on shore there the 1st of December, as Mr. SPURWAY has done; and that they sailed for Banda on the 9th of December, in company of the Dutch Ship, as far as Amboyna; and on the 23d came to an anchor in Pooloway road; the next day in the evening they accepted of the resignation of the islands of Pooloway and Pooloroon, to the use of his Majesty, according to Mr. SPURWAY's relation.

He tells us farther, that when the Hollanders offered to restore their ships, &c. upon condition he would quit Pooloroon, he answered, that he could

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could not give away the King's right, and desert the islanders, his subjects, without being guilty of high treason, and drawing the blood of that people on his own head, who had thrown themselves upon his Majesty's protection: but if the Dutch would restore the ships, with men and goods, and help to convey them to Bantam, giving under their hands that no attempt should be made against the two islands till the matter was decided in England or Bantam, then he would quit the island. To which the Dutch made no other reply, but that they would drive him out by force. As to that pretence of the Dutch, that they had King JAMES's orders to take all English ships to the eastward of Macassar, nothing could be more ridiculous, because Capt. COURTHOP had at that very time a commission to accept of the resignation of the Oran Caya's of Banda to his Majesty, if he could procure one: and as to any prior surrender to the Dutch, Capt. COURTHOP offered if they could make any such appear, he would relinquish the English claim. They did indeed pretend to Nero and Pooloway by conquest, which shews sufficiently that they had no right to the islands by compact.

Dutch plead a right to Nero by conquest.

1618. Two other ships taken in sight of Pooloroon in time of peace.

On the 25th of March, the Solomon and Attendance, two English ships, came in sight of the English fort of Pooloroon, but were intercepted by four great Dutch ships, and after an engagement of seven hours were taken and carried into Nero road: had not the Thomas, which was in their company, parted with them a little before, they had probably relieved their brave countrymen; but this was not the only unlucky accident, for it seems the Solomon was so loaded with rice, and other Provisions for the Bandanese, that she could not use her lower tire, and their powder also had been damaged; but success and justice are not always on the same side, except among the vulgar, who ever look upon good fortune as an unanswerable argument of the justice of any cause: men of reflection indeed observe that success as often attends pirates and banditti, as honest men, if not oftner; and that the brave unfortunate frequently deserve much greater applause than the brutish conqueror, who generally owes his fortune to a superior force.

Orders of the States to make prize of all English ships in time of peace.

That these Dutch outrages were not the actions only of private men, is evident, in that their Generals and Admirals declared they had a commission from the States to make prize of all ships that approached the Banda shores without their leave: nor were they ever called to an account for their barbarous usage of the English.

The Solomon and Attendance, it seems, had several Bandanese on board, who fought bravely, and more than once cleared the decks of the Dutch men; and several of them afterwards escaped to Pooloroon in boats; but some of them, as well as of the English, were massacred in cold blood after the engagement.

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Resolution of the Bandanese.

The 17th of April 1618. the Oran Caya's of Lantore, or Proper Banda, came over to confer with Captain COURTHOP on the situation of their affairs: and that brave people, notwithstanding all these disappointments, agreed to hold out another year, in hopes that by that time more English shipping would arrive to their relief. Capt. COURTHOP thereupon dispatched an express to Bantam, to solicit a reinforcement, and acquaint the English factory there with their distress, having now but 38 men left to resist all the forces of the Dutch, and no other provision but rice and such fish as they could take.

Dutch insolence

Among other insolences of the Dutch, Captain COURTHOP's journal takes notice, that they boasted of their having copies of all English commissions before ever the company's ships set sail from England, and pretended that none of the company's officers had the King's commission, and consequently it was no offence to the crown of England, to insult and abuse the company's servants, and destroy their factories and effects. They declared also, that the Bandanese must never expect to enjoy peace, unless they submitted to the Hollanders, no nation in the world being a match for them, or so able to supply them with the necessaries they wanted. But still it seems the Bandanese were so well apprized of the Hollanders design to enslave them, from their behaviour in that part of the country they had subdued, that they chose to run all hazards, and suffer the greatest want and hardships, rather than be at their mercy.

The Dutch, as has been intimated, framed all manner of lies to deter the Bandanese from confiding in the English. Sometimes they reported that Capt. COURTHOP had lost all his men, that he had no provisions, and could not hold out ten days: sometimes they would pretend that this island, sometimes that, had agreed to surrender to them in order to draw in the rest; but none of these pretences had the effect they expected; nothing but downright force, or rather that unhappy treaty which afterwards ensued, and induced the English to lay down their arms, while the Dutch went on to complete the conquest of these islands, could ever have gained them the possession, and excluded the English: but when the natives saw themselves abandoned to the fury of the Dutch, and their old allies, for whom they had suffered so much, tamely looking on and suffering theirs, as well as their own rights, to be thus insolently invaded under colour of a peace, in which the Bandanese were not considered, what impressions must it give that people of us! or what interest could we ever expect to have in this country for the future? But we are not yet come to this unhappy

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scene, nor would COURTHOP ever have acquiesced in such a stupid conduct, had he been then alive.

To proceed, the Dutch, finding that the Bandanese were not to be moved either by threats, or promises, or even by the losses their allies (or rather fellow-subjects, the English) had sustained, endeavoured to have surprized the town of Lantore, but were beaten off by the natives, with the loss of several of their men.

The Captain's journal farther informs us, that he had not only the whole forces of the Dutch and other hardships to contend with, but the complaints and importunities of the English sailors now perishing in the Dutch prisons, and begging him to make peace with their tormentors on any terms, that they might be released from their dungeons; whereupon the Captain often sent a flag of truce to the Dutch, to represent the cruel and unmanly treatment of their prisoners, and send them rice and oranges, and such little refreshments as they could spare; assuring them, that if any thing less than the betraying the interests of his King and country had been required of him, he would infallibly have complied with them; but that he was himself ready to suffer and to hazard every thing rather than abandon a people who had put themselves under his Majesty's protection, and to whom he had engaged himself in the solemnest manner.

On the 27th of January, 1618, Capt. COURTHOP received an express from Sir THOMAS DALE that he was arrived at Bantam with a good fleet of English ships: that he had defeated the Dutch, and driven them from the coast of Java; and that he would speedily sail for Banda, and call the Dutch to an account for all the wrongs they had done the English on that side.

The president and factory of Bantam also wrote to Capt. COURTHOP by the same ship, telling him they had sent him some small refreshment; not doubting, as he had begun, so he would continue with a constant resolution to defend the islands of Banda; directing him to encourage the people of Pooloroon and Lantore to persist in their loyalty to the crown of England. They also sent two or three of the Bandanese in the same vessel, who had been witnesses of Sir THOMAS DALE's victory over the Dutch at Bantam, to keep their countrymen in heart. And concluded, encouraging Capt. COURTHOP still to defend the place till they sent him a reinforcement; assuring him that the honourable company had a due sense of his great services, and would infallibly reward them.

Capt. COURTHOP however waited another full year in expectation of a reinforcement; but received neither intelligence nor supplies from Bantam.

On the 30th of January 1619, the Captain dispatched Mr. ROBERT HAYES with the priest of Pooloway, who was in their fort, to the Oran Caya's of Lantore, to confer with them concerning their making a formal surrender of their country to the King of England: to which the Oran Caya's all agreed; and sent over the Sabandar, or Governor, of Lantore, with full powers to settle the articles between them and his Majesty. In the mean time, though the Dutch had a fort in Pooloway, and pretended to have made an entire conquest of that island, the natives often fell upon them and cut off their men; so that they might still be reckoned in a state of war: nor had the Dutch the peaceable possession of any one of the Banda islands while the brave COURTHOP commanded, and encouraged the natives by his example, to defend their country against their encroachments. But it was no small mortification to the Captain and his garrison, no doubt, after they had manifested so much courage and resolution for two years and upwards in defence of their little fort, on which depended the whole Banda trade, to hear, as they did about the 20th of March 1619, that Sir THOMAS DALE, who commanded the English fleet, was dead, and that the commanders not agreeing among themselves afterwards, the fleet had been dispersed to several parts of India; by which conduct seven ships had fallen into the enemies hands; so that there was now little hopes of relief for a considerable time; and Mr. COURTHOP began to look upon their case as desperate, as appears by a letter he sent to the English President at Bantam, wherein he tells him he must have surrendered before this for want of food, if a Portugal frigate had not accidentally come by and furnished them with rice. He presses him therefore for farther supplies, and adds, 'God grant 'me well out of this country, for the people have 'spent their gold and estates, and many of them 'have lost their lives and liberties in expectation of 'English succours: can every other nation, says 'he, sail into these seas and are the English only 'afraid to venture hither? you bid me rub out 'another year, we have rubbed off the skin al-'ready, I pray look to it, &c.'

But though the Captain seemed forsaken by the factory at Bantam, he was resolved not to desert his post. On the contrary, he got some country vessels to go over to Macassar and fetch in rice: he also repaired and strengthened his fortifications, and put such a face upon the matter that the Dutch durst never attack him in his fort, though they often threatned it: but it seems, Mr. COURTHOP going over to regulate some abuses there, was met by two Dutch vessels on the 26th of October, whom he fought bravely till he was shot in the breast, after which he sat down a little, and then threw himself over board rather than fall into their hands; possibly he hoped to have swam to shore as five or six of the Bandanese actually

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A treaty with Lantore for surrendring it to the King of England.

Seven English ships taken by the Dutch.

Captain COURTHOP killed.

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actually did, and escaped; but Mr. COURTHOP was never heard of more.

His character.

And here possibly some of our countrymen may bewail the hero; but who could wish a more glorious fate? rather let us make it matter of triumph that our nation bred so brave a man, such an example of courage and constancy as few ages have produced. He was a gentleman of a considerable family, who might have lived at ease and made a figure in the polite world, and yet chose to expose himself to the extremest want and danger in the remotest parts of the earth to stop the encroachments of the ungrateful Dutch, who like a torrent were then breaking in upon our navigation and commerce. O COURTHOP! thy name shall be recorded in the rolls of fame among Great Britain's greatest sons: whom neither private interest or an elegant retirement, to which thy friends invited thee, could ever induce thee to give up thy country's cause, or abandon those who had confided in thy promises of British aid.

Crisis.

This, this was the Crisis, when if the British nation had exerted itself in behalf of her trade and empire at sea, the Dutch had never been in a capacity of insulting her coasts. The spices, as is well observed, is the basis of their trade, as it might have been of ours; and are of more value to them than the mines of Potosi to the Spaniard: and in fact, they do not only bring into their country Spanish silver without the trouble of working it, but every other valuable merchandize the world affords.

Loss of the spice trade a vast disadvantage to this nation.

It is generally said indeed, it was the interest of the English to aggrandize the Dutch in order to depress some Popish powers and defend our selves: but possibly, had we been masters of the treasures the spices of India bring in, we need not have wanted the Netherlands for a barrier: power is a constant attendant on riches; and if that little spot of ground, or rather sand, the seven provinces, are rendred so considerable by these advantages, what a figure might Great Britain have made if she had been mistress of the same rich trade?

And though the tranquillity of these islands was much to be admired, according to the Dutch accounts, under their mild administration, whether it may not be resembled to that tranquillity which reigns in the prisons of the inquisition, where none dare speak or stir for fear of awaking their merciless persecutors to inflict new torments on them, is very much questioned; for the unheard of sufferings of their own countrymen, as well as the English under Dutch tyranny, have made such impressions on this poor people, as are not easily to be defaced; and while their terrors, their wretched poverty, and despair of foreign aid remained, no wonder they made no opposition to their high and mighty masters who had reduced them to this blessed state of tranquillity. And it is as little wonder that foreigners who have heard of the cruelties transacted in Banda and Amboyna are cautious of venturing thither to their relief.

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Mr. Hayes takes the command of the English and Bandanese upon him.

To proceed, on the death of Capt. COURTHOP, Mr. HAYES, with the consent of the English and Bandanese, took upon him the command of the fort, and the Oran Caya's of Landore made a surrender of their island to the King of England on the 24th of November, as they had promised Capt. COURTHOP; of which the translation follows:

'In the year of the Prophet Mahomed 1028,
'in the 10th day of the moon Maharran,
'being Saturday, the year is called Aleph:
'and in the year of JESUS 1620, in the
'month of November the 24th day.

'THIS is the writing of the agreement of the
'Sabandar of Lantore and the Captain of
'Lantore, and all the Oran Caya's within the
'country of Lantore, with ROBERT HAYES,
'after the death of Capt. COURTHOP; that we
'of Lantore do surrender the land of Lantore
'unto the King's Majesty of England, with all
'that is therein: so that all the nuts and mace
'within the country of Lantore we promise to
'sell to no other people other than to the subjects
'of the King's Majesty of England only. Furthermore, we the Oran Caya's of Lantore do
'promise every year to send to the King's Majesty
'of England a bough of a nutmeg tree for the
'acknowledging of the homage of us the men of
'Lantore to the King's Majesty of England; to
'the intent that this agreement of surrender betwixt us be not forgotten to the end of the
'world: and to the intent there be no difference
'or falling out betwixt us, furthermore we do
'crave of his Majesty of England, concerning
'such things as do not agree with our religion,
'that they may not be done in the country of
'Banda; to the end that such things being restrained, there be no offence given between
'the Bandanese and the Englishmen: as to enforce our women, our wives or daughters, or
'to strike any of us, or violently to take any
'thing from us, or to let swine loose in our country, or any such like thing as doth not agree
'with our religion: these things we only except,
'because they tend to the destroying our religion,
'to the intent there be no falling out betwixt the
'Bandanese and the English unto the end of the
'world: and whereas it pleaseth God that JAMES
'is King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, so now also he is King of the country of
'Banda; so then the country of Banda is in
'subjection to no other King than to the King's
'Majesty of England only, in this world, ex-
'cepting

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'cepting our religion; for our religion of Iſlam '(Mahometiſm) doth not agree with the Chriſ-'tian religion, neither doth the Chriſtian religion 'agree with our religion of Iſlam; and this is the 'purport of our agreement. Farther, if it ſhall 'happen any Engliſh to run to us, or any Banda 'men to run to the Engliſh, it may not be tole-'rated without the conſent of the chief of the 'Engliſh, and us of Banda, becauſe ſuch things 'are contrary to our religion, and tend only to 'create differences betwixt the Banda men and 'the Engliſh men. At this time we were toge-'ther in conſultation, all the Oran Caya's of Lan-'tore, and the Oran Caya's of Labetack, and the 'Oran Caya's of Nero, Pooloway, and Poloroon, 'and have put to our hands; and this is the intent 'of this writing.

Sabandar Lantore,
Sabandar Ratoo.

News of peace arrives.

Two days after, the Oran Caya's of Lantore had made this ſurrender, Mr. HAYES intercepted a Dutch packet, whereby he underſtood that a treaty was concluded between the Engliſh and the States, in relation to the ſpice trade; whereupon he ſent the packet to Nero, that they might have no pretence for committing any acts of hoſtility for the future. Hereupon the Hollanders courted the Lantore men to break their agreement with the Engliſh, and ſell their ſpices to them; which when the Lantore men refuſed, they pulled down their white flag, which had ſtood ten days, and ſet up a red one, and immediately after they ſtormed the town of Lantore; but were repulſed, and the Bandaneſe returned their viſit, and cut off ſeveral of their people at Nero.

Dutch continue the war notwithſtanding.

About the middle of February 1620. came in a great fleet of Dutch ſhips with land forces on board, with an Intention, as Mr. HAYES underſtood, to make an entire conqueſt of Lantore, and the other iſlands that held out; whereupon Mr. HAYES acquainted the Dutch Admiral with the ſurrender of thoſe iſlands to the King of England; but the boor would make no anſwer to his letter, and ordered the meſſenger to be gone immediately at his peril. He alſo ſent to the Oran Caya's of Lantore to diſmiſs the Engliſh, and ſurrender their country to the States; and upon their refuſal, ſtormed the town of Lantore again, and took it, and afterwards ſet the town on fire.

Imprifon the company's factors, and ſeize their ſpices and treaſure.

The Engliſh company's factors, who were in the place, they ſtripp'd naked, beat and abuſed them, tied them hand and foot, and afterwards carried them on board the Admiral, where they were laid in irons: they ſeized alſo on the company's goods, being 23000 weight of mace, and 120000 weight of Nutmegs, beſides their treaſure, cloth and other effects.

The 6th of March, the Dutch came with 1500 men to attack Pooloroon, and told the Oran Caya's, if they did not immediately ſubmit themſelves, they would ſerve them as they had the Lantore men. To which the Oran Caya's of Pooloroon anſwered, they underſtood there was now peace between England and Holland, and as they were ſubjects to the King of England, they preſumed the Dutch would not attempt any thing againſt them. The Dutch replied, that they muſt forthwith ſurrender their country to the States, or they would take it by force: the Oran Caya's ſaid, ſince the Engliſh did not think fit to defend them they muſt ſubmit; but the country was not theirs to grant, they had ſurrendered it to the King of England already, whom they ſuppoſed would look to his own rights. Hereupon the Hollanders took poſſeſſion of the country, and commanded the natives to demoliſh their walls and forts, the Engliſh all the while tamely looking on, pretending their hands were tied up by the late peace, though the Dutch went on in their barbarous ravages and uſurpations from the time they had notice of it, till they had reduced all the iſlands under their power.

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Uſurp the government of the iſlands ſurrendered to the King of England.

Capt. FITZ-HERBERT indeed, who commanded the Exchange, and arrived here at this time, had the courage to pull down the flag the Dutch had ſet up on one of the Engliſh forts; but they ſoon pulled it down again and ſet up their own in the room of it. They proceeded to demoliſh the Engliſh battery, and broke their guns in pieces, conſiſting of nine pieces of ordnance, and converted them to their own uſe.

On the 26th of April the Hollanders ſent to the Oran Caya's of Pooloroon, commanding them to ſell the Engliſh no more ſpice; and on the 28th the Dutch General maſſacred no leſs than 44 of the Oran Caya's or great men of the country in cold blood, under pretence of conſpiring againſt their High Mightineſſes.

Theſe murders and outrages were committed after the peace was known and proclaimed at Banda between the Engliſh and Dutch; and thus were the faithful Bandaneſe ſacrificed for adhering ſteadily to the Engliſh, and the government of that country uſurped by the Dutch. They did indeed ſuffer the Engliſh to trade to ſome places for a year or two; but then under pretence of a conſpiracy againſt them by the Engliſh, as they now pretended a plot of the Lantore men, they deſtroyed our people in a much more barbarous manner than they had done the Indians, and totally excluded our nation from the ſpice trade, as will appear hereafter. We had concluded a peace indeed, but ſuch a one as proved much more deſtructive, both to the Engliſh and Indians, than the moſt unfortunate war could ever have been, as Mr. FITZ-HERBERT well obſerves. And

now

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now I come to give ſome account of the treaty itſelf, which the Dutch ſo flagrantly broke as ſoon as it was made, though it ſeems to have been calculated much to their advantage; ſo much, that ſurely it had never been conſented to by the Engliſh, if there had not been ſome indirect practices in the caſe. It cannot properly be ſtyled a treaty of peace between the Dutch and Engliſh nations, becauſe we were not then at war in Europe; but it was in reality a confirmation of a treaty concluded between the Engliſh and Dutch Eaſt India companies, and ratified by the Sovereigns of each nation, the Miniſters of State on both ſides governing the debates, and obliging each company to accept of ſuch terms as they ſaw fit.

' *A confirmation of the treaty between the Engliſh* ' *and Dutch Eaſt-India companies, by the Sove-* ' *reigns of each nation.*

Parties to the treaty.

' THIS inſtrument ſets forth, that a treaty had ' been concluded at London the 7th of July, in the (then) preſent year of our Lord, 1619, ' between ſeveral Commiſſioners, members of his ' Majeſty's privy-council thereto ſpecially appointed, and others, members of the Engliſh ' Eaſt-India company of the one part, and the ' Commiſſioners of the High and Mighty Lords ' the States General, our good friends and allies, ' (being of the body of the ſaid Lords the States) ' and others, members of the Dutch Eaſt-India ' company of the other part, as follows:

Recital of former conferences.

' Whereas for ſeveral years paſt there has been ' differences and miſunderſtandings between the ' Engliſh and Dutch Eaſt-India companies; to ' accommodate which conferences have been ' held between Commiſſioners of the ſaid reſpective companies, as well at London, in the year ' 1613, as at the Hague, in the year 1615, without coming to any concluſion: his Majeſty and ' the ſaid Lords of the States, deſiring that their ' ſubjects might live in friendſhip and a good correſpondence; and being ſolicitous to remove all ' inconveniencies that might obſtruct an accommodation, have found it expedient and neceſſary ' to reſume the ſaid affair again in a third conference, by Commiſſioners of the ſaid companies, ' aſſiſted by ſuch perſons of his Majeſty's privy-council, and of the body of the States General, ' as his Majeſty and the States ſhall appoint, ' viz.'

Commiſſioners.

Here the members of the privy-council and of the States General appointed to aſſiſt at this treaty, are ſpecified.

' Whom his Majeſty, and the ſaid Lords the ' States have to that purpoſe authorized with ' powers and commiſſions; to the end that by ' their interpoſition and joint direction, the con' cluſion of an affair of ſuch importance may be ' facilitated, to the mutual ſatisfaction of both ' parties, and according to the orders, and in the ' preſence of the aboveſaid Lords, the Commiſ' ſioners of both the ſaid companies ſhall begin ' and manage their conferences, viz. on the part ' of the Engliſh Eaſt-India company.

' Sir THOMAS SMITH, Kt. Governor of the ' company, &c.'

Here the reſt of the Commiſſioners of the Engliſh company are named.

' And on the part of the Dutch company,

' Sir HENRY BASS, Kt. Burgo-maſter of ' Amſterdam, &c.'

Here the reſt of the Commiſſioners of the Dutch company are named.

' Who by virtue of their powers, after much ' communication and long debates, have by the ' interpoſition, counſel, and direction of the afore' ſaid Lords, finally concluded and agreed upon ' the following articles, viz.

' I. It was agreed that there ſhould be a perpetual amneſty of all offences and injuries before ' that time committed in the Eaſt-Indies, either ' by the ſubjects of his Majeſty, or the ſubjects of ' the ſaid Lords the States; and accordingly all ' priſoners on either part ſhould be ſet at liberty, ' and all ſhips, goods and merchandize, taken before the publication of this treaty in the Eaſt' Indies, ſhould be reciprocally reſtored.

' II. The officers, agents, and ſervants, as well ' on the part of the one company as the other; ' ſhall entertain a friendly correſpondence, and ' afford each other mutual aid whenever they ' meet, as becomes neighbours and friends engaged in ſo ſtrict an alliance: and if either party ſhall find the other in diſtreſs at ſea, they ' ſhall afford them all friendly aſſiſtance to the utmoſt of their power; and faithfully deliver any ' letters or accounts that ſhall be ſent by them.

' III. The trade and commerce of the Eaſt' Indies ſhall be free, as well for the Engliſh com' pany as for that of the United Provinces; and ' each of the ſaid companies ſhall be at liberty to ' raiſe and employ ſuch ſeparate capital ſtock and ' funds as they reſpectively ſhall think fit.

' IV. And for the general good and advantage ' of trade, they ſhall mutually endeavour to re' gulate and leſſen the exceſſive duties and impoſitions lately exacted in the Indies, and leave ' off the practice of giving gratuities and preſents ' over and above.

' V. They ſhall by common conſent agree to ' fix a reaſonable price in the Indies, on all mer' chandize, and at publick or private ſales, made ' either in England or Holland of India goods, ' they ſhall agree upon a ſtated price for a certain ' time, during which it ſhall not be lawful for ei' ther party to ſell under that rate.

' VI. And

'VI. And for the avoiding all manner of jealouſies and differences for the future, the agents or factors on both ſides ſhall conſult and agree together, upon a moderate price for purchaſing pepper at Bantam, and other places in Java Major, (nevertheleſs there ſhall remain a freedom of commerce in other parts of the Indies, and alſo in Java Major, as to other merchandizes, agreeable to the third article) and to this end skilful agents or factors ſhall be appointed to buy pepper, which when bought ſhall be divided and ſhared equally.

'VII. The Engliſh company ſhall enjoy a free trade at Palicate, and bear half the charge of maintaining the fort and garriſon there, to commence from the time of publiſhing this treaty in thoſe parts.

'VIII. In the iſles of the Molucca's, Banda, and Amboyna, the trade ſhall be ſo regulated by common conſent, that the Engliſh company ſhall enjoy a third part of that trade, as well for the importing and ſelling of goods in thoſe iſlands, as of the fruits and merchandize of the growth of thoſe iſlands which ſhall be exported from thence: and the Dutch company ſhall enjoy the other two thirds.

'IX. And as to the buying and ſharing the ſaid fruits and merchandizes, the principal factors of the two nations ſhall buy them at the current price, and divide them by lot to each their reſpective ſhare; and for that end it ſhall be lawful for either party to have acceſs to, and abide in, the forts and magazines of the other.

'X. And conſidering that a trade ſo remote and important cannot be ſecured but by a conſiderable force, this ſhall be done by furniſhing out and maintaining twenty ſhips of war, viz. ten by each company: the ſaid number to be increaſed or leſſened by common conſent, as occaſion ſhall require; and every one of the ſaid ſhips ſhall be of the burthen of ſix or eight hundred tuns, and carry an hundred and fifty men, with thirty pieces of cannon which will carry bullets from eight to eighteen pounds weight, with ammunition and all other neceſſaries ſuitable thereto.

'XI. And the council of defence ſhall order what number of frigates, galleys, and other ſmall veſſels ſhall be farther neceſſary for the ſaid defence.

'XII. The forts and garriſons in the iſlands of the Molucca's, Banda, and Amboyna, ſhall be maintained out of the duties and impoſitions to be levied on the fruits and merchandizes exported from the ſaid iſlands; which duties and impoſitions ſhall be aſſeſſed by order of the council of defence, and received by the agents of both parties, and by them be tranſmitted from time to time as it ſhall be neceſſary, to the Treaſurers of both companies, for the payment of the ſoldiers.

'XIII. For the better ordering and eſtabliſhing the ſaid defence, a council of defence ſhall be erected, conſiſting of eight perſons of the principal officers there, and an equal number to be elected out of each company, and they to have the precedency by turns.

'XIV. This council ſhall order all things which concern the common defence by ſea, and diſtribute the ſhips of war to ſuch ſtations as they ſhall judge moſt neceſſary.

'XV. They ſhall alſo regulate the duties and impoſitions which ſhall be neceſſary for maintaining the ſaid forts and garriſons, and ſhall have power to call the collectors of the ſaid duties to account.

'XVI. The ſhips of war ſhall continue in the ſtations appointed them, and purſue the orders of the council of defence, and not be employed in importing merchandizes into theſe Kingdoms or Provinces.

'XVII. Provided that the ſaid ſhips of war may be ſometimes employed in tranſporting merchandize from place to place in the Indies, for the ſervice of their reſpective companies, if the ſaid council approve it, and it be not prejudicial to the defence.

'XVIII. And in caſes of neceſſity the ſaid council are impowered to employ ſuch numbers of merchant ſhips as they ſhall judge proper, in the ſaid defence.

'XIX. The loſſes and damages that ſhall happen in any engagement for the common defence, or in going to or returning from the ſaid defence, ſhall be born equally, and defrayed at the common charge; and the gain and prizes which ſhall be made, ſhall redound to the common profit.

'XX. The ſame rule ſhall be obſerved as to merchant ſhips employed on the like occaſion, and during ſuch ſervice, the ſoldiers and proviſions for the ſeamen ſhall be made at the common charge of both companies: and in conſideration of the interruption their commerce may ſuſtain by ſuch ſervice, they ſhall receive ſuch recompence as ſhall be adjudged them by the council of defence.

'XXI. But if any ſhip of war, being in his own road or port, or in going or returning thither, ſhall receive any damage by tempeſt, or other misfortune; ſuch loſs ſhall not fall on the community, but be born by the company ſuch ſhip ſhall belong to.

'XXII. And for avoiding all diſputes which may ariſe concerning the value of ſhips loſt or endamaged, the council of defence ſhall make an eſtimate of all ſhips of war, and others, be-

'fore

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'fore they ſhall be employed in the common de-
'fence.

'XXIII. The forts, as well on the one part
'as the other, ſhall remain in the hands of thoſe
'who poſſeſs them at preſent.

'XXIV. And whereas a queſtion has been
'moved concerned the building certain new forts,
'which the Engliſh company have judged neceſ-
'ſary for the ſecurity of their men and goods, it
'is agreed, that the ſaid queſtion ſhall remain unde-
'cided for the term of two or three years; to
'the end that having duly viewed and conſidered
'how many forts, of what nature, and in what
'places the ſame will hereafter be neceſſary, the
'ſaid queſtion may be reſumed, and determined
'in ſuch manner as may tend to the mutual ſa-
'tisfaction of both parties.

'XXV. As to ſuch forts as ſhall be taken in
'the Molucca's, or any other parts of India, by
'the intereſt and joint forces of both companies,
'they ſhall be equally poſſeſſed, garriſoned, and
'maintained by each company, who ſhall have
'there equal numbers; or they ſhall be divided
'equally between the two companies, according
'to the directions of the ſaid council of de-
'fence.

'XXVI. They ſhall jointly endeavour to open
'and eſtabliſh a free trade in China, and other
'places in the Indies, by ſuch ways and means as
'the common council ſhall judge expedient.

'XXVII. The ſaid companies ſhall not pre-
'vent or exclude each other from trading, either
'by force, or any ſeparate contracts which they
'ſhall make in the Indies; but the trade ſhall be
'free and open, as well for the one as the other,
'in every place, as well within the forts and
'towns either party ſhall be poſſeſſed of as elſe-
'where.

'XXVIII. And it is agreed, that without the
'conſent of both companies, no other perſons not
'being of their reſpective bodies, ſhall partake of
'the benefit of the preſent treaty. And if any
'ſubject of either nation, not being of the ſame
'body, ſhall undertake any thing in prejudice of
'the ſaid companies, they ſhall jointly and ſeve-
'rally oppoſe the ſame, and maintain their re-
'ſpective privileges. And his ſaid Majeſty, and
'the ſaid Lords the States, ſhall be addreſſed not
'to authorize any other companies to intermeddle
'in the traffick or navigation of the Indies, while
'the preſent agreement ſhall remain in force.

'XXIX. If in any part of the Indies the one
'or the other company ſhall have a factory, trade,
'or effects, and it happen by the death of the
'factors, or ſome other misfortune, that the goods
'or eſtates of either remain without any perſon
'legally intitled to adminiſter them; the ſurvi-
'ving factors and officers of the other company
'ſhall take the ſaid goods and eſtate into their
'poſſeſſion, and honeſtly keep them for the ow-
'ners, to whom they ſhall reſtore them in con-
'venient time.

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'XXX. This treaty ſhall be in force for twen-
'ty years; and if during that time there ſhall
'happen any diſputes which cannot be terminated
'by the ſaid council abroad, nor on this ſide by
'the ſaid two companies, ſuch differences ſhall
'be referred to the King of Great Britain, and
'the ſaid Lords the States General, who will gra-
'ciouſly be pleaſed to determine ſuch differences
'to the ſatisfaction of both parties.

'All which articles ſhall be faithfully and in-
'violably obſerved by both parties, according to
'the true intent and meaning of this treaty: and
'the abovenamed Lords do engage, that as well
'his ſaid Majeſty of Great Britain, as the ſaid
'Lords the States, and both the ſaid companies,
'ſhall approve, confirm, and ratify the ſaid trea-
'ty, and reciprocally deliver inſtruments of rati-
'fication in due form.

'Done at London the 7th of July, 1619, Date.
'Old Style.

'Signed by the aboveſaid Lords, and the Com-
'miſſioners of the reſpective companies.

'WE having peruſed and fully underſtood this Ratification
'preſent treaty, have approved, confirmed, by King
'and ratified, and do approve, confirm, and ra- JAMES I.
'tify the ſame by theſe preſents; promiſing to
'obſerve and cauſe it to be obſerved in all points,
'ſo far as it ſhall concern us or the ſaid company
'of Engliſh merchants, without ſuffering it to be
'infringed, directly or indirectly, in any manner
'whatever.

'And we do acquieſce in the contents of the
'28th article; and engage, that during ſuch time
'as this treaty ſhall be in force, we will not erect
'any other company than that which is already
'erected, which ſhall intermeddle in the trade
'and navigation of the Eaſt-Indies.

'In witneſs whereof we have ſigned theſe pre-
'ſents, and cauſed them to be ſealed with our
'great ſeal.

'Done at Weſtminſter the 16th of July, 1619,
'and of our reign the ſeventeenth,

'JAQUES, Rex.
'Per CAREW.

'Per ipſum Regem propria manu ſignatum.'

How the Dutch performed their part of this treaty will appear by the following letter.

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A letter written to the East-India company from their factors.

'ABOUT the month of December, 1620, the 'Dutch General having prepared a force of 'fixteen ſhips, declared to our Preſident that he 'intended an exploit for the good of both compa-'nies, without mentioning any particulars of his 'deſign.

'And ſeeing us to have no ſuch forces ready 'to join with him, he ſaid he would attempt it 'alone; and the 3d of January, 1620, he did ſet 'ſail from Jacatra (Batavia) with his ſaid forces, 'and arrived at Banda about the 3d of February 'following. Preſently upon his arrival he made 'great preparation againſt the iſland of Lantore; 'which iſland was formerly, by the inhabitants 'thereof, delivered over unto our people, for the 'uſe and under the ſubjection of the King's Ma-'jeſty of England; whereof our Captain of the 'iſle of Pooloroon had taken poſſeſſion, and had 'alſo ſettled a factory there.

'When our chief factor in our ſaid iſle of Poo-'loroon heard of the purpoſe of the Dutch Ge-'neral againſt the ſaid iſle of Lantore, he wrote a 'letter unto the ſaid General, adviſing him that 'the ſaid iſle of Lantore did belong unto the 'King of England, and that therefore he ſhould 'not attempt any violence againſt it, ſeeing there 'was an accord made in England between us. 'Which letter the ſaid General threw from him 'in a great rage, ſcarce vouchſafing to read it o-'ver, and cauſed the meſſenger to be thruſt out of 'doors; requiring him to adviſe our factor of 'Pooloroon, preſently to ſend to Lantore and fetch 'away all ſuch of our people and goods as were 'upon that iſland, for whomſoever he ſhould find 'there he would take them as his utter enemies; 'and they ſhould fare no better than the inhabi-'tants.

'Within ten or twelve days after he landed all 'his forces there, and ſubdued the ſaid iſland. So 'long as the fight endured, our factors and ſer-'vants there (being three Engliſh and eight Chi-'neſe) kept themſelves within doors; and after-'wards our people came out of their houſes, and 'told them the houſe wherein they were was the 'Engliſh houſe, and that therefore they ſhould 'not meddle therewith. Nevertheleſs they ſacked 'our houſe, took away all our goods, murdered 'three of our Chineſe ſervants, bound the reſt (as 'well Engliſh as Chineſe) hand and foot, and 'threatned them to cut their throats; binding 'them three ſeveral times to ſeveral ſtakes, with 'their weapons ready drawn out; and did put a 'halter upon our principal factor's neck, draw-'ing up his head and ſtretching out his neck, rea-'dy to put them to death, yet did not execute 'them; but as they were bound hand and foot '(as aforeſaid) tumbled them down over the rocks 'like dogs, and like to have broken their necks; 'and thus bound carried them aboard their ſhips, 'and there kept them priſoners in irons fourteen 'or ſixteen days. After the conqueſt of the iſland 'of Lantore, the Dutch General threatned to do 'the like unto Pooloroon, wherefore our princi-'pal factor of Pooloroon being there but newly 'arrived, went unto the Dutch General unto the 'caſtle of Nero, and told him, that he heard 'that he propoſed to take Pooloroon by force, 'which he could not believe, although his own 'meſſenger ſent to Pooloroon to ſpeak with our 'factors had given it out alſo, that the General 'himſelf ſhould ſay, that if the Engliſh did not 'come preſently unto him, and yield the ſaid 'fort of Pooloroon unto him, he would ſend his 'forces and over-run all the country: but hoped 'he would enterprize no ſuch thing againſt that 'place, conſidering the articles of agreement, and 'knowing how many years (to the great loſs 'and charge of the company) we held poſſeſſion 'and maintained the place to the uſe of his Ma-'jeſty of England. The ſaid General made little 'anſwer to it, as tho' there were no ſuch matter 'intended. Whereupon our ſaid factor took his 'leave and came away. But the next day he 'was followed to Pooloroon with an armado of 'twenty-ſix praws and one ſhip, which did put 'the inhabitants of Pooloroon in ſuch a fear as 'they knew not what to do; whereupon our 'chief factor there asked the commander of thoſe 'forces, what his purpoſe was with ſuch a fleet 'there? and that if he attempted any thing 'againſt Pooloroon it was a breach of the ar-'ticles, it being in our poſſeſſion. This could 'not prevail with him, but he ſaid the land was 'theirs, and they would have it by fair means or 'force; and as for our poſſeſſion, they would not 'acknowledge it (the inhabitants and not we be-'ing maſters of the place) and ſo the Dutch 'Commander went aſhore unto the inhabitants. 'Whereupon the ſaid inhabitants asked us, if we 'could and would defend them? but perceiving 'we were not able to defend ourſelves, much leſs 'to ſecure them, they were forced to yield them-'ſelves and the iſland into his hands. The Dutch 'took down the Engliſh colours and ſet up their 'own; and cauſed the inhabitants preſently to 'bring in all their weapons, and to throw down 'all their walls, and would have forced them to 'have taken all our ordnance out of our fort, 'which they at the firſt refuſed to do, alledging, 'that they had formerly given and ſurrendred the 'land to the King of England; and in reſpect 'they had lived ſo long with the Engliſh, they 'would not now offer us any injury or violence. 'And when our chief factor went aſhore to ex-'poſtulate

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'postulate the matter with the Dutch Commander, he could obtain nothing at his hands but 'that the land was theirs, and things must be so, 'and should be so. Whereupon our said factor 'went again unto the Dutch General to the 'castle of Nero, to confer with him thereabouts; 'but he would give no other answer, but that he 'had referred those businesses to his lieutenant sent 'thither, with whom he might confer: who in 'the absence of our chief factor had brought some 'of his soldiers ashore upon Pooloroon, and forced 'the islanders to throw all our ordnance over the 'rock from the place where they were planted (be-'ing nine pieces) whereof four broke with the 'fall, and were all carried away by the Dutch. 'Moreover, our Captain of Pooloroon, who had 'defended the island four years together, going to 'Lantore, at the request of the inhabitants, to re-'ceive the surrendry thereof for our King's Ma-'jesty's use, as aforesaid, and returning back a-'gain about the beginning of November, 1620. 'was slain by the Dutch. And it is very probable 'they did it after the time they had intelligence of 'the publication of the accord at Bantam, in 'March 1619. For presently upon the said pub-'lication, they sent secretly to the islands in those 'parts where they had trade, to prevent us of 'our part of the spices due unto us by the ac-'cord.

'After the said Dutch General had subdued 'the forementioned island of Lantore, he con-'strained them to deliver unto him the principal 'of all their children for hostages: then he took 'away from them all their small vessels and boats; 'and then he also required all the men of Lantore 'to be brought unto him, and they brought him 'all the principal men: but this did not satisfy 'him, he would have all the Bandanese which 'had aided them; as also all their wives and 'children, small and great, to be brought as pri-'soners aboard his ships. Which when the Ban-'danese perceived (doubting that he meant to 'make them all slaves, and to carry them to 'some other places) they agreed together to re-'tire themselves into the highest and strongest 'places of the land, and there did fortify them-'selves. Whereupon the Dutch slew many of 'them, and took twelve hundred prisoners, most 'of them being women and children, which they 'have since carried to Jacatra and other places.

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Reflections on the behaviour of the Dutch after the treaty of pacification.

The reader cannot but observe how notoriously this peace was broken by the Dutch, almost as soon as it was made: that notwithstanding it was expressly stipulated by the 23d article, that all places in India should remain in the hands of that nation which possessed them at the execution of the treaty, they invaded the islands of Lantore and Pooloroon, which were in the possession of the English, massacred the principal natives, and carried the rest into slavery: demolished the forts and factories of the English, murdered some of their servants, and made the rest prisoners; using them in a more insolent and barbarous manner than a declared enemy would have done: which was surely such a method of performing what they had stipulated for, as none but Dutchmen could have thought of.

There was indeed a council of defence to have been established, consisting of four of each company; and twenty men of war were to be fitted out at a joint expence, if the council found it necessary, for the security of their commerce: but this was with a view to the opposition they might expect from the Spaniards and Portuguese, who had numerous fleets, and several strong forts in the Molucca's, and other parts of India. And none but a Hollander could have had the forehead to suggest, that they were authorized by this treaty to make war upon those people who were subjects to the King of England, and had acknowledged him to be their lawful Sovereign. Much less that the Dutch were hereby impowered to demolish the English forts and factories on the islands of Banda, and usurp the dominion of that country.

How the English came to accept of a third part of the spice trade, when the islands of Banda were their property, is not easily accounted for: but however, when it was consented to and ratified by the supreme powers of each nation, one would have thought the high and mighty Hollander should have permitted the English to have enjoyed this one third quietly, and to have retained the islands they were possessed of.

No enterprize was to be undertaken, it seems, but by their joint consent, and by their joint forces: and yet did the Dutch, against the consent and repeated remonstrances and protestations of the English, attack and subdue the Bandanese with Dutch ships and forces only. From which proceedings nothing is more evident, than that the Dutch were determined at the time they executed the abovesaid treaty (whereby the English were allowed a full freedom of trade, and to retain what they were possessed of) that the English should enjoy nothing in the Indies any longer than they could raise a force to expel them: and this insidious treaty, entered upon with so much solemnity, was consented to only to lay their good allies asleep, while they treacherously sent their forces to India to make an entire conquest of the Banda islands.

A proceeding which the most notorious robbers and pirates would have been ashamed of; and shews, that no treaties or compacts are binding with

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with ſome people, any longer than they have an opportunity of breaking them.

There appears a treacherous deſign in the Dutch even at the very treaty, in that they would not conſent to name any places where the Engliſh ſhould erect forts for the ſecurity of their trade; but inſiſted that the conſideration of this article ſhould be ſuſpended two or three years, till they had conſidered of the moſt convenient places for theſe fortifications; well knowing that they ſhould be poſſeſſed of all the Banda iſlands before that time was come. But if the reader is not yet convinced of their pious intentions, what follows, poſſibly, will put it paſt all doubt, that they were determined to monopolize the ſpice trade to themſelves, and were not to be diverted from that deſign by any conſiderations whatever.

The Engliſh ſettle factories at the Molucca's, Banda and Amboyna.

In purſuance of the aboveſaid treaty, the Engliſh company innocently ſettled factories at the Molucca's, Amboyna and Banda, for carrying on their trade in the proportion agreed on; looking upon it that the Dutch had made ſuch an advantageous bargain for themſelves, that they ſhould receive no moleſtation from them for the future. But they were hardly warm in theſe ſettlements, when the Dutch trump'd up a ſham plot, in the year 1622, charging the Engliſh and Japoneſe with a conſpiracy to ſurprize their principal fort at Amboyna.

The Engliſh ſeized and diſplaced at Amboyna.

A Japoneſe in the Dutch ſervice, it ſeems, being upon the guard at Amboyna the 11th of February 1622, made ſome enquiries of a Dutch centinel concerning the ſtrength of the caſtle, and the number of the garriſon. This the Dutch ſoldier acquainted his ſuperiors with, and the Japoneſe was immediately apprehended and put to the torture. They then demanded if he was not incited by the Engliſh to ſurprize the citadel? Which the fellow having never heard of before, was not eaſily perſuaded to charge the Engliſh with. Whereupon they took up ſeveral others of the Japoneſe, and a Portugueſe who had the care of the Dutch ſlaves. Theſe the Governor having tortured ſeveral days, forced the poor wretches at length to ſay as their tormentors directed them. After this they proceeded to examine an Engliſh barber, whom they had made priſoner for ſome miſdemeanour he had committed in his drink: this fellow was ſo frightned at the horrid tortures they had inflicted on the Japoneſe, and which he felt himſelf, that he ſaid any thing rather than endure the torture.

Then they ſent for Capt. TOWERSON the chief, and the reſt of the Engliſh factors, and told them they were accuſed of a conſpiracy to take the caſtle of Amboyna, and ordered them all to be ſeized; ſome of them they committed to priſon, and others they ſent in irons on board their ſhips. They alſo apprehended the Engliſh factors in the other parts of the iſland, and thoſe of Cambello in the iſland of Ceram, amounting in all to fourteen or fifteen perſons. They alſo took all the merchandize and effects of the Engliſh into their cuſtody, with their chells, boxes, books and writings, as arbitrarily as if the Engliſh had been really their ſubjects, and guilty of a conſpiracy againſt their High Mightineſſes.

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Torture by water.

Then they made the Engliſh merchants and factors undergo the torture one after another in the following manner: they firſt drew the unfortunate man up by cords to the top of a high door, and having ſtretched his hands as far aſunder as they could, they faſtened them to two iron ſtaples fixed in the door poſts, and his feet hanging about two foot from the ground were ſtretched out in like manner and faſtened to ſtaples; then a cloth was bound about his neck and face, and water poured upon his head till the cloth was full above his mouth and noſtrils; ſo that he muſt of neceſſity ſuck in the water or be ſuffocated; ſtill they continued to pour in water, till his body was ſwelled as big as two or three, and the water guſhed out at his ears and noſe, and his eyes were ready to ſtart out of his head. When they found him almoſt dead they would let him down, making him diſgorge the water, and if he did not then ſay as they directed him, he was hoiſted up and ſerved in the ſame manner again and again.

By fire.

If the water torture had not the effect upon the perſon they propoſed, they hoiſted him up as before, and placed lighted candles under his feet, hands and armpits till the fat dropt out; and ſome they burnt to that degree before they would confeſs, as they called it, that their very entrails were ſeen; ſome they ſplit their toes, taring off their nails; others they cut their breaſts, ramm'd in gunpowder and wildfire, and then ſet fire to it; and particularly Mr. CLARK and Mr. THOMPSON were ſo mangled with theſe unheard of barbarities, that they were forced to be carried to their execution.

But before they were ſo merciful as to kill theſe poor gentlemen outright, they were thrown into dungeons for five or ſix days in this miſerable condition, not being ſuffered to have their wounds dreſſed, inſomuch that their fleſh putrified and bred maggots, and they were ſo loathſom to themſelves and others, that the ſtench could hardly be endured.

The Engliſh and Japoneſe deny the charge at their deaths.

It is remarkable, that all theſe gentlemen, both before and after the torture, denied every word that had been extorted from them, and profeſſed themſelves innocent of what was laid to their charge, at their deaths, as they hoped for the mercy of God, before whom they were juſt going to appear. Capt. TOWERSON wrote to this purpoſe in ſome papers he left behind him, and Mr. GRIGGS, Mr. BEAUMONT, PRICE and

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BROWN wrote in a table book which was afterwards brought to England by thoſe who were ſuffered to ſurvive, 'That by extreme torments 'they were compelled to ſay what they never 'thought; and took it upon their deaths, they 'were innocent of what was laid to their charge; 'and that they knew no more of the buſineſs 'they were charged with, than the child unborn.

All the priſoners being brought into the hall of the caſtle on the 26th of February, being the night before the execution, the Japoneſe cried out, 'O 'ye Engliſh! when did we ever eat, or drink, or 'converſe with you?' To which the Engliſh anſwered, 'Why then have you accuſed us?' Then the Japoneſe expoſed their tortured bodies, replying, 'if a ſtone were thus burnt would it 'not change its nature? How then could fleſh 'and blood hold out?'

The Engliſh here again all profeſſed their innocence, and deſired to receive the ſacrament before they died, to teſtify their ſincerity; but it was denied them. Then ſaid Mr. COLSON, 'if 'I am guilty, more or leſs, of what I am charg'd 'with, may I never be a partaker of the joys of 'heaven.' At which every one of the Engliſh cried out, 'Amen, for me, good Lord.' Then having aſked one another forgiveneſs for what they had ſaid under the torture, they ſpent the night in prayers and ſinging pſalms, and comforting one another; and the next day were beheaded.

Theſe proceedings atteſted upon oath in the court of admiralty.

Theſe proceedings were atteſted upon oath in the court of admiralty by the Engliſh factors, who were ſuffered to come to England and relate the whole matter: for had the Dutch not ſent theſe gentlemen home, and given them an opportunity of divulging and recording the treatment they met with from their dear allies in the Indies, the principal deſign of all this barbarity had been loſt; the world might then have remained ignorant of the conſequences of oppoſing the encroachments of the Dutch: but after the publication of theſe inhuman and barbarous proceedings, they were morally ſure they ſhould never ſee an Engliſhman trafficking in the Spice iſlands again. And it is obſervable, that the Dutch Governor of Amboyna proclaimed a faſt on this occaſion, and perpetrated all this villany in the name of the Lord; whoſe direction he pretended to have obtained by his fervent prayers.

The Engliſh Eaſt-India company annexed to the narrative of the Dutch cruelties at Amboyna, ſome reaſons to ſhew the improbability of their factors being engaged in the deſign they were charged with. The ſubſtance whereof follows:

Improbability of the pretended plot.

1. The Engliſh factors knew that the Japoneſe had been tortured for two or three days on pretence of a conſpiracy to ſurprize the fort; and yet they never attempted to make their eſcapes, as they might eaſily have done in the country boats.

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2. The deſign appears to be impracticable, becauſe the Dutch had a garriſon of two or three hundred men in the fort, and as many burghers in the town ready to join them: and there were no more than ten Engliſhmen and as many Japoneſe in the place, unprovided of every thing for ſuch an attempt; for in the Engliſh houſe, when it was ſearched, were only found three ſwords, two fuſee's and half a pound of powder; and the Japoneſe had no other arms but a ſhort ſword. But ſuppoſing theſe twenty men ſhould have been able to have maſtered the garriſon and ſeized the caſtle, how could they have propoſed to have kept it, having none to ſupport them? For there was not one Engliſh veſſel in the harbour; and not above five Engliſhmen more, and twenty Japoneſe in the whole iſland. On the other hand, the Dutch had three ſtrong caſtles there beſides this, garriſoned by their own troops, and eight ſhips riding in the road; with which power it had been very eaſy for them to have retaken the fort from the twenty Engliſh and Japoneſe, if they had actually been in poſſeſſion of it.

3. To what purpoſe ſhould theſe gentlemen run this hazard, when their principals had but juſt before agreed to accept of a third part of the ſpices, and had actually ſettled factories to manage their part of the trade in defenceleſs houſes, unfortified and unfurniſhed with every thing to defend themſelves, and liable to be ſeized and plundered by the Dutch (as they actually were on this occaſion)? Their maſters could never approve of ſo mad a conduct therefore as an attempt to ſeize this fort; becauſe it muſt inevitably expoſe all their other factories to the fury of the Dutch, who do not uſe to be very backward in making repriſals.

4. It is not to be ſuppoſed that every one of the priſoners, Japoneſe as well as Chriſtians, ſhould ſo ſolemnly have denied every part of this pretended plot at their deaths, if there had been any truth in it; eſpecially ſince thoſe ſix Engliſhmen who returned to England are acknowledged on all hands to be perfectly ignorant of the matter: nor was there found any one paper or letter, when the Dutch broke open the cheſts and cabinets of the factors, that gave the leaſt colour to this pretended plot.

From all which, the Engliſh company ſtrongly conclude, that the plot was all on the Dutch ſide; and that it was their inſatiable avarice and covetouſneſs to monopolize the whole trade of the Molucca's, Banda and Amboyna to themſelves, which was the true ſource of all theſe proceedings: and if the circumſtances abovementioned were not ſufficient to prove it, their ſeizing upon all the Engliſh factories in the Spice iſlands immediately afterwards, and excluding them and all other nations from that trade ever ſince, comes very little ſhort of a demonſtration of their intentions.

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Oran Caya's or Poo'oroon tortured and maſſacred by the Dutch.

Nor did it fare better with the natives of Poolooroon, who had put themſelves under the protection of the King of England, than with the Engliſh themſelves; for in Auguſt 1622, (half a year before the Amboyna tragedy) they put no leſs than an hundred and ſixty two of the principal inhabitants to the torture at once, in the ſame manner they ſerved the Engliſh at Amboyna, under pretence of a plot: two of theſe died with the extremity of the pain, and all the reſt were executed without the leaſt remorſe; not ſparing their prieſt, who was ordered to be cut in ſunder for preſuming to aſſert their innocence: and the wives and children of theſe miſerable wretches were carried into ſlavery.

Reaſons of the barbarous proceedings of the Dutch.

But it may be ſaid, to what end ſhould the Dutch be guilty of all this barbarity? could they not have ſeized on the Engliſh factories and effects without killing their factors? or if they thought it neceſſary to murder them, could they not have done it in a leſs cruel or leſs publick manner? to which it may be replied, that there is no doubt to be made of their ſuperior ſtrength; they were poſſeſſed of all the caſtles and ſtrong places in thoſe iſlands, and they were all garriſoned by their own national troops, except ſome few Indian mercenaries. The Engliſh, who were hardly twenty in all, dwelt in ordinary houſes which could make no defence, and were diſperſed in ſeveral parts of the iſland, two or three in a place, for the conveniency of their trade, not having a military man amongſt them, and unprovided both of ammunition and arms; ſo that there could have been no manner of difficulty in ſeizing and ſecuring their perſons, till the council of defence at Java had been acquainted with the pretended conſpiracy; and there was no colour for the Dutch factors at Amboyna to aſſume an authority of judging the Engliſh.

Therefore the true and only reaſon that can be aſſigned for their torturing our countrymen in that inhuman and unheard of manner, muſt be, to deter the Engliſh and all other nations from venturing any more into thoſe ſeas; and that all the earth might hear and fear to oppoſe the uſurpations of the high and mighty Hollanders.

How it came to paſs the Engliſh never received ſatisfaction for theſe injuries.

But here it may very naturally be demanded, how came the Engliſh to ſuffer ſuch repeated injuries and indignities without expreſſing a ſuitable reſentment, or compelling the Dutch to reſtore thoſe territories to the Britiſh crown, which they had raviſhed from it by ſuch barbarous and inhuman methods?

To which it may be anſwered, that many circumſtances concurred to prevent it; as firſt, the death of Queen Elizabeth juſt at the time when the Dutch firſt ventured to encroach upon our trade; which they had paid dearly for, if that great Princeſs had lived to have been acquainted with their inſolence. And as a demiſe of the crown ever occaſions a ſuſpenſion of all buſineſs for a time, ſo eſpecially when the ſucceſſor is of another nation, and muſt of neceſſity be a conſiderable time before he can be acquainted with the true intereſt of his people. It was a farther misfortune in this caſe, that the Prince did not come from a country over-ſtocked with wealth; and probably, ſome of his courtiers might have a view towards raiſing their own families, equal to that of promoting their maſter's intereſt, or the advantage of the nation they were coming into. England poſſibly they might look upon as their Indies; and their proſpect conſequently hardly extended farther than the Britiſh ſeas. Others that might be ſenſible of what ill conſequence the loſs of the Indian trade would be to this nation, might poſſibly be made eaſy by our good allies the Dutch, who did not ſcruple to boaſt in the Eaſt Indies, that they had a better intereſt in the court of England than the Engliſh company; and were acquainted not only with the ſhips they were about to fit out, and their force, but with their very orders and commiſſions, which were not known ſometimes to the commanders themſelves till they were out at ſea, and had broken them open in ſuch latitudes as they were directed.

A change of miniſters, it has been long obſerved alſo has this ill conſequence, if no other, that the fortunes of the new are generally to make; and perhaps, never were there more to make than on the acceſſion of King JAMES, of which the Dutch made their advantage; and probably a thouſand pound might go as far towards making a North-Britain eaſy, where great ſums were not often ſeen, as ten thouſand with a miniſter of South-Britain, where treaſure was not altogther ſo ſcarce. The virtue and fidelity of both might be equal; but 'tis natural to ſuppoſe that a thouſand pound will go as far with the ſame man when he firſt enters into buſineſs, as ten thouſand when he has made his fortune.

Again, it cannot be ſuppoſed that a North-Britain could have ſo quick a ſenſe, or ſo real a concern for the intereſt of England as a native would; and admitting they might, yet thoſe miniſters, it is very natural to ſuppoſe, would apply themſelves to ſecure their own and their maſter's poſſeſſion, before they caſt their eyes on our diſtant plantations and foreign trade.

And what contributed ſtill more to the neglect of our intereſts abroad was, the miſunderſtandings between the King and Parliament, upon account of his profuſe bounty to the Scots, as is apparent from ſeveral addreſſes and repreſentations on this head; and which happened extremely advantageous to the Dutch deſigns: for underſtanding that the Engliſh treaſury was very low, and that the Parliament would not ſupply the King till their

grievances

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grievances were redreſſed, to diſtreſs him ſtill more, they refuſed to pay the Engliſh garriſons in the cautionary towns, which they were obliged to do by their agreement with Queen ELIZABETH, which occaſioned heavy complaints from thoſe garriſons, and almoſt a mutiny; ſo that the King was in danger of loſing thoſe towns without any conſideration, as well as the money the Dutch were indebted to this crown by way of loan, and for maintaining the troops in their ſervice in the reign of the late Queen.

While the King was in this perplexity, the Dutch cunningly offered about a tenth part of the money that was due to England in caſe he would ſurrender up the cautionary towns, and diſcharge them of that great debt which they pretended they ſhould never be able to pay.

The cautionary towns were delivered up anno 1616 at the very time the Dutch were attempting to deprive the Engliſh of the ſpice trade.

The conſequences of delivering up theſe towns, which were indeed no leſs than the parting with the dependency Holland had upon England, our ſovereignty at ſea, and with that our trade, was not duly reflected on by the then miniſtry; and there is no doubt to be made, but theſe falſe ſteps contributed ſtill more towards the widening the breach between the King and his people.

At this time alſo the differences in religion, and the warmth with which each party endeavoured to maintain their ſeveral opinions, took off their attention to the general intereſt of the nation; and theſe heats were no doubt fomented by our good allies, whatever they were by the Papiſts; for the Hollanders certainly made greater advantages of theſe diſputes than all the Popiſh Princes in Europe put together.

But to return, theſe uſurpations of the Dutch, and their unparellell'd cruelty and injuſtice towards the ſubjects of England have not paſſed entirely unobſerved: for repreſentations and memorials have been delivered on theſe heads almoſt in every reign; and ſometimes ſatisfaction demanded and endeavoured to be procured, in ſuch a manner as the caſe required.

King JAMES I. who dreaded the effects of war too much for his ſubjects advantage, and thereby encouraged ſome neighbouring States in their depredations, yet could not help ſhewing his reſentment at the barbarous proceedings of the Dutch againſt his people at Amboyna, and is ſaid to have uſed ſeveral ſevere execrations on that occaſion.

King CHARLES I. finding all repreſentations and memorials on this head ineffectual, was about to increaſe his ſhipping, and call the Dutch to an account; but was unhappily prevented by the civil war which enſued.

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The Rump Parliament, who poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſovereign power after the murder of King CHARLES, were not to be amuſed by the hypocritical cant of the States calling themſelves 'their brethren, and of the ſame houſhold of faith;' but refuſed to make any peace with Holland, 'till they conſented to bring all thoſe to juſtice who were concerned in that bloody maſſacre at Amboyna: which article indeed was performed in much the ſame manner the former treaty was, in the reign of King JAMES I. However, this ſhews that though the nation was divided in other points, yet all parties agreed in demanding ſatisfaction for the lives of thoſe gentlemen ſo barbarouſly tortured at Amboyna; and for the depredations of the Dutch in the Indies. And had not CROMWELL had ſome by-ends of his own to ſerve, they would infallibly have been compelled to reſtore thoſe countries they had ſo treacherouſly uſurped, and given ſatisfaction for their repeated robberies and murders of the Engliſh merchants.

King CHARLES II. twice entered into a war with the Dutch, in order to procure ſatisfaction for their depredations on the Engliſh; and he compelled them in the laſt war to pay him ſeveral hundred thouſand pounds, before he would hearken to a peace; and had not the nation been apprehenſive of the growing power of France, they had probably been compelled to reſtore the Banda iſlands at that time.

From whence it appears, that this was no party matter; whig and tory, republicans as well as the ſons of monarchy, when they were in power, have ever inſiſted upon reſtitution and ſatisfaction in theſe particulars. And may the rage of party never run ſo high as to induce us to ſacrifice the true intereſt of the nation to trifles.

We have been play'd one againſt another long enough; while we have contended about names and ſounds at home, our neighbours have run away with our trade, and private villains have grown rich at the expence of the publick.

Religion, liberty and property are glorious things, the full enjoyment whereof Britain only perhaps can boaſt of at this day. May ſhe ever diſtinguiſh rightly between the ſhadow and the ſubſtance, and not be amuſed by the pretended advocates of religion, liberty and property, till ſhe has neither religion, liberty nor property left.

The SUNDA ISLANDS vitz BORNEO, SUMATRA and IAVA &c. Agreable to Modern History.

By H. Moll Geographer.

60 120 180 240 300
English Miles

Equinoctial Line

95 100 105 110 115 Deg. E from London

0 5 10

STREIGHTS of MALACCA
Str. of Sincapora
STR. of SUNDA
INDIAN OCEAN
STR. of MACASSAR
P. OF CELEBES I.

Low I.
A Good Channel
Nicobar
P. Ronda
P. way
Polona
Pedir
Achen
Pacem
Daya
ACHEN
Dely
SUMATRA
Barros
Hogs I.
Barfac
P. Nayos
Bathou I.
Bancalis
Batahan
Pasaman
Ticou
Priaman
Mintaon I.
Andragary
Padang
Mandacabo
Iamby
Good Fortune I.
Indrapour
Mocho mocho
Baros
Telomb.
Bantall
Nassow I.
3 Hills
Low Land
Riff
Marleborough
Fort
The Sugar Loaf
Tillebar
Cattoun
Ippo
Bencoolen
Palambam
Possoman
Lampin
I. de Engano
Pera
PART OF
Pahan
MALACCA
Malacca
Iohor
Lingen
Gelgote
7 Brothers
Banca I.
Lucapara
I. Arbres
Billiton I.
Natuna
Anamba I.
Timbelan
St Barbe
Selam
Mony
Princes I.
Palimbam
Issebongan
Bantam
Batavia
Cheribon
Issesuar
Toggal
Samarang
Tagal
Pemalang
Pekalongan
Jacatra
Damak
Grouda
Petersburg
Palambang
IAVA
Madura
Sydaya
Zouban
Carimon Java
Lubeck
Solombo
Bradroens I.
Posteljons Islands
Maduxa I.
Iapara
Rambang
Boomkens I.
Paramajaen
Bendermaeri
Succadana
Lava
Pulo Abaran
Sambas
Pucharuran
Hermata
Volcane
Borneo
Malona
BORNEO
Negaree
North Pt.
Coast
Desart
Sisor
Bay
Bacasa
Canciran
Marndo
Slackenburg I
Monpracem
P. Tigaon
I. Tiga
I. St Mary
2 Brothers
C. Tagusan
Part of Paragoa I.
C. Henri
M. St Pedro
St Miguel
St Anne Bay
St Clare
Bay of Borneo
Laoo
Leara
Tanjapura
Fresh R.
Biajo Creek
Mouth of Banjar R.
China R.
Tamborneo
Caytongo
Passier
Matapora
Laoot I.
2 Brothers
P. Laurat
Mac assar
Str. of Allas
Str. of Bally
Bally I.
Lombock
Comba
Iava
Mancop I.
Librolha
Lava R.
Banjar R.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE SUNDA ISLANDS.

CHAP. I.

Treats of the ſituation, trade and produce of the iſland of Borneo, and of the manners and cuſtoms of the inhabitants.

CHAP. I.

Sunda iſlands. Situation and extent of Borneo.

THE moſt conſiderable of the Sunda iſlands, called ſo from the ſtreights near which they lye, are Borneo, Sumatra and Java.

Borneo extends from 7 degrees 30 min. north latitude to 4 degrees ſouth latitude, and from the 107th to the 117th degree of longitude, being about ſeven hundred miles in length and five hundred in breadth, and is computed to be two thouſand five hundred miles in circumference. The figure of this iſland being almoſt round, it probably contains a greater number of acres than any iſland hitherto diſcovered. To the eaſtward of it lyes the iſland of Celebes or Maccaſſar, to the ſouth the iſland of Java, to the weſt the iſland of Sumatra, and to the north eaſt the Philippine iſlands.

Air.

The air of this country is not exceſſive hot, conſidering it is ſituated under the equinoctial, being refreſhed almoſt every day with ſhowers and cool breezes, as all other countries are under the line; but as thoſe parts of the iſland which border on the ſea-coaſt lye upon a flat for ſeveral hundred miles, and are annually flooded; upon the retiring of the waters the whole ſurface of the ground is covered with mud or ſoft ouze, which the ſun darting its rays perpendicularly upon, raiſes thick noiſome fogs, which are not diſperſed till nine or ten in the morning, and render thoſe parts of the iſland very unwholſome. The multitude of frogs and inſects that the waters leave behind, and are ſoon killed by the heat of the ſun, cauſe an intolerable ſtench alſo at that time of the year, and corrupt the air: Add to this the cold chilling winds and damps which ſucceed the hotteſt days; from all this we may conclude it muſt be very unhealthful, at leaſt to European conſtitutions, and the loſs of our countrymen who yearly travel thither ſufficiently convinces us of this truth. But gold and precious ſtones, which here abound, make our adventurers ſlight death in every ſhape, rather than not poſſeſs them; as if it were better not to be, than not to be rich and great. Nor would the ſhore of Styx itſelf be unviſited, if the ſame treaſures were to be found in thoſe regions, and the paſſage thither was navigable.

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Monſons and ſeaſons.

As to their monſons, or periodical winds, they are weſterly from September to April, or thereabouts; during which time is their wet ſeaſon, when heavy rains continually pour down, intermixed with violent ſtorms of thunder and lightning; and at this time it is very rare to have two hours fair weather together on the ſouth coaſt of the iſland, whither the Europeans principally reſort.

The dry ſeaſon begins uſually in April and continues till September; and in this part of the year too, they ſeldom fail of a ſhower every day when the ſea breeze comes in.

The principal harbours.

The harbours of greateſt note, and to which the Europeans uſually reſort, are Banjar Maſſeen, Succadana and Borneo, but much more to Banjar Maſſeen than either of the other; the greateſt quantities of pepper growing towards the ſource of that river, which falls into the ſea 3 degrees 18 minutes ſouth latitude. The town of Banjar formerly ſtood about twelve miles up the river, and was built partly on wooden pillars, and partly on floats of timber in the river; but there is now

no

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and chief towns.

no ſign of a town there, the inhabitants being removed to Tatas, about ſix miles higher.

The city of Borneo, formerly the reſidence of the principal Sultan or King of the iſland, lyes on the north weſt part of the iſland, in the latitude of 4 degrees north latitude, and is a very commodious harbour. The port of Succadana lyes on the weſt ſide of the iſland, in 15 minutes ſouth latitude, and was heretofore more reſorted to by the Europeans than any other. Over againſt this, on the eaſt ſide of the iſland, ſtands another ſea port town, called Paſſeir, in 15 minutes ſouth latitude, but is not a place of any great trade.

One of the moſt conſiderable inland towns is Caytongee, the Sultan whereof is now the moſt potent Prince in the iſland: this city lyes about one hundred miles up the river Banjar; and about two hundred miles higher ſtands the town of Negaree, the reſidence of another Sultan.

The names of the other principal towns are, Tanjongbuoro, Sedang, Tanjongdatoo, Sambas, Landa, Piſagadan, Cota-panjang, Sampit, Tanjong, Selatan, Gonwarengen and Pomanoocan.

The boundaries of the ſeveral kingdoms unfixed.

The extent and boundaries of the ſeveral kingdoms of this iſland is not attempted to be given us by any travellers, for they ſeem to be perpetually fluctuating, and enlarged or leſſened as one Prince or the other prevails; of which I ſhall take ſome notice when I come to treat of their government, and now proceed to give an account of the river Banjar, where the European ſhips which go this voyage uſually lye.

River Banjar.

The river Banjar, towards the mouth, is as broad again as the Thames at Graveſend; and the banks being planted with thick groves of evergreens, renders the paſſage up it exceeding pleaſant. A little within the entrance of this river are three iſlands, the firſt of which is covered with prodigious tall trees which may be ſeen off at ſea, and ſerve for a land mark to ſail over the bar: there are large ſpits of ſand about it which ſhoot out fartheſt at the north and ſouth ends, and are very dangerous; for if a veſſel be on ground, the ebb is ſo very ſtrong, occaſioned by the land floods, that ſhe will be in danger of being torn to pieces; and the vaſt floats of trees that are perpetually driving down the ſtream render it ſtill more hazardous: The beſt place to anchor in is about a mile or two within the river's mouth; and when a ſhip paſſes the firſt iſland, ſhe ought to keep the ſtarboard ſhore on board within a ſhip's length. It will be proper to ſail up with the flood, for the ebb runs ſo ſtrong at certain times, and the woods ſo keep off the wind, that the ſhip will make but little way when it comes to the opening of the firſt river on the ſtarboard ſide, which is called the China river, from the China juncks conſtantly ſailing up it.

Tides.

The tides here riſe about twelve foot, and never flow more than once in four and twenty hours, and that in the day time. In the night the water never riſes above half a foot, unleſs in a mighty dry ſeaſon, which proceeds from the ſtrength of the torrents, and the land winds blowing much ſtronger in the night than in the day.

China river

This China river, as it is called, is navigable to Tatas, and much higher, for ſhips of the greateſt burthen; but the European ſhips uſually lye a little higher up the main river, over againſt the place where the Engliſh factory ſtood; which was at the mouth of another leſſer river on the ſtarboard ſide going up, and is called Tatas little river; and is much the ſhorteſt way to the town for boats and ſmall veſſels.

River Tatas

Their towns built on floats or piles.

The towns whither the Europeans trade are built for the moſt part upon floats of timber in their rivers, and form one long ſtreet: they live all upon a floor, but the houſe is divided into rooms ſuitable to the largeneſs of the family; their partitions being made with ſplintered cane or bambou, and their roofs covered with palmeto leaves, after the manner of the Malays; the houſes are indifferently high, but the eaves reach down within 4 or 5 foot of the bottom, to ſhelter them from the ſcorching ſun. Some of their houſes are built on the ouze, and ſtand on piles of bambou, and at low water they go from one houſe to another by pieces of timber; but in time of flood they uſe their boats. The tide of ebb runs ſo ſtrong ſometimes at Tatas, that the houſes on the floats break looſe from their moorings in the night and drive to ſea.

Before the Sultan's palace at Caytongee ſtands a building conſiſting of one large room, where their councils are held, and foreigners are entertained: it ſtands on pillars ſeven or eight foot above the ground, and is open on all ſides, but covered with a roof: this room is about fifty yards in length, and thirty broad; in the middle is the Sultan's throne, being a gilt wooden chair, and over it is a large canopy of gold and ſilver brocade.

About this room are planted ſeven or eight great guns, but ill mounted on broken carriages, and ſerve neither for ornament nor defence.

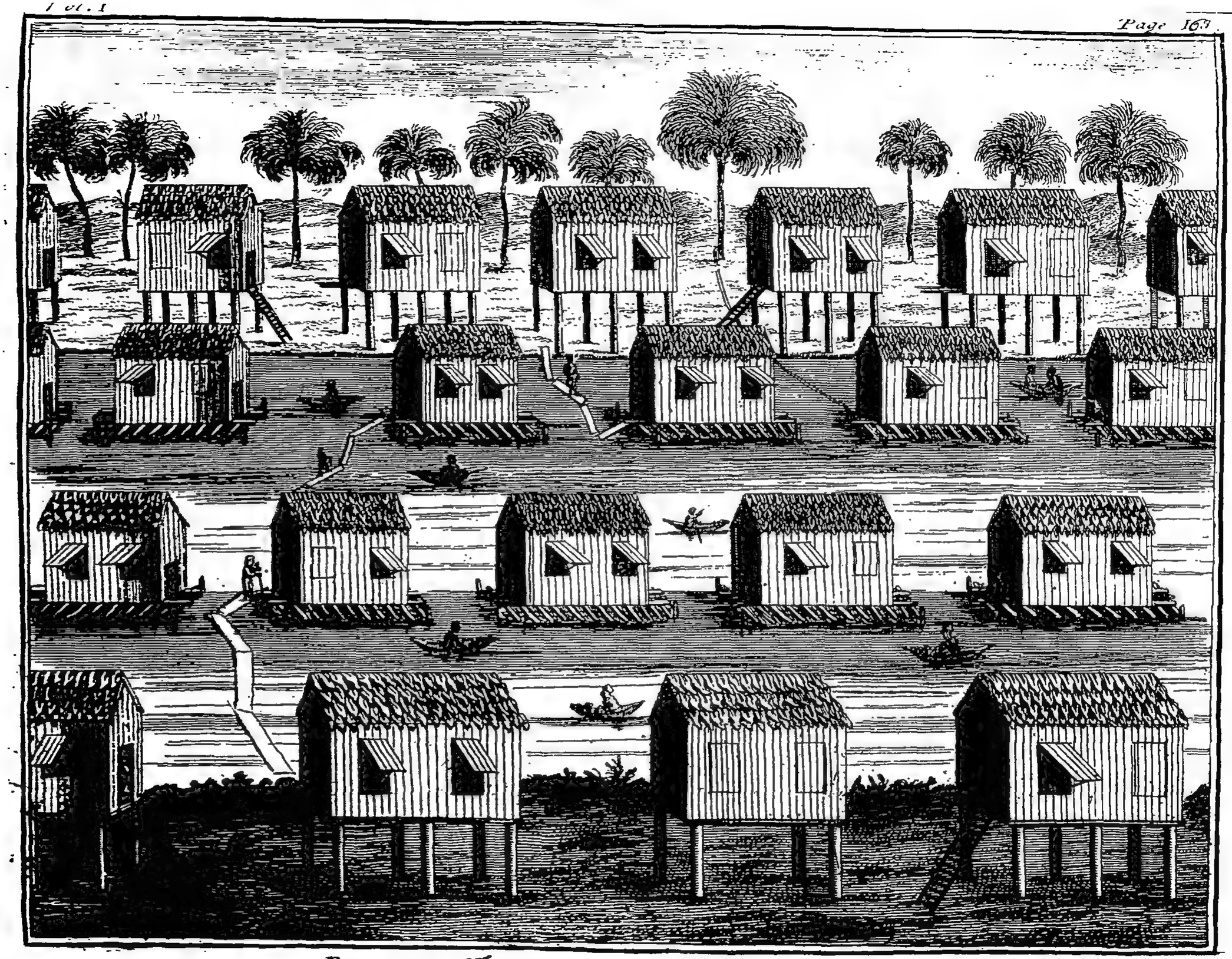
Fortifications.

Their fortifications are very mean: upon the China river, about eighteen miles below Caytongee, there ſtands a wooden caſtle, mounted with eleven or twelve guns pointing down the river; but it is ſo ill contrived and out of repair, that it contributes but little to the ſecurity of it; and in much the ſame condition are their other forts.

Matapoora.

Matapoora ſtands about ten miles from Caytongee, in a part of the country which is never overflowed: here is the palace of the Prince of Negaree, who has a handſome armory, well ſtocked with fire arms, and ſeveral great guns before the gates of his palace; but they ſerve more for ſhew than any uſe he makes of them.

The



Borneau Town upon a River

CHAP. I.

Genius and temper of the people.

The people of this iſland are divided into Mahometans and Pagans; the Mahometans inhabit the ſea coaſts, and all the chief towns of trade; and the Pagans, who are called Byayo's, poſſeſs the inland country. Theſe laſt are repreſented to us by the Mahometans as a barbarous people: on the other hand the popiſh Miſſionaries who have been amongſt them, and made ſome progreſs in their converſion, aſſure us, that the Byayo's are much more tractable and ready to embrace Chriſtianity than the Moors. And it is very natural to believe, that two nations inhabiting one iſland, and differing ſo widely in their manners, as well as their religion, will of courſe repreſent one another as barbarous, how peaceable or polite ſoever they may appear to foreigners, who have not theſe prejudices.

The Byayo's inhabiting the woods and mountains, and the inland part of the country, do not apply themſelves much to trade or merchandize, or to promote arts and ſciences; they are a robuſt warlike people we are told, who ſpend their time chiefly in hunting and looking after their cattle, and have very little commerce with foreigners, which makes it difficult to give a particular account of them; but poſſibly when we come to be better acquainted with this people, all the relations we have been entertained with of their barbarity will vaniſh, and we ſhall find them like the reſt of human race, a little rough and unpoliſhed while they inhabit the foreſts; but perhaps endued with more ſincerity and generoſity than their more civilized neighbours, whoſe converſation with the Chineſe merchants ſeems only to have rendered them more expert in the myſtery of cheating and impoſing on mankind.

As to the Banjareens and other Moors who inhabit the coaſts, they are generally a people of a quick apprehenſion, and extremely inquiſitive, and will learn any thing with a great deal of eaſe: ſome of them grew tolerable proficients in arithmetick, Captain BEECKMAN tells us, in the little time he was amongſt them, by converſing with his people and obſerving the method of their accounts.

They are held to be a people of a wonderful peaceable diſpoſition, ſeldom or never quarrelling among themſelves; but when they are thoroughly piqued, nothing leſs than the life of their enemy, 'tis ſaid, will ſatisfy their revenge; which they always take in a private manner, not being ſo much men of honour as to expoſe their own lives in a fair duel, as we term it; and inſtead of a real ſatisfaction, draw farther miſchief on their heads: and indeed this method of determining our rights by ſingle combat, however it is looked upon as the very ſtandard of honour amongſt us, and he is but a ſcoundrel who refuſes a challenge, is certainly one of the moſt barbarous cuſtoms we yet retain of our moſt barbarous anceſtors the Saxons, who formerly determined their right to lands, as we do points of honour at this day; concluding that heaven was always on the ſucceſsful ſide, and he, that had the worſt in the engagement, muſt of courſe have the worſt title. But how ſtupid ſoever this conduct might be in them, and at preſent exploded and laughed at by us, unleſs we really believe that heaven conſtantly interpoſes in behalf of the innocent, and that victory always attends the juſter cauſe, what can be more abſurd, as well as impious, than this practice of duelling? eſpecially when we are conſcious that the ſucceſs of every duel does not only depend on the skill, and ſtrength, and courage of the combatants, but upon ten thouſand other unforeſeen accidents; and that innocence is but a poor protection againſt theſe, whatever our Pagan anceſtors might think of the matter.

Not that the diſpatching an enemy by a poniard is to be encouraged, this is ſtill more baſe and impious than the former; but poſſibly it would not be much to the diſadvantage of the world, if private men would ceaſe to revenge their own quarrels, for if this was the general practice, there muſt be an end of all ſecurity as well as government. Among the antient Romans, who were the braveſt nation that ever appeared in the world, there is hardly an inſtance of a private duel: nor is their paſſing by private injuries any great reflection on their memory; it requires a much greater ſoul to flight than to revenge an affront, and ſtill greater to extend our benevolence even to thoſe who hate us.

But to return to the Banjareens; the Dutch, I am ſenſible, repreſent them as treacherous, cruel and revengeful, as they do moſt other Indian nations; though I am ſatisfied the principal reaſon of it is, their oppoſing the Dutch encroachments, and not willingly ſuffering themſelves to be made ſlaves.

Complexion and ſtature.

The natives of Borneo are extremely ſwarthy, as the people of other countries are under the equinoctial, which has given occaſion to ſome travellers to call all thoſe who inhabit near the Line Black; but there is a conſiderable difference between theſe and the Negroes, as has been obſerved already; it is not the heat of the climate alone that gives a black complexion, though it makes men tawny.

The Banjareens have long, ſhining, black hair, and are well proportioned, but of a low ſtature; and their features are not very engaging, though not ſo ſhocking to an European as the Negroes. The women are little and well ſhaped, and their features and complexion much better than the men's; their mien alſo is very engaging, and few people move with a better grace.

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The Byayo's, who live in the mountains, are of a much taller ſtature and ſtronger bodied people than the Banjareens; which may be aſcribed as well to their ſituation as their way of life, being inured to hardſhip and fatigues, and conſtantly following the chaſe. Whereas the people of the flat country uſe hardly any other exerciſe than rowing, and this is done ſitting: they are ſo little uſed to ride or walk, that 'tis ſaid they do both very aukwardly; and even fiſhing they take very little pains in, for by caſting a net once before their own doors, they take as many fiſh as they know what to do with a whole day: and ſo little difficulty they find in getting food to ſubſiſt their families that they are moſt of them exceeding lazy.

As to the habits of the Byayo's, I don't find they have any clothing but go naked, except in thoſe parts which modeſty requires them to conceal: they paint their bodies indeed of a blueiſh colour, which looks ſomething like clothing; and the natives in general beſmear themſelves with a ſtinking oil, which added to the unſavoury ſteams their bodies naturally ſend out, is enough to ſtifle an European when he happens amongſt a crowd of them. So ſtrong is the force of cuſtom, and ſo prevailing the faſhion of the place, that there is hardly a conſiderable man among the Byayo's who does not pull out his fore teeth to put others made of gold in their room; and their greateſt ornament is a ſtring of tygers teeth hung about their necks like an alderman's gold chain.

The common people among the Banjareens are not much better clothed than the Byayo's; but their Princes and great men are uſually clothed in a kind of waiſtcoat or cloſe veſt of blue or red ſilk, and ſometimes European cloth, over which they throw a looſe piece of ſilk or betele which wraps once or twice about them, and reaches down to their knees: they wear alſo a pair of drawers, but no ſhirt; and their legs and feet are always bare: their hair is tied up in a roll in the hinder part of their heads, about which they tie a piece of muſlin or callicoe, but it is not near ſo large as a turbant. The crice or dagger is alſo always part of their dreſs, which they wear in a belt or ſaſh on their left ſide.

Food.

Entertainments.

Liquors.

The Banjareens live in a hoſpitable, friendly manner, their houſes being always open to their friends. Their food conſiſts chiefly of boiled rice, fowls, hard eggs, fiſh and veniſon, which at great men's tables is ſerved up in diſhes or bowls of gold and ſilver plate; and thoſe of inferior rank uſe veſſels of braſs or earthen ware. They ſit croſs-legged on matts at their meals as they do at other times, and are ſeldom ſeen in any other poſture. Their uſual liquors are water or tea; but though their religion prohibit their drinking ſtrong liquors, there are not many of them who will refuſe wine or arrack when they are among the Europeans, but will drink as freely as our own people.

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After dinner, and indeed all day long almoſt, they have their little tables by them of the ſize and ſhape of a hand tea table, on which ſtands their betel and arek in veſſels of gold, ſilver or braſs (as is the table itſelf) according to the quality of the maſter of the houſe; and this they chew perpetually as in other parts of India, unleſs when they are eating or ſmoking tobacco, which both the men and women are very fond of; and their tobacco is uſually mixed with opium, which is prepared in this manner; they boil a quantity of opium in water till it comes to a conſiſtency, and having made it up in pills about the bigneſs of a pea, clap it into the pipe among their tobacco. The maſter of the houſe uſually lights the pipe firſt (for they uſe but one) which, after he has ſmoked two or three whiffs, he gives to his neighbour, and he to a third till it has gone round the company, who ſit croſs-legged in a ring upon matts: when they have continued ſmoking ſome time they grow exceeding chearful, but when they ſit too long at it they grow mad or ſtupid; and the immoderate uſe of opium is eſteemed very unhealthful there as well as here. But they ſeldom take it to that exceſs as in Java, where they frequently work themſelves up into a religious frenzy; and having ſacrificed all they meet, are at length killed themſelves, and ſent to that paradiſe their prophet promiſes to his devotees, as they believe at leaſt.

Betel and arek.

Tobacco.

Opium.

The Banjareens have deſtroyed ſeveral Portugueſe and Dutch ſettlements in Borneo, but this was no more than any nation would have done, who had a value for their liberties: the Portugueſe, and after them the Dutch have uſurped the government, and tyrannized over every people who have been ſo weak as to admit them to ſettle factories in their country; nay, they have maſſacred and extirpated whole nations of Indians, particularly at Banda, the Molucca's, Macaſſar and Java, which lye in the neighbourhood of Borneo; and can we blame the natives of this iſland, who have the fate of their neighbours before their eyes, to be jealous of the Dutch, and indeed of every other European nation, whom the Dutch have repreſented to be as rapacious as their own: For though there be no inſtance of the Engliſh attempting to uſurp and encroach upon the liberties of any people in the Eaſt; but on the contrary, all that are acquainted with them deſire their alliance and protection; yet it being the common artifice of the Dutch to miſrepreſent us wherever they come, and very often wearing Engliſh colours, and throwing their piracies and depredations on the Engliſh, as they did when they fell upon the Chineſe and made prize of their

ſhips

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ſhips wherever they met them, it is no wonder that ſome particular people, who have not an opportunity of being better informed, ſtand in equal dread of us as they do of them: though there is great hopes from the kind reception our merchants have met with of late at Borneo, that this people begin to be diſabuſed, and are not averſe to our ſettling amongſt them.

Diverſions.

Dancing and comedies they divert themſelves with much after the manner of the Eaſt; which diverſions having been already deſcribed in a former pamphlet, it is unneceſſary to ſay more of them here. The Chineſe have alſo taught them gaming. Their more manly diverſions are ſhooting at a mark, and hunting; which, in the way they manage it, requires no great labour; for the game being rouſed, they ſurround the poor animal and ſoon diſpatch him with a multitude of wounds, every man darting his ſpear at him, and ſome of them after he is dead, to entitle them to a ſhare of the honour acquired by his fall.

...ations.

Their ordinary way of ſalutation, is by joining their hands, and lifting them towards their breaſt or head, and bowing the body a little; but when they appear before a great man, they lift their joined hands to their foreheads, falling down on their faces and knees; and if it be before a Prince, in this manner they begin to creep towards him at a conſiderable diſtance, and in the ſame manner they retire after they are diſpatched.

And whoever has occaſion to addreſs or petition his ſuperior, lyes in this humble poſture till he is ſpoke to, which is ſometimes a conſiderable time. No man preſumes to ſpeak to his Prince till he is firſt ſpoke to, and commanded to declare his buſineſs.

...of tra-...

The Banjareens travel chiefly in covered boats, and in the night time, for the benefit of the cool air; and theſe veſſels being made very ſharp and narrow, ſail with an incredible ſwiftneſs. The great men on ſhore ride on elephants, and ſome on horſes; but the common people travel for the moſt part on foot.

...e.

The late Engliſh factory which was ſettled at Borneo having behaved themſelves with ſome inſolence towards the Sultan of Caytongee, the Banjareens for ſome time looked upon our Eaſt-India company with an evil eye, and would not have any commerce with their factors if they knew it, though they did not deny the liberty of their ports to ſeparate traders; and therefore the company's ſhips, after the deſtruction of that factory, were forced to deny all relation to the company's ſervice. It was not with the Engliſh nation in general that this people had a quarrel, but only with the company; the Engliſh, ſay they, we acknowledge to be a brave generous people and fair dealers. But theſe companies are ſeldom burthened with too much honour or conſcience; many of their members ſeparately would be aſhamed probably to do an unhandſome thing, but yet will frequently ſuffer themſelves to be over-ruled and carried away with the ſtream, imagining they ſhall be concealed in the crowd, or the odium of the action will be thrown on the principal managers; or if at any time they depute their authority to a committee of raſcals, *who will ſtick at nothing*, they look upon themſelves not anſwerable for the reſolutions taken in their abſence, or at leaſt that they ſhall not ſhare the infamy with them. And it is thought by ſome, if the trade was open for all the King's ſubjects, our reputation as well as commerce would be conſiderably advanced by it.

Goods imported from Borneo.

The goods our merchants deal in in this country are chiefly pepper, gold and precious ſtones; tho' it affords ſeveral other valuable commodities, as will be taken notice of hereafter.

Goods exported.

Goods proper for exportation thither (beſides dollars) are guns from one to two hundred weight, ſheet lead, ſhowy calimancoes, knives and other cutlers wares, but not forks, being perfectly uſeleſs here; iron bars, ſmall ſteel bars, hangers, the ſmalleſt ſort of ſpike nails, twenty-peny nails, graplings of about forty pound weight, red leather boots, ſpectacles, clockwork, ſmall arms with braſs mounting, blunderbuſſes, ordinary horſe piſtols, gunpowder and looking glaſſes.

What merchandize turns to the beſt account.

Next to pepper, the purchaſing gold turns to the beſt account here. Diamonds alſo may be bought to advantage, but we ſeldom meet with any at the port of Banjar above three carrats. The manner of purchaſing gold is to give a certain number of ſilver dollars for the weight of one dollar in gold; but of this more hereafter.

Advantage of a trade to Borneo.

The trade to Borneo, ſome authors obſerve, might become as advantageous to the Engliſh as any trade whatever, with a little good management; for here we meet the China fleet, and may be ſupplied with the goods of that country upon as eaſy terms, very near, as in China: and conſidering how much more time the voyage to China requires, the cuſtoms, port charges and other extraordinary ſums extorted by the hoppo's or cuſtom-houſe officers there, perhaps China goods might be had at a better hand here than in the country itſelf. Beſides, about the latter end of September every year, we find the Maccaſſar praws here; which in ſpight of the Dutch, ſtill bring over cloves, nutmegs, mace, gumboage, lignum aloes, caſſia, and a great deal of other rich merchandize.

Directions for managing that trade.

As to the management of the Engliſh trade at Banjar Malleen, Captain BEECKMAN informs us, that if ſhips arrive there the beginning of Auguſt, it is time enough to make their contracts, and to purchaſe the pepper that is left of the laſt year's crop, which he thinks to be better than that of the new crop, becauſe they have had full time to cure it, and conſequently it will not waſte and loſe

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loſe ſo much of the weight in the bringing over as the new pepper does.

He adviſes the ſhipping to anchor at the firſt iſland at the mouth of the river Banjar, which he calls Poolo Cocket, and from thence ſend by ſome country boat to the Sultan of Caytongee and acquaint him with the deſign of their coming; for the country will be alarmed on ſending up a pinnace before they have notice of your arrival: and when the natives come aboard, he ſays, it will not be prudence to ſhew any fear or diſtruſt of them, by arming the crew, or the like, leſt they ſuſpect you for a man of war, or perhaps a pirate, and then the trade is at an end; for their natural cowardiſe makes them dread the leaſt appearance of an enemy.

Some or other of the natives will always be on board almoſt; and they ſeldom want a pretence to extort a preſent, either they have done or will do you conſiderable ſervices in your trade, or negotiations with their Prince, they pretend; tho' at the ſame time they mean as little by theſe profeſſions as a retainer to the Courts of Europe; and therefore the Captain adviſes not to give too much at once, but feed them from time to time with money or things of little value, as you find they are ſerviceable to you. And it ſeems, the greateſt Oran Caya's or Noblemen will not be affronted upon offering them four or five dollars wrapt up in a piece of paper.

The price of pepper is very uncertain, and depends much upon the number of China junks there are in the river; and whatever contracts are made, it behoves the buyer to be as careful as poſſible in drawing them up; for if there be the leaſt room to cavil they will be ſure to make an advantage of it. He adviſes alſo to ſtipulate for a houſe in the town of Tatas for a warehouſe, and to tranſact buſineſs in; which they will not refuſe, though they will inſiſt on an extravagant price if it be not mentioned at firſt.

Two ſmall ſhips he thinks it were more adviſable to ſend thither than one large one; for if any miſunderſtanding ſhould happen between them and the natives, they would be in a much better condition to defend themſelves; and tho' a peaceable quiet behaviour is of all things to be recommended, and all ſhew of diſtruſt avoided, yet the merchant cannot be too much upon his guard.

Two little ſhips alſo might be much ſooner loaded, he obſerves, than a great one, becauſe one of them might go up the river to the town of Tatas and take in her lading, while the other lyes out of their reach at the mouth of the China river; for it would not be adviſable by any means to truſt your whole force in their power; and it will take up a great deal more time to ſend down every parcel of pepper in the country boats to the ſhip at the river's mouth, than to take it on board at the town. Beſides, as the ſhip lyes alongſide your houſe, and the deck is thatched or roofed with cajan leaves, the pepper may be garbled in all weathers; and having one mill on ſhore and another on board, two thirds of the time is ſaved. He tells us alſo, that the company ſent ſome implements for the garbling pepper with the ſhips, but they never uſed them; for with the mill they made in the country they could clean ten times the quantity of pepper in a day they could with the Engliſh mill.

The pepper duſt, he obſerves, ought not to be thrown over board, for the natives will ſcum a great part off the water; and having dried it, will mix it with other pepper and ſell it a ſecond time: Beſides, the Chineſe will purchaſe it, making no diſtinction between what is clean and what is duſty, and never garbled any.

As the Banjareen women bring proviſions every day to the merchants houſes, great care muſt be taken the ſailors offer them no affront; and tho' your warehouſe will frequently be crowded with impertinent people under pretence of trading, it muſt be born with rather than diſoblige them: but as they are much given to thieving, it will be proper to take a large houſe, which may be had for 50 pieces of eight, and reſerve ſome apartments for goods of value.

Trading with the Chineſe at Borneo.

The Chineſe are to be looked upon as enemies in point of trade, however ſmoothly they carry it outwardly; but they muſt be treated with civility, for a trade may be carried on with them to advantage, ſeveral kinds of merchandize being to be had of them which are not to be had of the natives.

The Chineſe are expert merchants, and underſtand the true value of every commodity; but the Banjareens are ignorant of the price of European goods, and you muſt ask at leaſt twice as much as you deſign to take; for though you aſſure them you ask but a ſmall profit, yet having made you a compliment and beg'd you would not be angry with them, they will bid a fourth part perhaps, and never above half what is asked: on the other hand, they will be ſure to ask enough for what they ſell, and frequently ten times more than they take.

If they barter goods with you there is no relying on their ſamples or their weights, but they muſt be examined; for the Chineſe have taught them to ſharp, and they are grown almoſt as expert as their maſters; nor do they reckon it any diſgrace if they are detected in attempting to overreach you.

Dragons blood.

The dragons blood which this country produces is the fineſt in the world: this is a gum which iſſues from a tree that bears a fruit as red as a cherry, and that which appears of the brighteſt colour

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colour after it is rubbed on paper is the beſt. The country people expoſe it to ſale in ſmall drops about an inch long, every piece being wrapped up in leaves; but you muſt inſiſt on having it without leaves, or you will be impoſed upon. The beſt is ſold at about forty dollars the pecull.

Canes. Jambee canes are ſold here for four dollars a hundred; and though they look very fair to the eye, they will often ſhrivel up in two or three days, and prove good for little. This happens when they are not cut in the right ſeaſon, or before their full growth, or when they are not rightly cured by the fire and bees-wax, whereby they harden the outward rind, that it will not ſhrivel up.

Gold. If the natives offer you gold in bars they ought to be cut half through, and then broke and touched; for they will ſometimes ſo artificially cover a baſe metal with gold, that if it be cut quite through with a chiſſel it will draw the gold over with it, and the fraud remain undiſcovered.

There is no artificial alloy in their head gold, but it comes up in fineneſs to twenty-two carrats Engliſh; but the belly and foot gold are frequently found mixed with iron duſt, or ſomething like it, and is ſo taken up out of the ſand in their rivers; and they clear it of the iron by rubbing a load-ſtone among the gold duſt, in a diſh or large ſhell, the iron particles adhering to the load-ſtone: but they are yet very deficient in the art of ſeparating metals, and therefore ſeldom or never clear it as it ſhould be, and it requires a great deal of care in the buyer, when he purchaſes any of this kind.

The higheſt coloured gold is eſteemed the beſt while it is without alloy.

Bezoar. Their fine monkey-bezoar is ſold for about five times the weight in ſilver, and the beſt is of a greeniſh colour, and theſe ſtones are from a peny-weight to an ounce, and ſometimes more; but the largeſt are thought to be goat-bezoar. The natives make a compound which ſo nearly reſembles the right bezoar-ſtone that it is difficult to diſtinguiſh them; the way to detect them is by rubbing white-lead, lime, or chalk, on a white paper, and afterwards rub the bezoar upon it, and if it be right it will change the white-lead, chalk, &c. to a greeniſh colour. Here is alſo found a kind of bezoar which being infuſed gives a pleaſant bitter to wine, and after the infuſion does not ſeem to be at all diminiſhed in ſubſtance. The beſt unrefined camphire is alſo ſaid to be produced in this country.

Birds neſts. Their birds neſts are alſo eſteemed excellent, and are alſo ſold for ninety or an hundred dollars the pecull; thoſe that are white and clear are the beſt. The votaries of Venus are very fond of them, imagining this food inſpires them with freſh vigour: but theſe have been deſcribed already, and therefore I ſhall not trouble the reader with a repetition.

Their pepper is uſually at the rate of four or five dollars the pecull, (one hundred and thirty-two pound weight).

The Chineſe are the only people who keep ſhops and retail goods amongſt them; and their ſhops are furniſhed chiefly with ſilks, chints, callicoes, beteles, drugs, tea, China and Japan wares.

Navigation and ſhipping. As to their skill in navigation it is but mean, they make no diſtant voyages, neither have they any veſſels of any great force or bulk. Their ſmall boats, or flying praws, ſo called from their extraordinary ſwiftneſs, are the moſt remarkable veſſels, and theſe are nothing elſe but the body of a tall tree, hollowed and made ſharp at both ends, like the ſtem of a wherry; they have neither keel nor rudder, but are ſteered over the quarter with a long narrow paddle: ſome of theſe boats are thirty foot long, and yet not more than two foot wide, and the ſeats where the rowers ſit are laid croſs the gunnel or ſides of the boat. They have alſo long poles or outlayers laid croſs at each end to prevent their overſetting; and theſe veſſels with their large matt ſail will run at the rate of four and twenty miles an hour; and when it over blows, the watermen will run in and out upon the outlayers to keep them upright.

What kind of country. The inland part of the country is dry and mountainous, but upon the ſouth coaſts, for an hundred miles one way and two hundred another, the country is all a ſtinking moraſs, or ſoft ouze; and yet covered with woods of prodigious tall trees: and this vaſt ſpace is all overflowed in the rainy ſeaſon. The other coaſts are much like this; ſo that however unhealthful ſuch a country muſt of neceſſity be, they do not ſeem to be ſo much in danger of an invaſion.

About fifty or ſixty miles up the country in the fair ſeaſon, the grounds grow dry, and there may be ſeen herds of cattle graſing upon the banks of the rivers, the graſs growing to a great height at thoſe times among the trees; but when the rains return, the cattle are all forced up to the hills, and the flat country becomes one great watry grove again.

Tillage. Rice is the only grain they eat, and this is cultivated in the ſame manner as in other countries, where the manner of their husbandry has been deſcribed already, and therefore I proceed to enquire what other plants are found in this country, and it ſeems they have plenty of coco-nuts, lemons, oranges, citrons, plantons, melons, banana's, pine-apples, and all other Indian fruits: they have alſo the cotton-ſhrub, canes, rattans, and abundance of very fine timber; but what foreigners principally reſort to this iſland for is their pepper.

Fruits and plants.

There

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Black pepper three ſorts.

There are three ſorts of black pepper in Borneo, the firſt is called Molucca or lout pepper, which is the beſt; the ſecond Caytongee pepper, which is a middling ſort; and the third and worſt ſort Negaree pepper, of which they have much the greateſt quantity: this is a ſmall hollow light pepper, and uſually very full of duſt, and therefore it muſt be bought by weight, and not by meaſure, or the buyer will certainly be impoſed upon, and they will reſerve their Molucca or heavy pepper for thoſe who take it by weight: care muſt alſo be taken that they do not mix little black ſtones with the pepper, which are not eaſily diſcerned, neither will the gaibling mill throw them out.

White pepper, how made.

The white pepper which is brought from this country, is double the price of the black; but I don't find any traveller that pretends to have ſeen it growing. Our merchants tell us the poor people bring it them in ſmall quantities, having picked it off the ground, and they apprehend that a certain bird, called ballaree, feeding on black pepper, digeſts nothing but the outward huſk, and the reſt having paſſed whole through the body of the bird, acquires a whiteneſs. Now if I may be allowed to give my thoughts of the matter, where the facts are uncertainly tranſmitted to us, I believe it may be true, that this pepper is picked up by the poor people, under the black pepper trees; but as to the birds ſwallowing and voiding it whole, I muſt deſire to be excuſed if I do not aſſent to it; for it ſeems much more probable, that this is the beſt of the fruit, which drops of itſelf, and by lying in the weather becomes of a whitiſh colour; and the reaſon why this is ſo much dearer than the other, is becauſe it is really the beſt fruit, and has the fire taken out of it by lying on the ground, but chiefly becauſe there is ſo very little of it to be had: however, I acknowledge this is but my conjecture, and ſubmit it to thoſe who have had better opportunities of enquiring into the truth of the fact.

Minerals.

There are in this country mines of iron and tin, and very good load-ſtone; and their mountains would afford great plenty of gold if they were well wrought. The gold we meet with here is of three ſorts, viz. head, belly, and foot gold. The head or Molucca gold is in grains of the bigneſs of bay ſalt, and of a very irregular figure; it is purchaſed for eleven times the weight in ſilver, and frequently for leſs: the belly gold is a ſmaller ſort, like ſand or filings, and ſold for ten times the weight of ſilver: the foot gold is much like this in appearance, but worſe, and ſold for nine times the weight in ſilver; but the belly gold at theſe prices is moſt profitable.

Several kinds of gold.

Beaſts.

The animals of moſt uſe in this country are elephants, ſmall ſized horſes, oxen, buffaloes, deer, and goats. Sheep I don't find they have any, but there are ſeveral kinds of wild beaſts, ſuch as bears, tygers, and monkeys; of which laſt there are vaſt numbers, and a very great variety; but the oran ootan, or man of the woods, as he is called, is much the moſt remarkable. He is not, it ſeems, leſs than ſix foot high at his full growth, and walks upright like a man; his arms are ſomething longer than a man's; but his features are ſaid not to be ſo ſhocking as the Hotentots, and ſome others of human race. He has no tail, or any hair on his body, but where it is found on a man's: he is very ſtrong and nimble, and will encounter thoſe that provoke him, with ſtones, or any other miſſive weapons which come in his way; but whether he will engage in a cloſe fight with any of our ſpecies, travellers do not inform us.

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Oran ootan.

Capt. BEECKMAN ſays he bought one of theſe animals, and that he was ſuch a lover of ſtrong liquor, that he would drink heartily of the punch bowl, if they left him in the cabbin with it, that he would alſo open his caſe of brandy, and drink a conſiderable quantity, and then return the bottle to its place again: that if the Captain was angry with him, he would ſigh and whine till he was reconciled; he would lay himſelf down to ſleep as a man does, with one arm under his head. And though he was not twelve months old when he died, he was ſtronger than any man in the ſhip.

Birds.

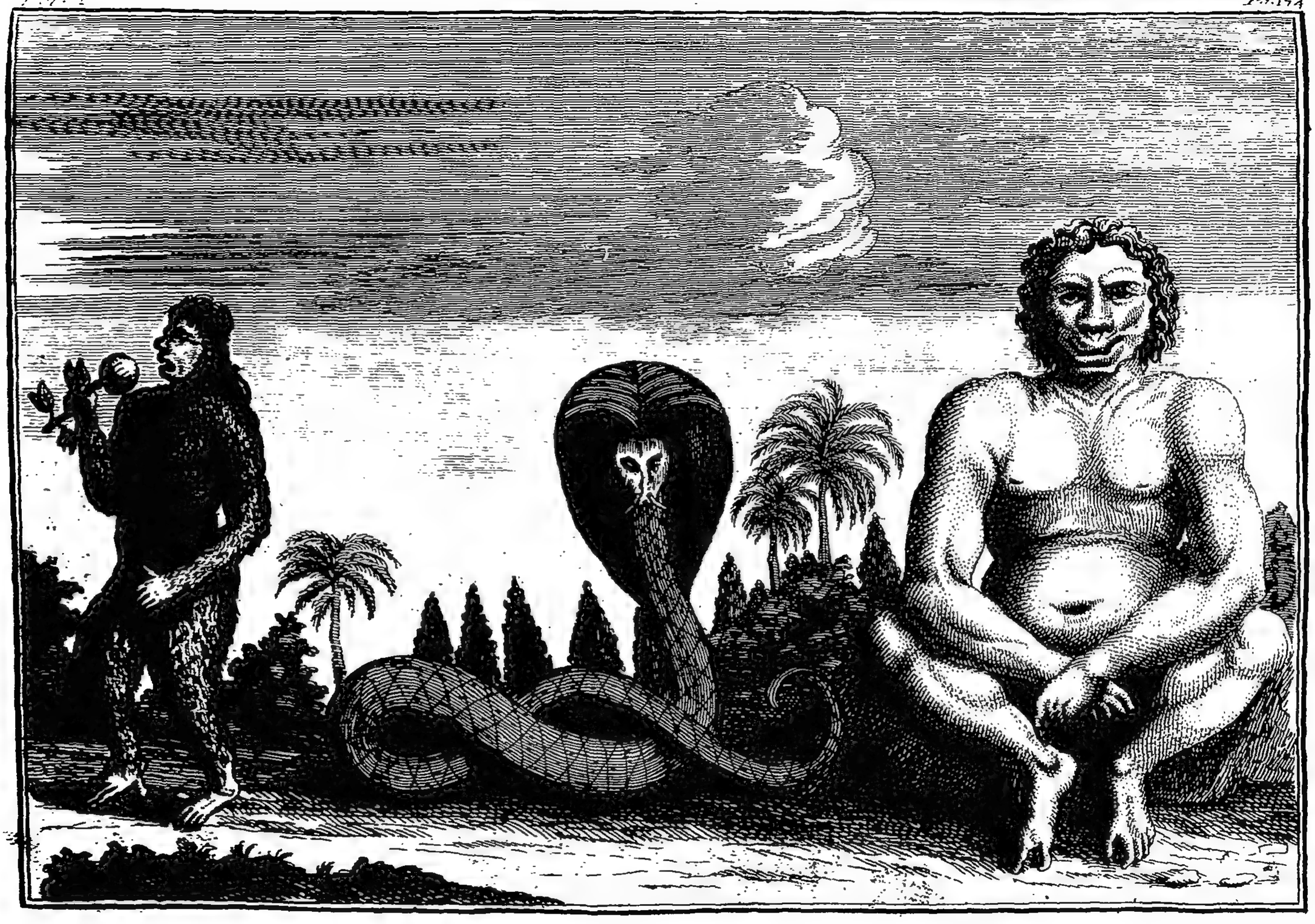
Here are ſcarce any of the birds we have in Europe, except the ſparrow, but parrots and parokets of all ſizes; of theſe the Luree is much the moſt beautiful. He is of the bigneſs of an ordinary parrot, his feathers are of that lively red, intermixed with blue and green, and ſo finely ſhaded as not to be imitated by the pencil; they are alſo eſteemed the moſt teachable of all kinds of parrots, and coſt two or three guineas a piece in the country; our Captains frequently purchaſe them, but they generally die in the voyage when they come into cool weather; tho' ſome I am told have had the good fortune to bring them to England alive.

Bats.

Another flying animal they have, which our travellers call a bat, and ſometimes a flying cat; the body whereof, in colour, ſhape, and ſmell, reſembles that of a fox; but is not ſo large. The wings of this creature are of a prodigious bigneſs, for when they are extended it is not leſs than five or ſix foot from the tip of one to the other. Theſe bats during the weſtern monſon fly from weſt to eaſt, for two or three hours every evening, in ſuch multitudes that they darken the ſky.

Fiſh.

This country alſo affords great plenty of ſea and river fiſh, ſome of which are known in Europe, ſuch as mullets, breams, &c. but they have alſo many others we never heard of, particularly the fiſh called cockup, which is not inferior in taſte



An Ape of Java. *The Hooded Serpent.* *Orun=Outan*

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taſte to any of ours. The natives alſo are very fond of the cat-fiſh, which is ſeldom eaten by Europeans; their heads are large and not unlike a cat's, they have alſo barbs, which reſemble a cat's whiskers, and are ſometimes five or ſix foot long, but have no ſcales. In the river of Banjar they have alſo prawns of ſix or eight inches in length, and very large rock oyſters.

Inſects. The musketoes or gnats are intolerably troubleſome here, and ſo venomous, that when foreigners firſt come hither, their faces are frequently ſwelled up to that degree that a man can hardly know his moſt intimate acquaintance; but after ſome time their ſtings have not that effect.

Mechanicks. They have no mechanick or handicraft trades amongſt them, except goldſmiths and carpenters, but every man has the knack of carving, and will carve the head of a cane or crice very nicely, without any other tool than an ordinary knife.

Phyſick. Phyſick they have very little skill in; and they are perfectly amazed that any one ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be let blood, and willingly part with his life, as they call it.

Aſtronomy. They are ſo ignorant alſo in aſtronomy, that an eclipſe puts them into the greateſt conſternation; inſomuch that, like ſome of their neighbours, they never ceaſe howling and lamenting, and ſounding their brazen veſſels, till they ſee the ſun or moon delivered from the jaws of the celeſtial dragon, who is about to devour them, as they imagine. And the foretelling an eclipſe exactly before it happens, they apprehend to be paſt human skill.

Diſeaſes aſcribed to ſome demon. Moſt diſtempers they impute to the malice of ſome evil ſpirit; eſpecially if the perſon be delirious, and ramble in his diſcourſe; and inſtead of having recourſe to phyſick in this caſe, they uſually prepare a handſome entertainment of fowls, rice, or other proviſions, which they carry into the fields, and there under a certain tree where there is a little oratory erected, they offer their meats, with prayers for the health of the ſick perſon; and if he recovers they ſeldom fail to bring another offering, and return thanks for the bleſſing: but if the ſick man dies, they expreſs their reſentment againſt the angry demon, whom they imagine to be the occaſion of their misfortune.

These Genii to whom the Indians pray on almoſt every occaſion, our travellers, eſpecially the firſt diſcoverers, have given the denomination of devils to, but poſſibly their notions of theſe demons will be found very different from thoſe which we entertain of the inhabitants of the infernal regions, and conſequently ought not to be ranged in the ſame claſs: but of this I ſhall treat more at large under the head of religion.

Arithmetick They do not underſtand arithmetick; but have a board with parallel lines and moveable buttons, by which they caſt up their accompts as the Chineſe do.

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Language. The language ſpoken by the Banjareens and other Moors who inhabit the coaſt is the Malayan tongue; but the people of the inland country have a language peculiar to themſelves, which our travellers do not pretend to give us any account of.

Firſt inhabitants. This iſland, as well as the reſt that lye in the Indian ſeas, was probably firſt peopled by the Chineſe, whoſe cuſtoms and ſuperſtition the inhabitants of the inland country ſtill retain for the moſt part. Thoſe who inhabit the coaſts planted themſelves here about three or four hundred years ſince, and came no doubt from Arabia and Perſia, and other countries bordering upon the Red-Sea, being the diſciples of Mahomet: but I don't find any records or hiſtories amongſt them, from whence we might deduce their original.

Govern-ment. At preſent this country is divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms; and when any Prince grows more powerful than the reſt, he uſually brings his neighbours into a ſtate of dependance, and ſometimes obtains the name of King or Sultan of the whole iſland. Thus not long ſince the King of the City of Borneo was ſtyled Sultan of the whole iſland; but his authority is upon the decline at preſent, and the Sultan of Caytongee, whoſe palace ſtands about a hundred miles from the mouth of the river Banjar, is now become his rival. However travellers uſually reckon up ſeveral other Kings, as the Sultan of Paſſeir, the Sultan of Negaree, and the Sultan of Succadana, &c. as for the north-eaſt part of the iſland, it is repreſented to us as deſert and uninhabited: but how peopled, or whether fruitful or not, ſeems to me very uncertain; for I do not meet with any traveller that ever was in that part of the iſland.

The inhabitants of the mountains are ſaid to be divided into numerous clans, under their reſpective heads, and are not ſubject to any of the Mooriſh Sultans: but they are ſo little known to us that I ſhall not pretend to deſcribe their form of government.

Whoever has buſineſs of any kind to tranſact with the Princes of this country, muſt be ſure not to come empty handed; and they will rarely ſuffer any foreigner to approach them till they are informed of what value his preſents are, and treat him accordingly; but it will be prudence not to be too profuſe at firſt.

The manner of their Sultans giving audience to foreigners. Capt. BEECKMAN tells us, when he had audience of the Sultan of Caytongee, he was introduced into the council chamber by the Prince of Negaree; and being directed to ſit down croſs-legged on a carpet, about ten or twelve foot before the throne, that was erected in the middle of the room, after a little time the Sultan came in,

Their habit. dreſſed in a kind of waiſtcoat or veſt, with breeches ſomething like our rope-dancers, and ſcarlet ſtockings

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ſtockings and ſlippers; and that he had over all a looſe atlace gown on, wrought with gold and ſilver, and a rich crice or dagger ſet with diamonds in his girdle. Before him were carried in arms two beautiful children clothed; the one in ſcarlet and the other in a rich yellow ſilk, with turbants on their heads, guarded by twelve men armed with muskets and blunderbuſſes, and twelve more with ſampits or trunks, through which they ſhoot their poiſoned darts, with bayonets fixed at the end of their ſampits, and crices in their girdles. Upon the King's coming into the hall of audience, our Engliſhmen immediately roſe up to do him honour, as a certain Senator has it which it ſeems was the greateſt affront they could have put upon his Majeſty; but their ignorance was their excuſe: his ſubjects on the contrary lifting their hands to their heads, fell down upon their faces as they ſat croſs-legg'd; and whenever they approach their Prince it is upon their knees, with their bodies bowed to the earth, and in the ſame poſture they creep back again when they are diſmiſſed.

The Sultan ſat ſilent a few minutes, as is cuſtomary, viewing our Engliſh Gentlemen very ſteadily; after which he thanked them for their preſent and bid them welcome, telling them he hoped they met with good uſage from his ſubjects: he enquired alſo whether they were companies ſhips, which they ſtiffly denied, apprehending they ſhould have been but ill treated if that had been diſcovered.

Charge againſt the Engliſh company by the Sultan of Caytongee.

He proceeded to make heavy complaints againſt the company's factors, and ſaid they came at firſt as he did now, pretending only to traffick with his ſubjects; but that under pretence of building a warehouſe they afterwards erected a fort, mounted guns on it and inſulted his ſubjects, which he bore for ſome time with patience; but proceeding to greater inſolencies, he had demoliſhed their fort and expelled them his country.

This was ſuch a charge as I don't obſerve was ever brought againſt our nation before in the Indies, and therefore I ſhall make ſome farther enquiries into it. Indeed I will not be anſwerable for all the falſe ſteps ſome Engliſh companies have made of late, but I hope they will never come to imitate the Dutch in their uſurpations; and indeed the attempt muſt be exceeding weak as well as villainous if it was true, for they would never have been ſupported in it by the court of England; and I hope it will be found that they only endeavoured to ſecure themſelves againſt the incurſions of the mountaineers, which might be miſconſtrued by the Banjareens for a deſign to encroach upon their territories. However, if it ſhould appear that ſome raſh men did commit ſuch actions as are not to be juſtified, they can never reflect on the Engliſh nation in general; becauſe they were never encouraged in it by the government, as the outrages committed by the Eaſt-India company have been. It were to be wiſhed that ſome agents only were to be ſent abroad by our great trading companies, as had a due regard to the honour and intereſt of the nation; leſt inſtead of the fair character we have hitherto maintained, we ſhould be looked upon as a nation of pirates and robbers, as another European nation have long been in that part of the world.

An entertainment made by the Sultan for the Engliſh merchants.

To proceed, Mr. BEECKMAN tells us he was afterwards entertained in the Sultan's palace, and the diſhes were of gold, ſilver and braſs, ſet upon a carpet without any linen: that they had above fifty ſeveral diſhes of boiled or broiled fowls, curree or ſtrong broth, made of fiſh and fleſh; rice coloured with turmerick, hard eggs, buffaloes fleſh, and veniſon, which laſt was excellent and well dreſſed; but the Prince being a religious obſerver of the law of Mahomet, treated them with no other liquor than water. That during dinner time the King's muſick play'd, and ſometimes the Engliſh trumpets, with which he was highly pleaſed; and after dinner the little tables of betel and arek were brought in, with which they amuſe themſelves almoſt continually. They were afterwards entertained with a dance by ſome of the King's women in the following manner.

A dance.

The Sultan having ordered the muſick to play, made a ſign to an old woman who ſat behind a kind of ſcene with a white wand in her hand; who thereupon ſtruck the floor, and immediately there appeared four beautiful girls about ſeventeen years of age, clothed in ſilk, with golden coronets on their heads, and their hair falling gracefully with a ſeeming careleſſneſs on their ſhoulders, their arms, legs and feet bare, but painted with a light yellow, and they wore thick bracelets of gold upon their wriſts and ancles; one of them was taller and more richly dreſſed than the reſt, and ſeemed to repreſent ſome Queen. At their firſt coming into the room they proſtrated themſelves on their faces before the throne three ſeveral times; after which they roſe up and fell into a dance, which conſiſted chiefly in ſcrewing their bodies into antick or laſcivious poſtures, but hardly ever moved their feet from the ground. This diverſion having laſted about half an hour, they again proſtrated themſelves three times before the Sultan, and withdrew.

Coin.

They have no other money amongſt them but dollars, half dollars and quarter dollars, except their caſh, which are rings of baſe metal ſtrung, which ſerve for ſmall matters.

The Banjareens will hardly take any dollars under 17 pwt. 9 gr. and it will be prudence to reſerve the heavieſt till laſt, for they will ſometimes refuſe ſuch.

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Their weights are the catte and the pecul; the catte is about two and twenty ounces, and a hundred cattees make one pecul, or one hundred thirty two pounds averdupois weight. Their leſſer weights are the tical, the mas, the tela and the mattaboorong: three mattaboorongs make one tela, ſix tela's one mas, ſixteen mas one tical, and one tical an ounce and 8 pwt. troy weight.

Their uſual meaſure is the ganton, which contains about a Wincheſter gallon.

Religion.

The religion of the people of the inland country is paganiſm, which they received from their anceſtors the Chineſe, who firſt planted this iſland; but all the ſea coaſts are Mahometans, being the poſterity of thoſe colonies which tranſported themſelves from Africk, Arabia and Perſia to the Oriental iſlands between three and four hundred years ſince; being invited hither by the ſpices and other rich merchandiſes, for which the eaſt has been famous for ſo many paſt ages. And as the Mahometans were thus mixed with the Chineſe, we find here much of the ſuperſtition of the Chineſe mixed with Mahometiſm, as is very natural to believe, if we conſider that though Chriſtianity has flouriſhed in Europe above a thouſand years, yet to this day we retain many of the ſuperſtitions of our forefathers; even the better ſort as well as the common people are bigotted to them. The buſineſs of lucky and unlucky days or numbers, fortune-telling, and the applying ourſelves to the pretenders of the black-art, charms, caſting nativities, the trial of people who have the reputation of witches by water ordeal; the various methods of bewitching and unbewitching people, and the incredible number of apparitions, the relations of which filled whole volumes in the laſt age, are plainly the remains of the ſuperſtition of our Heathen anceſtors; though they were as firmly believed and adhered to by the people of the laſt century as any part of the Goſpel; inſomuch that a man would have been in danger of incurring the charge of Atheiſm, who ſhould have ventured to doubt of the truth of theſe matters.

CROMWEL had his lucky and unlucky days, and ſo had a certain King that lately reigned in Britain. Briſtol, Shaftsbury and Monmouth had their fortunes told by pretended wizards, and had an entire faith in them, and governed themſelves in a great meaſure according to their predictions. Ladies went to the Devil to know their lovers hearts; and thoſe of the firſt quality have applied themſelves to his agents to gratify their revenge: ſo that inſtead of the Indians worſhipping the Devil, the charge might poſſibly with much more juſtice have been retorted upon themſelves, notwithſtanding their calling themſelves the diſciples of that religion which was deſigned to aboliſh theſe fooleries.

arms.

But to return to the Borneans, they have a way of charming away diſeaſes by making a little pageant in form of a boat: this they fill with various kinds of meats, of which they make an offering to the incenſed demon; and then launch the little veſſel and let it drive down the ſtream, imagining that all the infirmities of the diſeaſed man will be carried off in the devoted boat: and ſhould any one preſume to take it up, they apprehend the demon it is dedicated to would inſtantly ſtrike him dead, or at leaſt transfer the diſeaſes of the ſick perſon to him.

Apparitions.

As to the viſible appearance of theſe demons, I am ſenſible the Indians do frequently pretend to have ſeen them under various figures; but it is as true, that whenever any European deſires to bear them company at thoſe times they expect to meet them, they pretend that they cannot admit of it for fear of incurring their diſpleaſure; which has always made me violently ſuſpect the truth of the relations; or at leaſt they are deceived themſelves, either by the artifice of their prieſts, or by paſſing a wrong judgment on ſome phænomena in nature: for if they are asked in what manner thoſe demons appear, ſometimes they anſwer, like a diſtant fire in the night-time, and uſually in meadows and low grounds, which ſeems to be no more at laſt than a jack-a-lantern. And it is no ſmall objection to our accounts of apparitions, that they are generally ſeen in the night, when their prieſts and pretended conjurers can moſt eaſily impoſe on their diſciples.

To return, the natives of Borneo do not ſeem indiſpoſed to receive the Chriſtian religion; and ſome ſucceſsful attempts have been made towards their converſion by the Portugueſe: but the Boyayo's or Pagans of the inland country ſeem leſs averſe to it than the Moors.

Marriages.

This people frequently marry their daughters at eight or nine years of age, and they have children ſoon after; but are uſually paſſed the peril by that time they are five and twenty. Simple fornication is not accounted any great crime here; nor is it any objection to a woman that ſhe has had a gallant before-hand: and they are ſaid to be very faithful to their husbands after marriage, how light ſoever they may have been before. Mr. BEECKMAN gives us the following account of a Mahometan wedding he was invited to by a great man at Borneo.

All the partitions of a very large houſe, he ſays, were taken down, and it was laid into one room, the ſides whereof were hung with the richeſt clothes that could be procured, and the floor was covered with fine cane matts: at the upper end was erected a throne, or ſoufra, with a large canopy over it, with cuſhions and pillows to lean on.

The night before the wedding they kept perpetually beating upon their gongs, or brazen drums, ſounding their country pipes and trumpets, which make

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make but very harſh muſick; while others were gingling of chains, and beating upon braſs or iron utenſils; but the muſick of marrow-bones and cleavers, it ſeems, is much to be preferred to the harmony of theſe confuſed ſounds.

In the morning flags and ſtreamers were hung up about the door of the houſe, and all the veſſels in the river put out their colours and kept firing their guns continually; for the reader remembers their houſes are generally built on floats of timber in the middle of a river; ſeveral people alſo were planted about the houſe, who were perpetually ſhouting and firing their pieces.

Great numbers of people being invited, in the middle of the afternoon a handſome dinner was ſerved up; and the company having eaten plentifully, every one had a basket given him to carry home the remainder of the good cheer that was left. After this, betel, and arek, and opium went round; which had much the ſame effect upon them as ſtrong liquor has on us.

Towards the evening a large float of timber came driving down the river with a pageant upon it made in the form of a ſhip of about 200 tuns; in the middle of the quarter deck appeared the bridegroom ſeated on a throne: ſoon after this machine came to the houſe where the bride was, twelve young virgins deſcended from it, each having a large bowl in her hand made of gold, ſilver, or braſs, in which were the preſents the bridegroom made his bride, who ſat on a throne to receive them: and ſhe alſo made preſents to the bridegroom.

When he came to the door of the houſe he was met by the prieſt, who having repeated ſome words, ſtrewed rice over his head, as an omen of his future plenty, ſays my author, at which the people gave a great ſhout, and fired a volley of ſmall ſhot: then he was led to the bride and ſeated on her right hand; and after ſome ſmall time the company withdrew and left them alone.

Great part of their ſtate, it ſeems, conſiſts in the number of their wives and concubines, and therefore when one dies or is divorced, which is very frequent, the husband immediately provides another, young and beautiful as he can meet with, how old ſoever he be himſelf. They purchaſe their wives here, it ſeems, as in many other eaſtern countries; and a man's daughters therefore may very well be eſteemed part of his treaſure, if they be tolerably handſome; otherwiſe they remain a burthen on the family.

Funerals.

The funerals of the Mahometans are ſolemnized here in much the ſame manner they are in other places where that religion prevails; only they ſtill retain ſome Pagan cuſtoms, ſuch as burying ſeveral neceſſaries with them, which it is apprehended may be of uſe to the deceaſed in the other ſtate. The mourners are clothed in white, as in China; and the company uſually carry lighted torches in their hands when they attend their friend to the grave, which is uſually made in ſome common burying place up the river out of the reach of the floods; and they always place the corps with the head to the north.

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CHAP. II.

Treats of the ſituation, trade and produce of the iſland of Sumatra; and of the manners and cuſtoms of the inhabitants.

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Situation and extent of Sumatra.

THIS iſland extends from five degrees thirty minutes north latitude, to five degrees thirty minutes ſouth, and from the 93d to the 104th degree of longitude, ſtretching north weſt and ſouth eaſt, and is about nine hundred miles in length; and from one hundred to an hundred and fifty in breadth, the ſouth eaſt part of the iſland being much the broadeſt: to the north eaſt lyes the kingdom of Malacca, from whence Sumatra is about eight leagues diſtance: to the ſouth eaſt the iſland of Java, from whence Sumatra is ſeparated only by the ſtreights of Sunda; and to the weſtward lyes the great Indian ocean.

Air.

The air of this iſland is generally very unwholeſom, it lying under the equinoctial; and from the hotteſt ſultry weather changing often ſuddenly to chilling cold. The low grounds alſo near the coaſt, where the natives as well as foreigners principally inhabit, being one continued moraſs, the ſame kind of ſtinking fogs ariſe here as in Borneo, and render this country no leſs unhealthful, eſpecially to foreigners. Bencouli, which ſtands on the ſouth weſt part of the iſland, is eſteemed the moſt unhealthful of all the Engliſh ſettlements in India; the ſoldiers dying there like rotten ſheep, and death is ſo familiar to them, that the terror of it is in a manner loſt. You will ſee the ſoldiers there unconcerned over a bowl of punch among their dying companions, encouraging one another to drink and be merry, for to morrow, ſay they, we die. An enſign who went thither from Fort St. George with fourſcore men, all jolly young fellows, aſſured me at his return two or three years after, there was not one of thoſe that went over with him alive but himſelf; and yet none of them died by the hand of an enemy. Indeed the ſoldiers of Fort St. George look upon it that they are going to certain death whenever they are drawn out for Bencouli; and there is a place which the Engliſh have given the name of the Devil's iſle to, near Indapoora, that a man muſt have good luck if he does not contract ſome dangerous diſtemper, if he lyes but one night aſhore in it.

English ſettlement at Bencouli, moſt unhealthful of any in India.

Monſons and ſeaſons.

It is not altogether ſo unhealthful at Achen; but even there the air is bad enough, fevers being mighty common. The monſons and ſeaſons at Achen

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Achen are much the ſame as in other places to the northward of the line, only the rains begin ſomething ſooner here, than they do farther northward; and they are no where more violent. It pours down ſometimes for three or four days together without intermiſſion, inſomuch that the ſtreets of Achen are on a ſudden laid under water; though the town be at ſome diſtance from the river, and ſtands upon a riſing ground; but as to heat, it is generally obſerved, it is not ſo intolerable here, and at other places near the line, as at Tonquin and in ſome other countries near the tropicks, for ſeveral reaſons mentioned in the deſcription of Tonquin, whither the reader is referred.

Heat not ſo great as near the tropicks.

Some good roads for ſhipping there are in this iſland, but ſcarce any harbours, and theſe will be taken notice of when we come to deſcribe the ſituations of their towns. Their principal rivers are thoſe of Achen, Jamby, Palmibang, Manacabo, Sillebar, Indapoora, and Priaman; which take their names from the reſpective towns which ſtand upon them. The water of the river Indapoora in the time of the rains, 'tis ſaid, looks of a rediſh colour two leagues beyond the mouth of it at ſea, which is occaſioned by the great number of oaks that grow in the marſhes, which are annually overflowed by this river; but from whatever cauſe this red caſt of its waters proceeds, they are obſerved to be very unwholeſom as well as the waters of the other rivers which overflow the low lands, and are not fit to be drank till they have ſtood a conſiderable time to ſettle; or indeed till they have been boiled and corrected by the infuſion of tea or other wholeſom herbs, or mixed with arrack and other ſtrong liquors.

Harbours.

Rivers.

Unwholeſom waters.

Sumatra being the firſt country to which the Engliſh traded in India, I ſhall here give a ſhort account of the ſettling the trade there.

The trade firſt ſettled at Achen in March.

Capt. LANCASTER, who commanded the Engliſh fleet, arrived at Achen road the 5th of June 1602. he found here ſhipping of ſeveral nations, and the fame of the Queen of England's victories over the Spaniard having reached this part of the world before him, made way for his favourable reception among the Indian Princes.

Soon after the arrival of the fleet Captain LANCASTER (the General, as he was ſtyled) ſent Capt. MIDDLETON (Commander of the Vice Admiral) aſhore, with four or five Engliſh gentlemen more, to attend the King of Achen and deſire he might be admitted to an audience, and have the honour of delivering the Queen of England's letter into his Majeſty's hands.

The King received Capt. MIDDLETON very kindly, and having made him a handſome entertainment, and preſented him with the habit of the country, ordered him to aſſure the General he might come aſhore with the ſame freedom and ſecurity as if he was in her Majeſty's dominions; and that if he entertained any doubt of his ſafety, ſuch hoſtages ſhould be ſent on board as he deſired. Two days after the General went aſhore, and there being at that time ſome Dutch factors at Achen, they invited his Excellency to their houſe. Here a nobleman from the King of Achen came to attend the General, and to deſire her Majeſty's letter; but being acquainted that it was not the cuſtom in Europe to deliver letters of this kind to any but the King in perſon, ſix elephants, with drums, trumpets and ſtreamers, and a vaſt retinue, were immediately ſent to bring the General to court. The largeſt of theſe elephants was about fourteen foot high, and carried a machine upon his back not much unlike the body of a coach, covered with crimſon velvet; in the middle of this machine ſtood a gold baſon, in which the Queen's letter was put, and covered with a piece of rich ſilk. The General was mounted on another elephant, and ſome of his retinue on the reſt, and others walked on foot.

When they came to the gate of the palace, the nobleman, who acted the part of the maſter of the ceremonies, deſired they would remain there till the King was acquainted with their approach; ſoon after they were diſmounted and admitted to his Majeſty's preſence, whom the General ſaluted after the manner of the country, and declared that he was ſent from the moſt mighty Queen of England, to propoſe the entring into a ſtrict friendſhip and alliance with his Majeſty; and was going on with a long harangue ſuitable to the occaſion, not being appriſed of the averſion the Indian Princes entertain to long ſpeeches.

The King hereupon interrupted him, and deſired he would ſit down and repoſe himſelf after his tedious voyage: then he told him he was welcome to his country, and that he might depend upon all the favours he could reaſonably demand, in the behalf of that noble Princeſs from whence he came; of whom fame had ſpoken many great things.

Then the General delivered the Queen's letter to his Majeſty, which he gave to one of his officers who ſtood by; the Queen's preſent was ſet before the King, conſiſting of a large ſilver baſon with a fountain in the middle of it, weighing upwards of two hundred ounces, a great ſtanding ſilver cup, a fine looking glaſs, a head-piece with a plumb of feathers, an embroidered ſword belt, a fan made of feathers, and a fine pair of piſtols: he ſeemed moſt pleaſed with the fan, and immediately made one of his women fan him with it.

The company were ſoon after deſired to ſit down croſs-legg'd, after the manner of the eaſt, and an entertainment was ſerved up in diſhes of pure gold, or tamback, which is a mixture of gold and braſs.

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The King was ſeated in a gallery raiſed about ſix foot above the hall of audience; he drank frequently to the General in a glaſs of arrack, who having pledged him once in that liquor, had his liberty afterwards of drinking what liquor he ſaw fit. After dinner the King's women were called in, and a dance was begun with muſick after the manner of the country.

Then the King ordered the General to be preſented with the country habit, which he put on in his Majeſty's preſence; after which the General and his retinue withdrew, and went on board their ſhips.

The Queen's letter to the King of Achen on this occaſion, was as follows.

'ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, Queen of 'England, France and Ireland, defendreſs of 'the Chriſtian faith and religion, to the great 'and mighty King of Achen, &c. in the iſland 'of Sumatra, our loving brother, greeting.

The Queen's letter to the King of Achen.

'THE eternal God of his divine knowledge 'and providence hath ſo diſpoſed his bleſſings 'and good things of his creation for the uſe and 'nouriſhment of mankind in ſuch ſort, that notwithſtanding they grow in divers kingdoms and 'regions of the world, yet by the induſtry of 'man, ſtirred up by the inſpiration of the ſaid 'omnipotent Creator, they are diſperſed into the 'moſt remote places of the univerſal world; to 'the end that even therein may appear unto all 'nations his marvellous works, he having ſo ordained that the one land may have need of the 'other, and thereby not only breed intercourſe 'and exchange of their merchandiſe and fruits 'which do ſuperabound in ſome countries and 'want in others, but alſo ingender love and 'friendſhip betwixt all men, a thing naturally 'divine.

'Whereunto we having reſpect (right noble 'King) and alſo to the honourable and truly royal 'fame which hath hitherto ſtretched, of your 'Highneſs's humane and noble uſage of ſtrangers 'which repair into that your kingdom in love and 'peace, in the trade of merchandiſe, paying your 'due cuſtoms, we have been moved to give licence 'unto theſe our ſubjects, who with commendable 'and good deſires fail to viſit that your kingdom, 'notwithſtanding the dangers and miſeries of the 'ſea natural to ſuch a voyage, which by the grace 'of God they will make, being the greateſt that 'is to be made in the world; and to preſent traffick unto your ſubjects, which they offer if it 'ſhall be accepted by your Highneſs with ſuch 'love and grace as we hope for of ſo great and 'magnanimous a Prince, we for them do promiſe 'that in no time hereafter you ſhall have cauſe 'to repent thereof, but rather to rejoice much, 'for their dealing ſhall be true and their converſation ſure; and we hope that they will give ſo 'good proof thereof, that this beginning ſhall be 'a perpetual confirmation of love betwixt our ſubjects on both parts, by carrying from us ſuch 'things and merchandiſe as you have need of 'there; ſo that your Highneſs ſhall be very well 'ſerved and better contented than you have heretofore been with the Portugueſe and Spaniards, 'our enemies; who only, and none elſe of theſe 'regions, have frequented thoſe your and the other 'kingdoms of the eaſt; not ſuffering that the 'other nations ſhould do it, pretending themſelves 'to be monarchs and abſolute lords of all theſe 'kingdoms and provinces, as their own conqueſt 'and inheritance, as appeareth by their lofty title 'in their writings, the contrary whereof hath 'very lately appeared unto us; and that your 'Highneſs and your Royal Family, fathers and 'grandfathers, have by the grace of God and 'their valour, known not only to defend your 'own kingdoms, but alſo to give wars unto the 'Portugueſe in the lands which they poſſeſs; as 'namely in Malacca in the year of the human 'redemption, 1575, under the conduct of your 'valiant Capt. RAGAMACOTA, with their great 'loſs, and the perpetual honour of your Highneſs's 'crown and kingdom. And now if your Highneſs ſhall be pleaſed to accept into your favour 'and grace, and under your royal protection and 'defence theſe our ſubjects, that they may freely 'do their buſineſs now, and continue yearly hereafter, this bearer, who goeth chief of this fleet 'of four ſhips, hath order (with your Highneſs's 'licence) to leave certain factors with a ſettled 'houſe of factory in your kingdom, until the going thither of another fleet, which ſhall go thither upon the return of this; which left factors 'ſhall learn the language and cuſtoms of your 'ſubjects, whereby the better and more lovingly to 'converſe with them.

'And the better to confirm this confederacy 'and friendſhip betwixt us, we are contented, if 'your Highneſs be ſo pleaſed, that you cauſe capitulations reaſonable to be made; and that this 'bearer do the like in our name, which we promiſe to perform royally and entirely, as well 'herein, as in other agreements and arguments 'which he will communicate to you: to whom 'we do greatly deſire your Highneſs to give entire 'faith and credit, and that you will receive him 'and the reſt of his company under your royal 'protection, favouring them in what ſhall be 'reaſon and juſtice. And we promiſe on our behalf, to re-anſwer in like degree in all that your 'Highneſs ſhall have need out of theſe our kingdoms. And we deſire that our Highneſs would 'be pleaſed to ſend us anſwer by this bearer of 'this our letter, that we may thereby underſtand

'of

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'of your royal acceptance of the friendſhip and 'league which we offer, and greatly deſire may 'have an happy beginning, with long years to 'continue.

The King having ordered two noblemen to treat with his Excellence concerning an alliance with her Majeſty, and ſettling articles of commerce, the following terms were at length agreed on: 1. That the Engliſh ſhould enjoy a free trade in the King of Achen's dominions. 2. No cuſtom whatever ſhould be paid for goods imported or exported, and all aſſiſtance ſhould be given to the Engliſh in caſe of ſhipwreck, and the goods reſtored to the owners. 3. In caſe of death, the Engliſh ſhould have liberty to bequeath their effects to whom they pleaſed. 4. That all bargains and contracts with the King's ſubjects ſhould be punctually performed. 5. That they ſhould have power of doing juſtice and determining all differences among their own people. 6. That the King ſhould do them juſtice in caſe the Engliſh receive any injury from the natives. 7. That no ſeizures or arreſt ſhould be made of their perſons or goods. And 8. That the Engliſh ſhould enjoy the freedom of their religion.

Articles of commerce ſettled with the King of Achen.

Theſe articles of commerce being ſettled the Engliſh factors proceeded to purchaſe what pepper they could meet with; and finding there was not enough to freight their ſhips in the place, they diſpatched the ſhip Suſan to Priaman, which lies upon the weſt coaſt of Sumatra almoſt under the line, to take in her lading.

While the Engliſh fleet lay in Achen road, the Portugueſe had their ſpies amongſt them, and uſed all arts to obſtruct their trade, which the General being apprized of, reſolved to cruiſe in the ſtreights of Malacca, and ſee if he could meet with any of the Portugueſe ſhips: accordingly as he lay off and on about twenty leagues from Malacca, on the 3d of October 1602, he made a great Portugueſe carrack, with whom he exchanged ſeveral ſhot, till at length ſhe ſurrendred.

This prize had in her above ſix hundred perſons, men, women and children, who were going from St. Thomas on the coaſt of Choromandel, for Malacca, and was nine hundred tuns burthen. They found in her nine hundred and fifty bales of chints and callicoes, plain and painted, with abundance of rice and rich merchandiſe, ſufficient to freight all the Engliſh ſhips.

The General returning into Achen road the 24th of October, went aſhore, and made the King a preſent of ſome of the moſt valuable things he had taken in the prize; who congratulated his Excellence, and ſeemed much rejoiced at his ſucceſs; for the Portugueſe had behaved themſelves with that inſolence towards the Indian Princes, that they could not endure them any more than they can the Dutch at this day.

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The General having diſpatched his affairs, and ſettled ſeveral factors at Achen, had his audience of leave of the King, who delivered him a letter to her Majeſty in the Arabick tongue, of which the following is a tranſlation:

The letter of the King of Achen to the Queen of England.

King of Achen's letter to Queen Elizabeth.

'GLORY be to God, who hath magnified himſelf in his works, glorified his dominion, ordained Kings and kingdoms, exalted himſelf alone in power and majeſty: he is not to be uttered by word of mouth, nor to be conceived by imagination of the heart; he is no vain phantaſm, no bound may contain him, nor any ſimilitude expreſs him: his bleſſing and his peace is over all his goodneſs in the creature; he hath been proclaimed by his prophet heretofore, and ſince that often, and now again by this writing at this preſent, inferior unto none: for this city, which is not ſlack to ſhew their love, hath manifeſted it in the entertainment of that ſociety which filleth the horizon with joy, and hath confirmed it to the eye by a ſign, which bringeth knowledge of remembrance of it generally and particularly. And for that their requeſt is juſt with purpoſe for exchange, and they themſelves of honeſt carriage, and their kindneſs great in doing good in general to the creatures, helping the creature in proſperity and adverſity jointly, giving liberally unto the poor and ſuch as ſtand in need of their abundance, preſerving the creature to their uttermoſt with a willing mind, which for them is now extended unto India and * Arach, ſending forth the chiefeſt men of diſcretion and note, calling alſo the beſt of the creatures to council herein.

* Carmania.

'This is the Sultana which doth rule in the kingdom of England, France, Ireland, Holland and Friezland: God continue that kingdom and that empire long in proſperity.

'And becauſe that he which hath obtained the writing of theſe letters from the King of the kingdom of * Aſhley, who doth rule there with an abſolute power: and for that there came unto us a good report of you, declared and ſpread very joyfully by the mouth of Capt. JAMES LANCASTER, (God continue his welfare long) and for that you do record that in your letters there are commendations unto us, and that your letters are patent privileges, almighty God advance the purpoſe of this honourable conſociation, and confirm this worthy league.

* Achen.

'And for that you do affirm in them, that the Sultan of * Afrangie is your enemy, and an enemy to your people in what place ſoever he be

* Spain.

* from

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'from the firſt until now, and for that he hath 'liſt up himſelf proudly, and ſet himſelf as King 'of the world: yet what is he, beſides his exceeding 'pride and haughty mind? in this therefore is our 'joy increaſed, and our ſociety confirmed: for 'that he and his company are our enemies in this 'and in the world to come. So that we ſhall cauſe 'them to die (in what place ſoever we ſhall meet 'them) a publick death.

'And moreover you do affirm, that you deſire 'peace and friendſhip with us, to God be praiſe 'and thanks for the greatneſs of his grace. This 'therefore is our ſerious will and honourable pur-'poſe truly in this writing, that you may ſend *Bandar. 'from your people unto our * ports to trade and 'to traffick; and that whoſoever ſhall be ſent un-'to us in your Highneſs's name, and to whom-'ſoever you ſhall preſcribe the time they ſhall 'be of a joint company and of common privileges. 'For this Captain and his company, ſo ſoon as 'they came unto us we have made them an abſo-'lute ſociety, and we have incorporated them in-'to one corporation and common dignities; and 'we have granted them liberties and have ſhewed 'them the beſt courſe of traffick. And to mani-'feſt unto men the love and brotherhood between 'us and you in this world, there is ſent by the 'hand of this Captain according to cuſtom unto 'the famous * city, a ring of gold, beautified with 'a ruby richly placed in his ſeat, two veſtures 'woven with gold, embroidered with gold, in-'cloſed in a red box of * Tzin.

• London.

• China.

'Written in * Tariſh of the 'year 1011 of Mahomet.

* The month.

'Peace be unto you.

Beſides the habits ſent her Majeſty, which were made of rich embroidered ſilks, and a ring with a fine ruby ſet in it, as the letter mentions; the General was preſented with another ring of the ſame ſort, and as he was about to take his leave, the King asked if they had not the pſalms of David amongſt them; and being anſwered that they ſung them every day, the King was very importunate with them to hear one ſung; whereupon about a dozen of the General's retinue ſung him a pſalm, with which he was wonderfully pleaſed, and afterwards took his leave of the General with all the affection imaginable, wiſhing God to proſper his voyage to England, and aſſuring him, that whenever any Engliſh ſhips came into his ports, they ſhould not fail to meet with the ſame kind uſage they had found here. The truth whereof our countrymen experience even to this day, no other nation enjoying the privilege the Engliſh do at Achen.

The General ſet ſail the 9th of November, with three ſhips bending his courſe to the ſouthward, along the weſt coaſt of Sumatra; and two days after diſpatched one of his ſhips, called the Aſcenſion, for England. The 26th the General arrived at Priaman, where he found the Suſan, who having taken in her lading of pepper there, the General alſo diſpatched for England, and held on his courſe for Bantam in the iſland of Java; where he alſo arrived the 5th of December. Here the General ſent his Vice-Admiral MIDDLETON aſhore again, to acquaint the court of Bantam with his arrival, and a nobleman came back with the Vice-Admiral to congratulate the General's arrival, and invite him aſhore: whereupon his Excellency taking ſixteen gentlemen along with him went to court, where he found the King, a child of ten or eleven years old, ſitting in a large room ſurrounded by ſeveral of his noblemen. The General having paid his compliments, the young King told him he was welcome, and ſmiling, received her Majeſty's letter and preſents, referring him to the protector of Bantam to treat with concerning the entring into articles of commerce, &c. which ſo ſoon as they had ſettled, the General took a houſe in the city and brought goods aſhore in order to trade with the natives; when he was informed, that according to the cuſtom of that port the King was to have the refuſal of all merchandiſe brought aſhore before any thing was diſpoſed of to his ſubjects; and accordingly the King's officers having made choice of what they liked beſt, the Engliſh factors proceeded to ſell the remainder, and within five weeks ſold ſo many goods that the pepper and ſpices they bought with the money were more than ſufficient to freight both the ſhips: however they brought away two hundred and ſeventy ſix bags of pepper containing ſixty two pound weight a piece, every bag ſtanding them in five rials of eight and a half, beſides a duty for anchorage amounting to fifteen hundred rials for the two ſhips; and a rial of eight cuſtom on every bag.

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English arrive at Bantam.

Trade begun by the English at Bantam.

Price of pepper and duties paid at Bantam.

The poor Javans were perpetually thieving and pilfering ſomething from the Engliſh factors at their firſt coming; but upon complaint made to the court, the General received orders to kill any ſuſpicious perſons he ſhould find lurking about the Engliſh houſe in the night-time, and three or four of the moſt notorious robbers being killed they afterwards lived in tolerable quiet; however they thought it prudent to keep a good watch every night. While they lay at Bantam the Vice-Admiral Capt. JOHN MIDDLETON fell ſick of the diſtemper of the country and died.

Javans given to pilfering.

The General having purchaſed a veſſel, and appointed factors to ſettle a trade at the Molucca's, againſt the return of the Engliſh ſhipping, and left eight factors in his houſe at Bantam, to manage the affairs of the company there, took leave of

Factors appointed for Bantam, and the Molucca's.

of his Majeſty, who ſent a letter to the Queen, and a preſent of ſome fine Bezoar ſtones; and on the twentieth of February, the Admiral in the Dragon, in company with the Hector, ſet ſail for England. They met with a terrible ſtorm to the ſouthward of Madagaſcar, in the latitude of 34, which laſted two or three days, and ſhook them to ſuch a degree that both their ſhips became leaky; and on the third of May they had another ſtorm, in which the Dragon (the General's ſhip) loſt her rudder; whereupon they drove up and down this tempeſtuous ſea like a wreck, giving themſelves over for loſt; ſometimes they found themſelves within a few leagues of the Cape, then came another wind, and drove them into 40 degrees ſouth latitude, where they met with ſleet and ſnow, and ſuch exceſſive cold weather, that they were ready to periſh, after coming from ſo hot a climate as Sumatra. Still the other ſhip (the Hector) kept them company, but could afford them little aſſiſtance, the ſea was ſo rough. At length the ſea becoming ſomething calmer, the Captain of the Hector came on board and aſſiſted them to make a rudder of their miſſen-maſt, which having effected, they hung it as well as they could; but ſeveral of the irons being loſt it broke away, and it was with a great deal of difficulty they got it again. The mariners were now in ſuch a conſternation, and out of all hopes of ſaving the ſhip, that they began to talk of leaving her, and getting on board the Hector; which the General obſerving, ſent a private order to the Captain of the Hector to leave him, with a letter to the Eaſt-India company, to let them know the diſtreſs he was in, but that he was reſolved to periſh rather than quit the ſhip ſo long as ſhe could ſwim, and there was any hopes of bringing her home. But the Captain of the Hector had ſuch an Affection for the General, that he would not leave him in that diſtreſs; and the weather proving ſomething better, came aboard the Dragon with ſome of his ſailors, that were good divers, and hung the rudder again; whereupon they kept on their courſe, and arrived ſafe at St. Helena the ſixteenth of June, where they took in water and freſh proviſions; and their men, who were moſt of them ſick with the hardſhips they had undergone, recovered their healths. They ſet ſail from thence the fifth of July, and came into the Downs the eleventh of December, 1603, having made a very advantageous voyage for the company.

A terrible ſtorm.

Capt. LANCASTER's bravery and ability.

The earlieſt accounts we have of the iſland of Sumatra inform us, that it was antiently divided into a multitude of little kingdoms and principalities, which about the time the Europeans firſt viſited thoſe ſhores, were moſt of them united under the King of Achen; but that the King of Bantam, in the iſland of Javn, claimed the ſovereignty over ſome diſtricts on the ſouth of Sumatra, and particularly of Jamby and Palambam; whoſe Governors nevertheleſs retained the titles of Pangarans, or ſovereign Princes, and continued in the adminiſtration of the government in that part of the iſland, ſubject only to the controul of the King of Bantam.

Kingdoms and provinces of Sumatra.

The chief towns, and which had every one of them formerly the honour of being ſtyled a Kingdom, are Achen, Pedir, Pacem, Dely, Bancalis, Andragrary, Jamby, Palambam, Sillebar, Bencoulen, Manacabo, Padang, Indrapour, Poſſaman, Priaman, Ticou, Barros, and Daya.

Chief towns.

Achen, the metropolis of the kingdom of the ſame name, is ſituated at the north-weſt end of Sumatra, in five degrees thirty minutes north latitude, and is much the moſt conſiderable port in the iſland.

Achen.

The city ſtands in a plain, ſurrounded with woods and marſhes, about half a league diſtant from the ſea, near a pleaſant rivulet: it is an open town, without wall or moat, and the King's palace ſtands in the middle of it, being of an oval figure, about half a league in circumference, ſurrounded by a moat twenty-five foot broad, and as many deep; and about the palace there are caſt up great banks of earth inſtead of a wall, well planted with reeds and canes, that grow to a prodigious height and thickneſs, inſomuch that they cover the palace, and render it almoſt inacceſſible; theſe reeds alſo are continually green, and not eaſily ſet on fire. There is no ditch or drawbridge before the gates, but on each ſide a wall of ſtone about ten foot high that ſupports a terras, on which ſome guns are planted; and a ſmall ſtream runs through the middle of the palace, which is lined with ſtone, and has ſteps down to the bottom of it, for the conveniency of bathing.

Palace.

There are four gates, and as many courts, to be paſſed before we come to the royal apartments; and in ſome of theſe outward courts are the King's Magazines, and the ſtandings of his elephants: as for the inward courts of the palace, foreigners, or even the natives, hardly ever approach them; and therefore a juſt deſcription of theſe is not to be expected. But notwithſtanding the fortifications of this palace, or caſtle, as it is ſometimes called, are very mean and inconſiderable, yet the avenues to it are naturally well defended; for the country round about Achen is full of rivulets, marſhes, and thick woods of cane or bamboo, which are almoſt impenetrable, and very hard to cut: there are ſeveral little forts erected alſo at proper diſtances in the marſhes, where guards are planted to prevent any ſurprize. In the King's magazines, ſome antient authors tell us, are found a numerous artillery, and a good quantity of fire-arms, and that his guards conſiſt of many thouſand

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ſand men; but that his greateſt ſtrength is in his elephants, who are trained up to trample upon fire, and ſtand unmoved at the report of a canon; but this I ſhall examine more particularly when I come to ſpeak of the revenues and forces of this Prince, for later travellers do not ſeem to admire his power or grandeur.

The city of Achen conſiſts of ſeven or eight thouſand houſes, which take up the more ground becauſe they are not contiguous, every perſon ſurrounding his dwelling with a palliſadoe pale that ſtands ſome yards diſtant from it; except in two or three of the principal ſtreets where the markets are kept, and in the Chineſe and European ſtreets, the inhabitants whereof chooſe to live pretty cloſe together, the better to defend themſelves from thieves, with whom this city is very much infeſted; nor are they eaſily kept in awe by fire-arms with which foreigners always provide themſelves for their ſecurity, keeping a conſtant watch every night. Their houſes are moſt of them built upon poſts, nine or ten foot above the ground, to ſecure them from the annual inundations: the ſides, floors, and partitions of their houſes are all of ſplit cane or bambou, and roofed with palmeto leaves, as in other Malayan countries; and to ſave the beſt of their goods from fire, they have a warehouſe of brick or ſtone, in form of an oven and as large as an ordinary room, the entrance whereof is not above three or four foot high, and very narrow; for which they have a large ſtone ready fitted to ſtop it up in caſe of fires, which often happen ſo ſuddenly, and run with that fury through theſe ſlight thatched tenements, that they have hardly time to ſave themſelves, much leſs their goods.

Private buildings.

Moſques.

There are a great number of moſques or Mahometan temples about the city, built with ſtone and roofed with tile, they are neither lofty nor large, nor have any towers or ſteeples belonging to them; and other publick buildings they have none. Beſides the natives, there are ſeveral foreign nations which inhabit this city, as Engliſh, Dutch, Danes, Portugueſe, Guzarats, and Chineſe, of whom the Chineſe are moſt numerous, and drive the greateſt trade.

Inhabitants of Achen.

Other towns on the eaſtern ſhore.

About ten leagues to the eaſtward of Achen ſtands the city of Pedir; and farther to the ſouth-eaſt Pacim and Dely, formerly capitals of ſo many kingdoms, but now they make no great figure. Upon the ſame coaſt lyes Bancalis, one degree thirty minutes to the northward of the line; and Camper lyes almoſt under it, or rather ſome few minutes to the northward. Jamby, once the capital of a kingdom, now ſubject to the Dutch, and the moſt conſiderable ſettlement they have on the eaſt ſide of Sumatra, ſtands about fifty miles up a conſiderable river of the ſame name, in two degrees of ſouth latitude. Palamban, upon the ſame coaſt, was once alſo the metropolis of a flouriſhing kingdom, and lyes in four degrees ſouth latitude: it was deſtroyed by the Dutch, in the year 1659, about which time they reduced moſt of the kingdoms in the ſouth part of Sumatra under their obedience; but ſeveral of them are ſince revolted, as the Dutch term it, having thrown off the yoke and recovered their antient liberties.

Camper.

Jamby.

Palamban.

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Having given the ſituation of the moſt conſiderable places on the eaſt ſide of Sumatra, I proceed through the ſtraits of Sunda to the weſt coaſt; and advancing from thence towards the north, the firſt Engliſh ſettlement we meet with is Sillebar, which lyes in a bay at the mouth of a large river of the ſame name, in four degrees of ſouth latitude. Here the Engliſh have a reſidence, or a ſmall detachment from Marlborough fort, (erected ſoon after the deſtruction of York fort at Bencoulen) to receive the pepper the natives bring hither.

Sillebar.

About ten miles to the northward of Sillebar ſtands the town of Bencoulen, where was the principal ſettlement the Engliſh had upon the iſland of Sumatra, from the year ſixteen hundred eighty five to the year ſeventeen hundred and nineteen, when there happened a general inſurrection of the natives, who cut off part of the garriſon; the reſt eſcaping in their boats to ſea, as the reader will find in the relation hereafter inſerted.

Bencoulen.

Bencoulen is known at ſea by a high ſlender mountain that riſes twenty miles beyond it in the country, called the Sugar-loaf. Before the town of Bencoulen there lyes an iſland, within which the ſhipping uſually ride; and the point of Sillebar extending two or three leagues to the ſouthward of it, makes a large bay: beſides theſe marks the old Engliſh fort, which fronted towards the ſea, might have been diſcerned when a ſhip came within ſeven or eight miles of the place. The town is almoſt two miles in compaſs, and was inhabited chiefly by the natives, who built their houſes upon bambou pillars, as in other parts of the iſland. The Portugueſe, Chineſe, and Engliſh had each a ſeparate quarter. The Chineſe built all upon a floor, after the cuſtom of their country. The Engliſh houſes were after their own model; but they found themſelves under a neceſſity of building with timber, (tho' there was no want of brick or ſtone) upon account of the frequent earthquakes.

As Bencoulen ſtands upon a ſtinking moraſs, it was not at all agreeable to European conſtitutions, but ſhoals of Engliſh died there every year, as has been hinted already; whereupon the company began to think of erecting a fort in a more wholeſom part of the country, and actually gave orders for it. Nor was the health of their people poſſibly the only inducement, for the natives had for

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for ſeveral years appeared very uneaſy, and ſeemed to threaten the deſtruction of the Engliſh ſettlement: this made it high time to pitch upon a ſituation which would admit of a more regular fortification than the place where the old fort ſtood. Accordingly a fort was marked out upon a riſing ground, about two or three miles to the ſouthward of Bencoulen; the foundations were laid, and the walls began to riſe, when the country being ripe for an inſurrection, on a ſudden aſſembled in arms againſt the Engliſh; of which tranſaction the reader has a particular and authentick relation in the following narrative, and will probably be able from thence to form a better notion of the preſent ſtate of this iſland, than from any piece that has hitherto been publiſhed.

A narrative of the deſtruction of the Engliſh ſettlement at Bencoulen, in the year 1719.

'To the honourable JOSEPH COLLET, Eſq;
'Preſident and Governor of fort St. George,
'&c.

'Honourable Sir,

'IT is with the greateſt concern that we acquaint you of the misfortunes that have befallen us and our honourable maſters affairs, ſince our advices by the Queen and George Brigantine, wherein we did with too much confidence aſſure you of the perfect peace and tranquillity we then enjoyed at Marlborough fort, which the ſatisfaction the natives ſeemed to expreſs in our adminiſtration, gave us but little reaſon to imagine would prove of ſo ſhort a date; our pepper for ſome time after coming in very plentifully, and we had frequent promiſes from them of much larger quantities ready to be brought out of the country. We had made a progreſs in our buildings, even beyond our own expectations; the foundation of one gorge and two curtains of our fort walls being laid, and raiſed in brick and chinam a foot above ground, and the earth laid open for a third, in the ſpace of little more than a month; and we had made ſuch proviſion for bricks and chinam that we ſhould have had ſufficient to compleat the whole, which, at the rate we had begun, might have been finiſhed in leſs than a twelve-month. Thus we thought ourſelves ſucceſsful in all our undertakings; and it was no ſmall pleaſure to us to think, that by diligently ſerving our maſters it would add to our credit, and in a more peculiar manner recommend us to their favour hereafter; but in the midſt of our proſperity all our hopes were blaſted by a ſecret combination of the whole country againſt us, which they certainly deſigned to put in execution whilſt we had no ſhip in the road to aſſiſt us; the Metchlapatam having been at Bantal from the 21ſt of January, but fortunately returned to our aſſiſtance the 18th of March, being but very few days before this horrid plot was diſcovered.

'It was late at night, on the 23d of March, before we had the leaſt ſuſpicion of any treachery, when Captain (a) GIBB adviſed the Deputy Governor, that (b) Dupatty BENTERIN had got together between four and five hundred men in his (c) duſan, and he believed they deſigned to make war with the company: the Deputy Governor immediately diſpatched a letter to him, to know the reaſon of his entertaining ſuch numbers of people in his duſan, ordering him immediately to diſperſe them, and to come himſelf to the fort in the morning, where, if he had any complaints to make, they ſhould be heard, and he ſhould have redreſs; which if he did not comply with we ſhould no longer eſteem him our friend, but treat him as an enemy. Early in the morning he ſent a trifling anſwer, aſſuring us of his friendſhip, but taking no notice of diſperſing his people, or coming himſelf to the fort, as deſired. Whereupon the council was immediately ſummoned, and acquainted with what had paſſed, when it was agreed to ſend Mr. MACKY, who was the Dupatty's friend, to (d) bechar with him, and perſuade him to come to the fort; about noon he returned with the Dupatty's anſwer, who promiſed to wait on the Deputy Governor the next morning. In the mean time our (e) Pangarans and (f) Dattoos were ſent for to adviſe with on this occaſion, who were the perſons (g) that ought to have given us the firſt notice thereof; but they ſeemed to make ſlight of it, and perſuaded us the Dupatty was an honeſt good man, and one that would not be guilty of any ill action againſt the company, the people at his duſan being only friends that he had invited out of the country to feaſt with him. This different opinion of theirs made us jealous of their fidelity, which made us deſire them all to take a freſh oath of allegiance to the company, and the preſent Deputy Governor and council, before we bechared farther with them on this affair; which they did with much perſuaſion conſent to, and it was performed by one of their

(a) Captain of the Chineſe, and undertaker of the company's ſugar and arrack plantations. (b) A Lord or great man of the kingdom. (c) Duſan is a town or government under the Dupatty's own territory. (d) To conſult or adviſe.
(e) Pangaran is the King of the Malays, under our immediate government, of which there are two, by name Pangaran MUNCO RAJAH, who has the northermoſt part of the kingdom; the other is named Pangaran SOONOE ETAM, whoſe dominions extend more to the ſouthward. (f) A Dattoo is an inferior Magiſtrate. (g) Being under the company's protection.

'(h) Padres;

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'(h) Padres; after which Pangaran MUNCO RAJAH undertook to bring in the Dupatty, and did accordingly ſet out himſelf for (i) Benterin; but not an hour after he was gone out of the fort, we were alarmed at the dreadful ſight of the ſugar plantations on fire, it being then about ſix o'clock at night.

'A ſtrong party was immediately ſent out to Bencoulen, under command of Enſign ADAIRE, with orders to proceed next morning, on the 25th of March, to Duſan Benterin, and to engage the enemy either there or where he ſhould meet them, uſing his endeavours to deſtroy the duſan, and as many of their people as poſſibly he could; but in this we had no ſucceſs, for want of the Pangarans aſſiſtance, who had promiſed to ſupply him with (k) ſampans, to ferry his people over water at Benterin, or where he ſhould have occaſion for them; but in this they deceived us; for our party finding the body of the enemy had fortified themſelves with a ſtrong breaſt-work of fire-wood, and ſome ſmall guns on the other ſide the river, over-againſt the ſugar plantations, and not one ſampan was ſent by the Pangarans according to their promiſe, for want of which he could only come to an engagement with them a-croſs the river, in which manner they continued till about four in the afternoon; when moſt of our Buggaſes (l), Blacks, and Chineſe, having left the Engliſh, the Enſign with the reſt retired to the fort about ſix in the evening, having performed but little execution on the enemy. By the account we had from the Enſign we plainly found that the whole country was concerned in this rebellion; the principal perſons that he ſaw and knew to be amongſt them, was (m) RAJAH BOOJONG, Pangaran MUNCO RAJAH's uncle, moſt of the Dupattys of the duſans adjacent to us, with many of the inhabitants; and (n) bazar people of Bencoulen, who were headed by Dupatty BENTERIN, and (o) SELEBRIAN; but he could not well gueſs at their number, they being under cover of the trees, and breaſt-work they had raiſed of fire-wood. And Mr. ALLICOCK, from Sillebar, had given us an account the ſame day, that Pangaran (p) JANTENELLY, and his country were alſo in concert with them.

'On the 26th of March, in the morning, the ſtrongeſt party we could muſter of Engliſh, Buggaſes, Blacks, and Chineſe were ordered out to engage them, under the command of Mr. NEWCOME and Enſign JOHNSON, but when they came to Bencoulen to join the Buggaſes, they were ſtrangely ſurprized to find them refuſe to fight without a preſent reward; and Mr. NEWCOME was credibly informed, that a conſiderable number of the Buggaſes were laid in ambuſh to fall on the Engliſh, of which he immediately ſent advice to the fort; whereupon the ſign was given to recal the party, which prevented our coming to any action that day. The (q) Sultan being examined, pretended that a wrong interpretation was put on what he ſaid at Bencoulen, and would have perſuaded us, that he had always been and was ſtill ready and willing to fight for the company; but our ſuſpicion of his treachery made us unwilling to truſt him at that time.

'About eleven o'clock the ſame day, Pangaran MUNCO RAJAH brought a token, which, as he ſaid, was from his uncle RAJAH BOOJONG, from Singledemond, to give us notice that two hundred (r) Orangoonoes were come on our ſide (s) Singledemond, and deſired we would lend the Malays ſome arms to defend themſelves. This we had great reaſon to ſuſpect was falſe, RAJAH BOOJONG himſelf being at that time in arms againſt us at Benterin; but the Pangaran poſitively affirmed he was then at Singledemond, notwithſtanding Enſign ADAIRE had ſeen and ſpoke to him the night before at Benterin.

'When we found ourſelves ſo deeply involved in troubles on all ſides, that we were betrayed by our Pangarans, and our Buggaſes had given us juſt cauſe to ſuſpect their honeſty, ſo that we had none but the Engliſh, Blacks, and Chineſe to truſt to, the former of which did not exceed one hundred twenty-five perſons in number, both civil and military, and moſt of them unexperienced or diſabled men; and the latter had given us but ſmall encouragement to depend on them, by their deſerting Enſign ADAIRE from Benterin. With this ſmall force we thought ourſelves in ſome danger of being overcome; wherefore a general council was called of all the company's ſervants and inhabitants of the place, to conſult about ſaving what we could of the company's effects, and making ſome proviſion for our paſſage, if we ſhould be put to flight; when every one gave their opinion, that it was for the company's intereſt, as well as for our own ſafety, to put on board the ſhip Metchlapatam the company's treaſure and books, with what ſtores and proviſions our time would permit, with all the expedition and ſecrecy it could be poſſibly contrived; after which,

(h) A Prieſt. (i) The name of the Dupatty's dominions. (k) Small boats. (l) Buggaſes are our Macaſſar ſoldiers. (m) A man in great eſteem among the Malays. (n) The market people. (o) A rebel that has often been in arms againſt the Engliſh and Dutch. (p) King of another country to the ſouthward, of a much larger extent than the two former, though he was likewiſe under the company's protection. (q) The Sultan is Captain of our Buggas ſoldiers. (r) Inhabitants of the mountains. (s) Three leagues off from Marlborough, under Pangaran MUNCO RAJAH.

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'if we were obliged to it, we might make our 'eſcapes in the beſt manner we could by the help 'of the ſhip Metchlapatam, and what boats we 'had by us. The remainder of that day was 'ſpent in purſuit of that reſolution, but no boats 'could be got off that evening.

'About ſeven o'clock the next morning, be-'ing the 27th of March, the company's treaſure, '&c. as per encloſed bill of lading were ſent on 'board; about eight, news was brought that both 'the Pangarans, with their wives and children 'were eloped from Bencoulen in the night-time, 'and no account could be given which way they 'were gone: about ten (t) Sultan CUTCHEEL, 'who was come from Bentall on the ſhip Metch-'lapatam, undertook to accommodate matters 'with the country people, provided we would 'conſent to their chooſing new Pangarans, to which 'we agreed; but before he could come to a 'bichar with them, the Portugueſe Padre's ſlave 'brought news from Bencoulen, that the Bug-'gaſes and Malays were riſen there, and had cut 'off the Padre and moſt of the Portugueſe men, 'women and children in a moſt barbarous manner. 'He had hardly done telling his ſtory when a 'large fire broke out at Bencoulen, another near 'the fort behind (u) Canbury Paggar, another 'towards Sillebar, and ſoon after the (w) hermi-'tage houſe was ſet on fire; all this time no ene-'my appearing, but ſtill freſh fires breaking out 'in different places, which could not have been 'done otherwiſe than by our own Buggaſes or 'Malays that were in our ſervice, no enemy 'yet appearing; we diſcharged what few great '(x) guns we had mounted at the thickeſt of the 'fires, where we thought the enemy might be; 'in doing of which one of the wadds of our own 'guns unfortunately fell upon the attops of the 'fort-buildings, which took fire and burnt ſo 'fierce that there was no extinguiſhing of it, at 'which time we marched out of the fort in one 'body to meet the enemy: we firſt paſſed the 'lower guard, from thence round the horſe ſtable 'hill to the hermitage, and ſo by the China 'town and brick ſhedds, which were all on fire, 'but no enemy to be ſeen: we then came to the 'ſea ſide, where we ſaw ſome thouſands of the 'Malays headed by our Sultan and Buggaſes, 'which train reached from Bencoulen to Marl-'borough; moſt of the Chineſe had ſecured them-'ſelves in the boats and on board their own 'praw; we had then none left to ſtand by us but 'the Blacks: under theſe diſadvantages we thought 'it in vain to hazard our lives any longer againſt 'ſo numerous an enemy, our fort and moſt of our 'buildings being deſtroyed by fire, which put eve-'ry man upon ſaving his life by ſwimming or get-'ting on board the boats in the beſt manner he 'could; in which attempt near half our people 'were either drowned or killed by the enemy 'before they could make their eſcape.

'The next morning we computed near three 'hundred and fifty ſouls, black and white, men, 'women and children, were ſaved on board the 'ſhip Metchlapatam, Mr. NEWCOME's barge, 'and three tombongons (y); for which number 'we had not water for above five days at a pint 'a man each day. Our firſt deſign was to go 'for (z) Bantall, but both the wind and current 'were ſo ſtrong againſt us that we could not ſtir 'that way, and ſo it continued till the 29th of 'March, till which time we remained in the 'road, when we were obliged to alter our reſolu-'tion, and make the beſt of our way to Batavia, 'where in all probability we might ſooner arrive 'as the wind and current then ſet, or at ſome 'place where we might get ſome freſh water, 'which we could not expect to be ſupplied with 'on the coaſt of Sumatra to the ſouthward of 'Bantall; after we had ſupplied each boat with 'five days proviſions of water and rice, we 'weighed anchor and ſet ſail in company for 'Batavia.

'On the 2d of April we loſt ſight of all our 'boats.

'On the 9th ditto we anchored at New Iſland, 'where we watered and got ſome proviſions.

'On the 11th ditto we weighed from thence 'and arrived at Batavia on the 16th.

'On the 18th and 19th fifty of our military, 'who were ſent in boats to guard the Blacks and 'ſlaves, arrived at Batavia from Lampoon, where 'they had put in for water, when the Blacks 'mutinied and cut away the rigging of their boats, 'which occaſioned their driving on ſhore: then 'the Blacks left them, being encouraged by one 'Serjeant THOMAS WRIGHT, who alſo went 'with them. The reſt of our Europeans, after 'being plundered by the natives of the very ſhirts 'off their backs, were at laſt kindly aſſiſted by 'them with two large ſampans, in which they 'ſaved their lives, and arrived at Batavia.

'We met with kinder uſage as to our enter-'tainment at Batavia than indeed we expected, 'who aſſiſted us in tranſporting one hundred and 'twenty of our people on their own ſhips to this

(t) Sultan CUTCHEEL is Emperor of the kingdom of Annakſongee, under the government of Bantall and Moco, Moco, who was come down to pay his reſpects to the Deputy Governor on the ſhip Metchlapatam. (u) A farm houſe behind the fort belonging to the company. (w) A houſe firſt belonging to Mr. SHYLLING, afterwards to Mr. FARMER. (x) There was mounted two great guns, two ſwivel guns, and ſome ſmall patterero's. (y) A boat uſed to carry goods on board ſhips. (z) A factory to the northward belonging to the Engliſh company.

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'place, seventy of which had their passage free 'and the ship's provision, they working for the 'same; and for fifty more we were obliged to 'pay 20 rix dollars each for their transportation, 'and 20 rix dollars each more to the Captains for 'their provisions in the voyage; thirty persons 'more came with the Deputy-Governor on the 'ship Metchlapatam, and seven more are on 'board the Madrass brigantine who left Batavia 'in company with us, so that we have saved one 'hundred and fifty seven persons from the hands 'of our enemy, besides twenty slaves belonging 'to the honourable company, and private persons 'which were disposed of in Batavia.

'One of the Dutch ships arrived here the 24th 'instant, when Mr. NEWCOME, &c. advised 'the Governor of our misfortunes, but the letter 'we understand is not yet gone from this place. 'The Metchlapatam arrived here yesterday, and 'this day the other two ships, on which are our 'whole complement; and we shall stay here no 'longer than absolutely necessary to provide for our 'passage to Fort St. George, where we hope to 'arrive soon after this comes to your hands. The 'Madrass brigantine is not yet arrived.

'Whilst we were in Batavia we used all our 'endeavours to send some assistance to Bantall, 'though we had but little reason to hope that 'place had escaped the same fate we our selves 'had met with, but in this the Dutch opposed us 'in all our proposals. The Deputy-Governor 'would have gone himself on the Metchlapatam 'with as many of our people as she could conve-'niently carry; but this they would not allow 'without he could take all our people along with 'him, which was altogether impossible; nor 'would they supply us with a vessel to send on 'that occasion. We endeavoured to hire the 'Madrass brigantine for that purpose, but the 'master and super-cargoes alledged she was not in 'a condition to proceed. We then proposed to 'the Dutch that we might leave four chests of 'treasure and some gunpowder to be forwarded 'to them on the Amelia on her arrival, but they 'refused to take charge of it, as they pretended, 'lest disputes might ensue. We then requested 'leave to leave it in the hands of any private per-'sons, or that we might leave some of our own 'servants there to take charge of it, but they 'would not consent to any one of these proposals, 'nor suffer the treasure to be left behind in any 'manner whatsoever. We had drawn out a pro-'test against them for this refusal; but when we 'were going to deliver it, the Shawbander, who 'had been our friend, plainly told us what the 'effects of it would be; that the next English 'ships that fell in there would suffer for it in meet-'ing with worse treatment than ever any had yet 'done, whereas we our selves had been civilly 'treated in all other respects. Upon this we con-'sidered the Amelia would shortly arrive, (for 'whom we have left orders to proceed first to 'Bantall, and from thence to Fort St. George, 'with advices if she arrives time enough, to get 'away by the 15th of June, if not to come di-'rectly to Fort St. George) as also the outward 'bound China ships; and probably this year's ship-'ping for the west coast might be obliged to put in 'there for provisions, which if they should fail of, 'our company might suffer more than the ad-'vantage they would reap by our protest, upon 'which consideration it was agreed it should not be 'delivered.

'This is a true narrative of our proceedings 'since our troubles commenced, and what we 'have omitted herein you will find more parti-'cularly inserted in our diaries and consultations 'when we come to lay them before your honour, '&c. for your perusal, which we hope will be 'sufficient to demonstrate that this misfortune is 'no way owing to our misconduct, which we 'submit to your honour's favourable construc-'tion, and beg leave to subscribe,

Honourable Sir,

Your most obedient and

Negapatam, June 28. 1719.

Obliged humble servants,

THO. COOKE, Dep. Govern.
STEPHEN NEWCOME,
WILLIAM PALMER.

'The foregoing is an account of our pro-'ceedings as it was remitted to the Governor 'and council of this place from Negapatam, to 'which it will not be amiss to add the reasons 'that were the occasion of this misfortune, which 'is omitted in the foregoing narrative.

'First it is to be considered, that the English 'had been involved in troubles with the country 'government, both at Marlborough and Bantall, 'for some time before my arrival on the coast; 'which though I was so fortunate as to bring 'to a conclusion, and had for many months 'after kept a fair correspondence with the na-'tives, still they harboured in their minds a se-'cret resentment of the former injuries they had 'suffered; which they concealed under a cloak 'of friendship and seeming satisfaction in my 'administration, till they had brought the whole 'country into a combination; and being sensi-'ble how briskly our fortifications were carrying 'forward, took the opportunity of revenge before 'our brick buildings could be finished, and at a 'time, as they thought, we should have no ship 'in the road to assist us: but the Metchlapatam

'very fortunately arrived a few days before they 'put their design in execution.

'Not long before this rebellion a difference had 'happened between Dupatty BENTERIN and SEE 'GIBB, Captain of the China-men, and under-'taker of the company's sugar and arrack plan-'tations: the Dupatty is one of the second men 'in the kingdom, and Governor of a dusan or 'town of that name, situated on the side of the 'river opposite to the company's sugar and arrack 'plantations: he is a person well beloved by the 'natives, being esteemed a priest amongst them. 'and always thought to be a good friend to the 'English. The difference first began by the 'China-men killing some of the Dupatty's (a) buf-'faloes that had broke through their fences and 'done some small damage to the plantations; and 'indeed the fences were not so well secured as 'they ought to have been; and this they affirmed 'to me they had done by virtue of an order given 'them by Mr. FARMER, when Deputy-Gover-'nor; but considering the ill consequence that 'might attend granting such liberty to the Chi-'nese, I immediately forbad them doing the like 'for the future, and obliged them to make the 'Dupatty satisfaction for some buffaloes they had 'so killed; and if the like should happen again, 'I promised that the Dupatty should make good 'to them what damages the plantations appeared 'to have suffered, provided they kept their fences 'in repair. Notwithstanding what I had done 'in this affair, some of the Dupatty's people, 'out of revenge, got into the China Compound 'in the night time, and killed one of SEE GIBB's 'slaves as he was sleeping in his house; the Du-'patty's brother was seen and known to be one 'of the company, whereupon he was taken and 'brought to the fort, where he was put into the '(b) Cock House for about twenty four hours 'till he could be brought to his trial, when he 'was acquitted without any farther punishment, 'there being no plain proof that he was the per-'son that actually committed the murther, tho' 'by the evidence that appeared against him, there 'were circumstantial proofs enough to have con-'demned him: however, out of respect to the 'Dupatty, who I always esteemed to be my friend, 'and being well acquainted with his interest, and 'the influence he had over the country people, I 'thought it convenient to pass the most favourable 'construction on this accusation, which I accord-'ingly did, and made the Dupatty and SEE JIBB 'shake hands and promise friendship to each other 'before they parted; and so they remained for 'some time after, till the Dupatty had got his 'forces together in his dusan, and then he again 'renewed this dispute, resenting the wrongs he 'had received from the Chinese; as also the dis-'grace of having his brother put in the Cock 'House and brought to his trial, notwithstanding 'I had been so favourable to him on this occasi-'on; and under this pretence our trouble com-'menced.

THO. COOKE.

The two following letters were intercepted by the English in the year, 1617. which shews that the natives had formed this conspiracy some time before it was put in execution.

'This comes from Sultan MANSORE, RAJA 'GUILLAMOT, DATTUE PANDASH, all 'the great men in Bandat Sapoolo, and the 'overseers of trade in Bantayan and Tego 'Loora, to DATTO RAJA QUASSO, with 'all the Proateens and Lemicotas from Sablat 'to Cattown, to Calaboon Surambe Mallacca.

'RAJA QUASSO's letter sent by TUAN 'MALLIM and Dupatty LOORA SAMBE-'LAN is received, which we like very well: 'we are now assuredly certified the whole coun-'try, as far as Abong, likewise TUAN DE GOONO 'with his people, will unanimously join us; and 'when this arrives, send TUAN MALLIM into 'the country to advise that we intend utterly 'to destroy the English, and raze their settlements 'throughout the whole coast, because they have 'broke faith and become quite otherwise to what 'they formerly were. We shall proceed as soon 'as the festival is over; therefore would have you 'DATTO RAJA QUASSO dispatch a messen-'ger with your real sentiments of this affair; 'signifying also how the Proateens and Lemicotas 'are affected.

The answer.

'THIS letter comes from him that eats no-'thing, to RAJA MANSORA and Sultan 'GUILLAMOT, assuring them that he will ga-'ther together all those like himself, with the 'most valiant men hereabouts, and march di-'rectly against Bencoulen; therefore desires the 'assistance of arms, which yourselves and RAJA 'PASSASSEER must not fail to send to TUAN 'DE GOONO, who is resolved, if the Kings are 'agreed, to be their ally, and you may depend 'on his fidelity, for he knows not how to tell a 'lie: when he comes down from the country, 'will bring over to his interest the people of Se-'rangi to Bencoulen, and Lout Cowt, with those 'belonging to Pangaran Munco Annoom, even 'as far as Pollombong. This is what I promise

(a) A buffaloe is a working beast much in the nature of an English ox or cow, but larger.

(b) A close prison.

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'to do, desiring your letter in answer to it; so 'God bless and help you in all your undertakings. 'Give my service to DATTOO RAJA QUASSO.

Faithfully translated per

ROBERT DYMOND, Linguist.

'Found at Tanjoong Arang, up 'Sablat river, by ORANGKIO 'BANDAHARRAH MUNCO 'RAJA, Jan. the 27th, 1717. 'while Mr. FARMER was De- 'puty-Governor of the west 'coast of Sumatra.

The English finish Marlborough fort.

Notwithstanding the natives had thus driven the English from Bencoulen, they suffered them in about a year's time to return again and go on with the fortifications at Marlborough fort without opposition: it is true, there had been some English chiefs sent thither who were not endued with so much discretion as they ought. These gentlemen, by an imperious and assuming behaviour, had highly provoked the natives; but this being very tolerable in comparison of the tyranny the Dutch exercised in every place where they prevailed, the Malays, upon the expulsion of the English, began to be under terrible apprehensions lest the Dutch should come and settle amongst them by force, and put an iron yoke upon their necks, as they had upon their neighbours; they soon laid aside their resentment therefore, and over-looking the indiscretions of the English chiefs, gave all encouragement to our countrymen to settle amongst them. And it was very happy for the English that they removed from Bencoulen, for there we buried multitudes every year; whereas a late chief of Marlborough fort assures me, that during one whole year they did not bury one gentleman, such a difference there is in the situation of these two places, notwithstanding they are no more than two or three miles asunder. And Marlborough fort being much more defensible in its situation than York fort at Bencoulen, our people are not so apprehensive of being surprised by the natives as formerly, if there should happen any misunderstanding between them again.

And the natives are reconciled to them.

Marlborough fort healthful.

Other English settlements on the west coast.

To proceed, besides the English settlements at Marlborough fort and Bencoulen we have several others to the northward, as particularly Cattoun, Ippoo, Bantall and Mocho Mocho: Cattoun lyes about forty miles to the northward of Bencoulen, Ippoo thirty five miles farther north, and Bantall stands at least an hundred miles to the northward of Bencoulen; Mocho-Mocho lyes farthest north of any of our settlements, and is not far from Indrapour, in the latitude of 2 degrees 20 minutes south; so that all the English settlements on the west coast lye between the 2d and 4th degrees of southern latitude, or thereabouts. When we were driven from Bencoulen, it seems neither Bantall or Mocho-Mocho were ever attacked, though they were much less able to have defended themselves; which confirms me in the opinion, that though the natives did resent some ill usage they had met with, yet the advantageous trade they carried on with the English, as well as their dread of the Dutch, soon inclined them to be reconciled to us again.

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Towns to the northward of the English settlements.

To the northward of the English settlements on the west coast of Sumatra stand the towns of Indrapour, Padang, Priaman, Tecou, Passaman, Batahan, Barros and Daya. Indrapour is the first Dutch settlement to the northward of the English, and lyes two degrees south; Padang lyes in one degree thirty minutes, Priaman in fifty minutes, Tecou in thirty minutes south latitude, and Passaman almost under the line; so that the Dutch settlements on the west coast extend from two degrees south latitude to the equator, and of these Padang is the principal; Batahan is one degree to the northward of the line, Barros in two degrees thirty minutes north, and Daya four degrees fifty minutes north. Here, and in the rest of the country to the northward of the equator, the King of Achen still retains his sovereignty; and I don't find that any European nation are in possession of his ports; but the southern parts of the island are so awed and restrained of their liberty by the Dutch, that they dare not trade with any other people.

Two different people inhabit Sumatra.

From whom descended.

The inhabitants of this country, as of other Indian islands, consist of two different people, whose ancestors came from very distant nations. Those of the inland mountainous part of the country are Pagans, descended in all probability from the Chinese, and those of the sea coasts from Arabia and Persia; or rather they are a mixture of Moors and other nations, now professing the Mahometan religion, and agreeing in the same manners and customs. The mountaineers we have a very slender account of, and these happening to disagree both with Mahometans and Christians in point of religion, are according to custom represented to us as canibals: nay, Mr. NIEUHOFF tells us, that the King of Achen formerly made some of these man-eaters his executioners; and that when they had chopped off the legs and arms of the criminal, they would strew pepper upon the trunk of the body and devour it raw; which I mention only to shew the credulity of one of the best Dutch authors. For how a race of man-eaters should spring up in these islands, when none of the nations on the continents from whence they must derive their original are charged with these savage customs, is not easy to conceive; especially since 'tis allowed they still retain

Canibals.

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the religion and cuſtoms of the people from whence they ſprung in other reſpects.

Beſides, their religion teaches them to have a greater abhorrence of blood than the moſt civilized nations; inſomuch, that many of them make a ſcruple of killing or eating any animal whatever. But the ingenious Mr. DE FOE obſerving our foible, and how fond we were of canibals, poſſibly has ſo glutted us with a ſhambles of human fleſh, that tales of this kind will not be ſo eaſily digeſted for the future.

Genius and temper.

To proceed, as to the Malayans who inhabit the coaſt, they are generally held to be proud and lazy, and, like the Spaniards, have moſt of their buſineſs done by foreigners; and either they have not a genius for arts and ſciences, or they are ſo proud and lazy that they ſeldom apply themſelves to cultivate their grounds or improve in any mechanick arts.

Complexion, ſtature and features.

They are of a ſwarthy complexion, a middle ſtature, ſtrait and well limbed, but their features not very engaging; having flattiſh faces, little noſes, and their cheek bones ſomething of the higheſt: they have ſtrait black hair and black eyes, as moſt other Indians have, and they black their teeth in conformity to cuſtom; they alſo beſmear themſelves with a ſtinking oil, which added to the rank ſmell that naturally proceeds from their bodies, will almoſt ſuffocate an European if he gets into a crowd of them. Some of them wear caps of red or other woollen cloth juſt fitted to their heads like the crown of a hat without brims; but they generally tie a piece of blue or white linnen round their heads, letting the ends hang down, leaving no other covering for the top of their heads but their hair, part whereof hangs down upon their ſhoulders. The poorer ſort wear only a narrow cloth about their loins to cover what all the world conceal; but people of condition have a kind of drawers or breeches, and a piece of ſilk or calicoe thrown looſe about their bodies. They alſo wear a kind of wooden clog or ſandal in towns, but when they travel every body goes bare-foot.

Habits.

Food.

The ordinary food here, as in other parts of India, is rice and fiſh; but thoſe who can afford it eat alſo fowls, mutton, goat's fleſh, buffaloe beef and veniſon. They ſeaſon their meat very high with pepper, onions and garlick, and uſually colour the rice yellow with turmerick. The buffaloe beef is mighty coarſe food, and the little fat which is upon it as yellow as ſaffron; when their meat has hung a few hours in the market it changes perfectly black, and is little better than carrion: their fowls and their mutton alſo are very dry and inſipid; and pork, which is the beſt meat that is killed in hot countries, they have but little of. Their veniſon is pretty good, but eſpecially the hog deer, an animal ſomething bigger than a rabbet, and his fleſh as white as a chicken; and their ducks are much better than their land fowls. They have a kind of liquid butter like oil brought from Bengall, with which they butter their rice; it is ſaid to be made of buffaloes milk, and mixed with lard or hogs fat; and moſt of our travellers tell us that it is very rank and nauſeous, but that poſſibly may proceed from the keeping it too long, for I have met with ſome of it as good taſted as our Engliſh butter in May. Sauces they do not want; and particularly they have very good pickles or achars, as they call them, made of mangoes and other fruits which are pickled green.

Way of Eating.

Their meat is ſerved up in ſilver, brazen or earthen veſſels, according to the quality of the maſter of the houſe; and is either boiled or broiled, and cut in little pieces: their rice they ſqueeze between their fingers, and make up in balls as large as their hands will hold, and cram into their mouths; then they take a little of their meat or fiſh to reliſh it, uſing no knives or any other inſtruments about their food, or any linen; but waſh both before and after their meals.

Liquors.

Their uſual liquors are fair water or tea; they have alſo palm wine and toddy (a liquor which is drawn from the cut branches of the coco-tree) they drink alſo that ſoft liquor which is found in the inſide of a young coco nut, being more than half a pint, very cooling and pleaſant; arrack, or ſpirits drawn from rice and ſugar canes, is very common here: the Chineſe bring hither alſo their hockſhue and ſamſhue, which the Europeans are almoſt as fond of as they are of arrack punch.

Betel, Opium, Tobacco.

The natives are ever chewing betel and arek, or taking opium, bang, or tobacco between meals. What they call bang raiſes their ſpirits almoſt as ſoon as opium, and is either hemp, or ſomething very like it; this they infuſe in their liquors and drink off. Tobacco is ſeldom ſmoaked in pipes; but a leaf of it being rolled up to about the length and thickneſs of a man's finger, is lighted at one end and ſmoked at the other till it is about two thirds conſumed, and then thrown away; and it is very ſeldom they drink any thing while they ſmoak.

Their ordinary ſalutations are performed by lifting one or both hands to their head: but before any Prince or great man they proſtrate themſelves with their faces to the ground. And, like other Aſiaticks, ſit croſs-legged on the floor at their meals, and whenever they meet to converſe together.

Gaming.

Gaming they love immoderately, both cards and dice; which were probably introduced here by the Chineſe; and few days paſs without a cock-match. They do not trim their cocks for the engagement, as in Europe, but produce them with all their gay plumage, and faſten ſuch murdering inſtruments

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inſtruments to their heels, of the ſhape and length of a penknife blade, that the battle is over in an inſtant, one ſtroke often brings down the ſtouteſt cock; and with theſe kind of weapons the leſſer cock in ſome reſpects has the advantage: they will ſtake their whole fortunes upon one of theſe encounters; but the conqueſt is not admitted unleſs the victor will peck or ſtrike his enemy after he has diſpatched him; for if he does not, they draw ſtakes.

Hunting.

As to their rural ſports, ſtag-hunting is one of the chief: the game is roufed by ſome little yelping curs, and the huntſmen, who are almoſt naked, run it down on foot, darting their lances at the deer when they come within diſtance. A late Governor of Bencoulen relates, that the company's ſlaves being abroad one day to look for game, inſtead of a ſtag happened to diſturb a tyger, who coming behind one of the ſlaves leaped upon him, and with his claws tore the poor fellow's fleſh off his back and the calves of his legs in a diſmal manner; but the ſlave turning about ſuddenly pierced the beaſt through the body with his lance, as did ſome of the reſt of his fellow ſlaves with theirs, and though they did not kill the tyger outright, he was glad to retire with ſeveral lances in his body: when the wounded ſlave was brought into the fort he appeared to be ſo mangled that it was thought impoſſible he ſhould recover; but being of a hale conſtitution, and uſed to a temperate way of living, in a ſhort time he became perfectly ſound again.

Carriages.

Elephants, horſes and buffaloes are ſometimes uſed for carriage; but they generally employ porters when they have not the conveniency of a navigable river, and travel for the moſt part on foot.

Trade.

As to the trade of this iſland it is principally carried on at the port of Achen, where there is ſeldom leſs than ten or fifteen ſail of ſhips of ſeveral nations. When an Engliſh ſhip arrives, application is firſt to be made to the Sabandar or Governor of the place for liberty to trade; and thoſe who go firſt on ſhore are examined by the guards at the great Quala or river's mouth, what country they are of, and their buſineſs, of which notice is immediately given to the proper officers, who ſettle the terms of commerce with all foreigners. The Engliſh are only required to take a ſolemn oath to obſerve the articles made between the court of Achen and Mr. HENRY GREY who was once chief of the Engliſh factory in this city, the principal whereof were, that the Engliſh ſhould be allowed a free trade, and not be reſtrained of their liberties, or pay any other cuſtoms than the ordinary duty of the chop; that they ſhould have ground aſſigned them for a houſe and warehouſe, and diſpoſe of them at their departure: That the Engliſh ſhould not be ſubject to the laws of the country, but be governed by their own Chief, and enjoy the exerciſe of their religion; and that they ſhould make the uſual preſents, and bring a letter from the Chief of the place from whence they came to the Sabandar, certifying that they belong to the Engliſh company. They alſo ſwear to be faithful to the government while they remain at Achen; which oaths are taken before the Sabandar by ſome of the principal officers of the ſhip, lifting a ſhort dagger in a gold caſe three times to their heads, and this is termed receiving the chop for trade, and muſt be performed with an air of gravity and ſerioufneſs, or it will give the government ill impreſſions of thoſe who come to trade thither; for an oath with them is looked upon as one of the moſt ſolemn acts of religion; and ſhould they ſee it performed in that ſlight manner it is done in the cuſtom-houſes of Europe, it would raiſe in that people the higheſt deteſtation and contempt of the perſons taking it, and make them in all likelihood refuſe the having any commerce with them.

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Oaths taken by foreigners.

The Engliſh had formerly a factory at Achen, but finding it not to countervail the charge, it has been ſome time recalled: their ſuper-cargoes however, till very lately, were allowed greater privileges than any other nation; for all other foreigners pay five and ſometimes eight per cent. cuſtom, but the Engliſh made only the ordinary preſents to the King and court, amounting to ſixteen or ſeventeen tael in the whole.

Theſe preſents conſiſt of two pieces of fine cotton cloth to the King at the firſt coming aſhore, and two more at coming away; two or three tael to the eunuch who delivers the firſt preſent, and two more to him that carries the laſt; and when the four firſt boat loads are ſent aſhore, a tael and half is paid in lieu of all cuſtoms. A piece of ſilk or calicoe was alſo preſented to the Sabandar, and another to the chief Oran Caya or firſt miniſter of ſtate at the ſame time the firſt preſent was ſent to the King.

When the firſt preſents were made, the ſupercargoes proceeded to take their houſes, the rents whereof were from eight to ſixteen tael per month, and generally require a great deal of repairing. There are no boats to be hired at Achen for loading or unloading of goods, but every ſhip makes uſe of her own boats.

In trafficking with theſe people, 'tis neceſſary to ſpecify what catty you intend to buy and ſell by, for theſe weights are very uncertain; and alſo at what rate you intend to receive or pay the uncoined gold, which is much oftner uſed than coin.

Europeans in general are looked upon here with a jealous eye, but eſpecially the Dutch, having enſlaved ſeveral of the neighbouring ſtates; and as they will not trade with the Dutch but upon very

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ry disadvantageous terms, this port is not often visited by them: and notwithstanding the privileges that have been granted the English, their trade is very precarious upon any alteration of government; and of late years there has been such misunderstandings between the government of Achen and the English company, that their trade has been very much interrupted.

Goods brought from Sumatra. Pepper, gold dust.

The principal merchandise of Sumatra is pepper and gold dust, but no pepper grows near Achen or in the north part of the island; and the mountains from whence they fetch their gold lye near or under the equator; and notwithstanding there are found greater quantities of gold in this island than in any other country in India, the great demand for it keeps it at a very high rate: the current price in the year 1704. was tael 7. 2. per buncall of 1 oz. 10 pwt. 21 gr.

Camphire.

This country also affords good camphire, which is found among the Sunda islands; the best sort is in small bits or scales white and transparent, and may be worth four shillings and six pence an ounce: the common sort is like the large sea sand in form and colour, and worth about half a crown an ounce.

Bezoar.

The bezoar stone is also found here; it is taken out of the hog-deer, as they are called. This is an animal something larger than a rabbit, the head like a hog, and its shanks and feet like a deer. This kind of bezoar is valued at ten times the weight in gold; it is of a dark brown colour and smooth on the outside, and the first coat being broken off, it appears still darker, and strings underneath, and will swim on the top of the water. If it be infused in any liquid it makes it extremely bitter: and there are said to be stones bred in the maw of the Nicobar pigeons not inferior to the bitter bezoar of Sumatra. The virtues that are usually attributed to this stone are the cleansing the stomach, creating an appetite, and sweetning the blood.

The porcupine bezoar is redish, and full of transparent veins, and being infused in water makes it bitter: this does not waste it self like the bitter bezoar of Siaca, but will sink to the bottom, and lye a considerable time before any virtue can be extracted from it.

The monkey bezoar is of a light green, and of a greater lustre than goat bezoar; some of these weigh half an ounce, which is valued at forty or fifty rupees; whereas the oriental bezoar which comes from Surat, and is vulgarly called monkey bezoar, is bought for six or seven rupees an ounce: and what is sold at Surat for elephants, cows, or camels bezoar, is probably only a composition, and does not bear a great price.

Rupee 2 s. 3 d.

Pepper trade.

To proceed, the great trade of the Europeans to the west coast of Sumatra is for pepper; but I find there are hardly any pepper plantations within twenty miles of the English settlements; it is brought down the rivers in boats to their factories, and for the convenience of water-carriage, these plantations are usually made upon a level ground near the banks of some river, and must be in a very rich soil.

Pepper plant.

The pepper plant requiring something to support it, the natives of Sumatra plant a thorny tree by it; and the vine having run up a considerable height, the twigs bend down again, on which the berries hang in clusters near as large as a bunch of grapes, and of much the same figure, but distinct as our currants, or elder berries are. This vine produces no fruit the first three years; the fourth it bears, and yields an increase of fruit every year till the eighth; the three following years it declines, seldom continuing to bear more than ten. The leaf in shape resembles that of the ivy; but is something larger, and of a paler green. The usual time for gathering the crop upon the west coast is in September and October, and they have another little crop in March and April. Nothing can be kept neater than these pepper plantations; no rubbish, not so much as a stick or straw is to be found upon the ground: and if it happens to be a dry season they are indefatigable in watering the plants, their whole subsistence almost depending on the crop.

The pepper our people receive at Bencoulen grows in the territories of two neighbouring Raja's; one of them has his principal residence at the dusan or town of Singledemond, which stands at the bottom of a large bay ten or twelve miles to the northward of Bencoulen: this Prince is called Pangaran Munco Raja. The dusan or town which is the residence of the other Prince is called Busar, and lyes about ten miles up the country to the eastward of Bencoulen: he is styled Pangaran Songee Etam, or Lord of the Black River. Both these Pangarans have houses in the Malay town at Bencoulen, whither they resort when they have any affairs to transact with the English, who pay them two sooca's or half a dollar custom for every bahar, making 500 pound great weight, or 560 pounds. In consideration whereof these Pangarans oblige themselves to give all encouragement to their subjects to plant and cultivate the pepper, and bring the fruit down to their factories: and the owner, the instant the pepper is weighed and received by the company's factors, receives his money for it, viz. after the rate of ten moloco or Spanish dollars (weighing seventeen penyweight and twelve grains each) for every bahar.

Mismanagements in the English factories.

DAMPIER tells us, that the English Chief who governed Bencoulen when he was there, had so little discretion as to put two of the Raja's, or sovereign Princes, in the stocks, because the people did not bring down pepper so fast as he expected;

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pected; and if thoſe who preſide over the Engliſh trade have had many of theſe frolicks, it is no wonder if the country have ſhewn ſome reſentment at it: it muſt have diſcovered a wonderful meanneſs of ſpirit if the people had tamely ſubmitted to ſuch uſage from foreigners in their own country; and in caſe the Engliſh had been ſtrong enough to have reſiſted their attacks, yet ſuch an inſolent conduct muſt have been very prejudicial to trade, and have inclined the natives to have diſpoſed of their pepper elſewhere: in ſhort, the miſmanagements in this country have been ſo many, and the charge of erecting and maintaining their forts upon the weſt coaſt ſo great, that I am told the company ſeem inclined to abandon them, and once actually left it to the diſcretion of ſome commanders they ſent abroad, to abandon or reinforce the ſettlements on the weſt coaſt as they ſaw fit; notwithſtanding the conſequence of deſerting them muſt be the loſs of the pepper trade, which would ſoon be engroſſed by the Dutch, as other ſpices have been, and the Engliſh for the future muſt be compelled to buy their pepper at ſuch prices as the Dutch are pleaſed to impoſe on them; for the pepper trade of Borneo is ſo very precarious, that the company ſeldom ſend any ſhips thither, and the little factories we have on the coaſt of Malabar can never ſupply our wants.

Why the Dutch Ind'a and African trade are more ſucceſsful than the Engliſh.

And here I cannot but take notice of the reaſon that the Dutch Eaſt-India and African trade has ſucceeded ſo much beyond that of the Engliſh, namely, that the Dutch have made theſe important articles a national concern, and ſupported them by the power of the ſtates; while ours is under the care of a few merchants, who have ſeldom any views beyond their preſent gain, and ſcarce ever conſider the general intereſt of their country; and poſſibly a little money well applied, may in time induce theſe Gentlemen to compliment the Dutch even with the little trade they have left, and ſubmit to retail every thing at ſecond hand from thoſe high and mighty merchants. But I hope the Engliſh Eaſt-India company, for their own ſakes, will think better of it, and not put the Dutch into the entire poſſeſſion of the pepper coaſt, a conduct that would infallibly draw on them the reſentment of their countrymen.

Advantage of garriſoning the Engliſh ſettlements by his Majeſty's troops.

Thoſe who have conſidered the preſent ſtate of the Engliſh trade to India and Africa, ſeem to be of opinion, that if the ſeveral towns and forts on thoſe coaſts were garriſoned by his Majeſty's troops, who might be paid out of the ſame revenues the company's forces are, our trade would be much better protected, and the Engliſh make a much greater figure in thoſe countries than they have hitherto done, and that our neighbours would be more cautious of encroaching upon us. Merchants, 'tis obſerved, are for ſaving all the charges they can; and our garriſons in moſt parts of India are on that account ſo very weak, that ſhould we ever happen to fall out with the Dutch, they might eaſily make themſelves maſters of all our ſettlements there in a few months; which ſome indeed have thought would not be much to the diſadvantage of the nation, becauſe ſo much treaſure is annually tranſported thither to the impoveriſhment of the kingdom, as they apprehend: but if it were conſidered that the India company import more ſilver than they carry out, and that if we did not import the merchandiſe of India our ſelves, we muſt retail it from our neighbours at a much higher rate than it ſtands us in at preſent, the zeal of ſome gentlemen againſt the Eaſt India trade would probably be more moderate.

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The face of the country.

But to proceed to a farther deſcription of Sumatra, as this iſland lyes ſouth-eaſt and north-weſt, ſo there is a long ridge of mountains that run through the middle of the iſland from one end to the other: one of theſe hills, which lyes about forty miles within the land beyond Bencoulen, and appears at ſea ſomething to the ſouthward of it, is called Singledemond, and is above a mile high perpendicular, as I am aſſured by thoſe who have taken the height of it. Theſe mountains, eſpecially thoſe which lye towards the weſt coaſt, are ſtony, but however produce ſmall trees, ſhrubs and graſs; and towards the bottom of them there is found good timber. The champain country affords a rich deep mould of various colours, as grey, red and black, and is well watered with ſmall rivers and brooks, but none that are navigable for ſhips of burthen. The ſoil about Bencoulen and Marlborough fort is a fertile clay, and produces very high graſs: of the ſecond ſtrata, or the earth a little beneath the ſurface, they make the bricks with which the walls of Marlborough fort are built. The low lands cloſe to the ſea are almoſt one continued moraſs, producing only reeds, or the great hollow bambou canes.

The ſoil.

No grain but rice.

Rice is the only grain that grows in this country, the planting and husbandry whereof having been already deſcribed, I ſhall not trouble the reader again with it; only obſerve, that this tillage is managed about Achen chiefly by their ſlaves that were brought from the coaſt of Chormandel ſome years ago when there was a great famine there, and the poor people were forced to ſell their children to preſerve their lives. Theſe the Achenęrs treat more like their companions than ſervants; for they do not only manage their husbandry, but being an ingenious people, apply themſelves to all mechanick arts with great dexterity, and gain their maſters a handſome ſubſiſtence: they are therefore ſuffered to live in ſeparate houſes and farms,

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farms, and provide for their own families, allowing only to their maſters a certain proportion of their gains; but with all their management, the country does not produce rice enough to ſubſiſt the inhabitants, great quantities being imported every year.

Sugar canes.

Next to pepper and rice, the moſt conſiderable plantations are their ſugar canes, which are planted chiefly on account of the arrack or ſpirits which are extracted from them, and found very neceſſary in ſo moiſt an air.

Garden ſtuff.

In their gardens are peas, beans, radiſhes, yams, potatoes, pumkins, and ſeveral kinds of pot-herbs unknown in Europe: the potatoes are three or four inches long, and of the bigneſs of a large radiſh, mealy and of a ſweet taſte, but red on the outſide and white within, as ours. They have moſt of the fruits which we meet with in other parts of India in great perfection; ſuch as plantains, pine-apples, coco-nuts, limes, citrons, oranges, pumple-noſes, mangoes, mangoſteens, pomegranates, water melons, jacks, durions, guava's, &c. of which the mangoſteen is eſteemed the moſt delicious fruit: the form of it is much like a pomegranate, but leſs; the outſide rhind or ſhell is ſomething thicker than that of the pomegranate, but ſofter and of a dark red; the inſide is of a deep crimſon, where you find the fruit in four or fives cloves about the bigneſs of a man's thumb, as white as milk and very ſoft and juicy, and in the middle of each there is a ſmall ſtone.

The pumple-noſe alſo is a delicious fruit, bigger than the largeſt orange, and has a thick tender rhind; the inſide contains abundance of ſeeds as big as a barley corn and full of juice, but it has no partitions like the orange. The reſt of theſe fruits are deſcribed in other parts of this hiſtory, and therefore need not be ſpoke to here.

Bang.

The plant called bang grows alſo in this iſland, and very much reſembles hemp; this they infuſe in their liquors, as has been obſerved already, when they would raiſe their ſpirits, and it has much the ſame effects as opium. The cotton and cabbage trees alſo grow here, though they are not very common: but hardly any country

Canes.

affords more canes and bambou, and particularly near Jambee, the Dutch ſettlement, where are found thoſe finer taper walking canes called the dragon's blood; which the Dutch, notwithſtanding the ſtrict guard they keep over them, cannot prevent the natives cutting ſometimes and ſelling to the Engliſh. There is alſo growing about Achen

Cotton tree.

the ſilk cotton tree, as it is called: theſe trees are large, and have a ſmooth aſh-coloured rhind, and are generally full of fruit which hangs down at the ends of the twigs like purſes three or four inches long; no tree grows more regular and uniform, the lower branches being always largeſt and longeſt, and the upper leſſening gradually to the top. When the cotton is ripe the cods drop off the tree, for it is ſo ſhort that it is not thought worth the gathering, tho' they will ſometimes take the pains to pick it off the ground to ſtuff their quilts with. In the woods they have oaks and other large timber trees, ſtrait and tall and fit for any uſes, but few of them are known in Europe.

Timber.

I proceed now to enquire after their minerals; and, as far as I can find, tin and gold are the only metals that this country affords, and gold is as plentiful here as in any part of Aſia. Their gold is uſually in ſmall bits or duſt from half a grain to two or three peny weight: but Mr. LOCKYER tells us, he ſaw an entire lump as it came from the mines of an ounce weight; however, he acknowledges, it is not uſually met with in ſuch large pieces, and that it ſeems to be got rather out of the dirt than rocks; ſometimes indeed it is found in the hardeſt ſtones; and Mr. LOCKYER tells us of a ſtone which he had ſeen of a pound and half weight, which ſeemed to have been beaten off another ſtone to which it grew, and that it had crannies coloured and veined like white marble; it was very ponderous, and had ſeveral branches of gold ſhooting out of the chinks and craggy parts of it; the gold this ſtone contained was valued at five pounds ten ſhillings, but there was ſcarce the worth of a guinea in ſight.

Minerals.

Gold.

The rock gold, as 'tis called at Achen, and which is known by its brightneſs, is very fine, from 96 to 99 touch or parts of 100; but the common ſort is ſeldom more than 92 or 93. The gold mines are probably in ſome mountains towards the middle of the iſland, not far from the equator; but this being as much concealed from foreigners as poſſible, and no European having ever viſited them, or at leaſt ever returned from thence, travellers do not pretend to determine the place exactly: only thus much is certain, that theſe mines lye at ſome diſtance from Achen, on the north part of the iſland, and they are not in the ſouth, or the Dutch would have been at work upon them before now, having long ſince poſſeſſed thoſe parts.

But notwithſtanding the mountaineers are in poſſeſſion of the gold mines, they make but little advantage by them: they exchange this rich metal with the inhabitants of the flat country, for rice, cloathing, tobacco, and other neceſſaries of life; while the ſubjects of Achen and the Malays, being better acquainted with the value of it, make extravagant demands of all foreigners they deal with for the gold they bring them. And that ſtrangers may be under no temptation of penetrating farther into the country, and endeavour to eſtabliſh a trade directly with the inland people; they are repreſented to us as the moſt barbarous of human kind, as canibals, monſters, &c. and of all men to be ſhunned and avoided: and thus

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too they very probably repreſent foreigners to this poor people, to ſet them at as great a diſtance as poſſible from one another, that they themſelves may reap the ſole benefit of this rich trade. And from ſuch ſprings and motives as theſe moſt of our relations of monſters and canibals have ariſen; though a deteſtation of their religion and manners, ſo oppoſite both to Chriſtians and Mahometans, and that unaccountable credulity we meet with in moſt travellers, with the vanity to have ſeen or heard ſomething more than other men, may have very much contributed to improve and confirm thoſe romantick tales.

Animals.

The beaſts that are found in this iſland are a ſmall kind of horſes, buffaloes, goats, hogs, deer, elephants, hog-deer, and ſome few bullocks; but as to their elephants I am in ſome doubt whether there are any wild ones in the country; firſt, becauſe none of our travellers ever pretend to have ſeen any; and ſecondly, becauſe thoſe in the King of Achen's ſtables are either preſents from foreign Princes, or purchaſed in other countries. However, they have ſeveral kinds of wild beaſts, as tygers, monkeys, and wild hogs; and they have porcupines and ſquirrels, which the Engliſh at Bencoulen look upon to be very good eating. There are alſo guanoes, lizards, crocodiles or allegators, and ſeveral ſorts of ſnakes and ſerpents; with ants and musketoes, and ſuch troubleſome inſects. Dunghil fowls and ducks they have great plenty of, and their cocks are ſaid to be the largeſt that are found any where. In the woods are wild pigeons and doves of ſeveral ſorts; with parrots, parakeets, and maccaws, and a great variety of ſmall birds different from ours; but travellers ſay nothing of any harmonious notes amongſt them, which inclines me to believe they are like thoſe of ſome other eaſtern countries, beautiful to look on, but have not very melodious voices.

Both ſea and river fiſh are very plentiful, inſomuch that two or three nets and a boat will bring in a very good livelihood; and they have a way of catching fiſh, by planting a wooden grate at the mouths of the ſmall brooks and creeks at high water, and at the tide of ebb they take them as they pleaſe. Among other fiſh they have mullets, cat-fiſh, eels, old wives, craw fiſh, ſhrimps, oyſters, and green turtle or tortoiſe, and ſeveral kinds we never ſaw in Europe.

Mechanick arts.

As to the liberal arts, I do not find any amongſt them; and their mechanicks are but indifferent workmen, unleſs it be their carpenters, who will run up one of their cane tenements in a few days; but as the model and the materials are always the ſame, this may require no great cunning. Their flying praws or boats are the moſt admired of any of their workmanſhip; they are very long, but ſo narrow that two men cannot ſtand abreaſt in the wideſt part of them; the keel is only a large tree hollowed, and the ſides are raiſed with plank about three foot above it; and at each end are left as ſharp as poſſible, not pointed like a wherry, but the edge is perpendicular, and the keel juts out beyond the other part of the veſſel, and is quite under water when it is loaded. Inſtead of a rudder they ſteer with a kind of a long wooden knife, not broader than ones hand. Theſe veſſels carry a great ſail, and have outlayers on each ſide, with planks of light wood at the ends; and when it blows hard, they ſend out a man or two to ſit at the extremity of the windward outlayer, to keep the veſſel from overſetting; and thus managed they will bear the greateſt ſea; and when an Engliſh pinnace with two ſails makes five miles an hour, thoſe will run ten or twelve; however they never uſe theſe praws but in fiſhing, or to ſail to ſome neighbouring iſland. They have other larger praws, that carry fourteen or fifteen tun, with which they make very profitable voyages to Siam, Malacca, Pegu, Jhor, &c. but they have no large ſhips or veſſels of any force, nor ever undertake long voyages.

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Goldſmiths.

Diſtempers, regimen and medicines.

Phyſick is not profeſſed amongſt them, unleſs among the old women, who ſome of them have obſerved the nature of their ſimples and drugs, and found their skill on their own experience; there being ſeveral medicinal herbs and drugs amongſt them. The flux is much the moſt common of any diſtemper in theſe countries, and moſt fatal to foreigners; though there are many kinds of fruit and herbs, which if our Europeans were acquainted with, when they are firſt ſeized with this diſtemper, would go a great way towards curing them; and particularly the guava's and pomegranates: they ſhould be inſtructed alſo not to be too free with ſome other fruits, or with their waters unboiled, and ſherbet is ſtill more unwholeſom. A moderate uſe of wine and ſtrong liquors, as well as moderate eating, and the abſtaining from full meals of fleſh, is certainly the beſt regimen that can be preſcribed to European conſtitutions here; and a ſituation as far from the ſalt marſhes as poſſible ought to be obtained. Bathing in cold water, which is generally practiſed by the natives, is reckoned a great preſervative againſt the flux; and exceſſive drinking ſhould be avoided, for though moſt people die of fluxes, there are many taken off by fevers; and the ſmall pox is often as fatal there as here. There is a diſtemper alſo called the mortduchin, or a perpetual vomiting and looſeneſs, which often proceeds from too plentiful meals, and carries off the patient very ſuddenly; but dropſies, gout, and ſtone, are ſeldom heard of in this part of the world.

Learning, &c. of the natives.

From what has been obſerved on the preceding heads, their learning cannot be expected to be very profound; writing and reading, and ſome traditional accounts of their hiſtory and religion is all we meet with. The Mahometans, who inhabit the greateſt part of the iſland, uſually ſpeak and write the Malayan language, but there are ſome terms and offices of their religion in Arabick; and they have ſchools at Achen, where the children learn theſe languages. The inhabitants of the mountains have a language peculiar to themſelves; and as the Malay's write from the right hand to the left, the mountaineers write from the left to the right as we do; and inſtead of pen, ink, and paper, they write, or rather engrave with a ſharp pencil on the ſmooth outſide of a bambou cane; but the Malays uſe ink, and write upon a thin browniſh paper, that will hardly bear. They are very indifferent accomptants; but the Banians and Guzarats, who reſide amongſt them, and whom they make uſe of when they have any conſiderable accounts to ſettle, are a match for any European; whoſe arithmetick ſhall be examined when I come to treat of India within Ganges, their native country.

The reſpective kingdoms and ſtates in this iſland ſeem to be very differently conſtituted; and moſt of them have experienced great alterations and revolutions in the laſt century.

Government of the kingdom of Achen.

To begin with the kingdom of Achen, which is much the moſt conſiderable, and takes up all the northren part of the iſland. This ſome travellers tell us is a mixed, and ſome that it is an unlimited monarch; ſome that it is elective, others that it is hereditary; ſome that it is governed by a man, and others that none but women reign here: and many of our writers, I am apt to think, forget to make any enquiry about the matter when they are upon the ſpot, but frame ſuch ſchemes as are moſt agreeable to their own notions of government, after they return home and commence authors.

That they have not always been governed by Queens, appears by letters ſent both to Queen ELIZABETH and King JAMES, from their Kings, and from the beſt of our antient and modern authors; and ſome will not admit they were ever governed by a Queen, unleſs ſome titular Queen may have been made regent, during the minority of her ſon, which they ſuppoſe may have occaſioned the miſtake; and this they urge with the more reaſon, becauſe that in thoſe parts of the iſland where we are better acquainted with their forms of government, there is no inſtance of a female reign. But as there are almoſt as many writers on one ſide the queſtion as the other, it ſeems moſt likely they are not confined either to the one or the other, but that they ſucceed or are elected indifferently, as in England, and that their ſex is no bar to the ſucceſſion. Nor does it ſeem very difficult to reconcile the other diſpute, concerning a mixed or arbitrary monarchy; for it is agreed by all, that in this kingdom there are ſeveral Oran Caya's, or great Lords, (moſt writers ſay twelve) who exerciſe ſovereign power in their reſpective diſtricts, like the Electoral Princes of Germany, and yet in ſome reſpects are ſubject to the King, and are the principal Officers of his court. Sometimes theſe Oran Caya's have depoſed the King, elected another, and limited his authority. At other times the regal power has prevailed, the Oran Caya's been cut off, or made dependant on the court, and then this Prince may be ſaid to be abſolute

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too they very probably repreſent foreigners to this poor people, to ſet them at as great a diſtance as poſſible from one another, that they themſelves may reap the ſole benefit of this rich trade. And from ſuch ſprings and motives as theſe moſt of our relations of monſters and canibals have ariſen; though a deteſtation of their religion and manners, ſo oppoſite both to Chriſtians and Mahometans, and that unaccountable credulity we meet with in moſt travellers, with the vanity to have ſeen or heard ſomething more than other men, may have very much contributed to improve and confirm thoſe romantick tales.

Animals.

The beaſts that are found in this iſland are a ſmall kind of horſes, buffaloes, goats, hogs, deer, elephants, hog-deer, and ſome few bullocks; but as to their elephants I am in ſome doubt whether there are any wild ones in the country; firſt, becauſe none of our travellers ever pretend to have ſeen any; and ſecondly, becauſe thoſe in the King of Achen's ſtables are either preſents from foreign Princes, or purchaſed in other countries. However, they have ſeveral kinds of wild beaſts, as tygers, monkeys, and wild hogs; and they have porcupines and ſquirrels, which the Engliſh at Bencoulen look upon to be very good eating. There are alſo guanoes, lizards, crocodiles or allegators, and ſeveral ſorts of ſnakes and ſerpents; with ants and musketoes, and ſuch troubleſome inſects. Dunghil fowls and ducks they have great plenty of, and their cocks are ſaid to be the largeſt that are found any where. In the woods are wild pigeons and doves of ſeveral ſorts; with parrots, parakeets, and maccaws, and a great variety of ſmall birds different from ours; but travellers ſay nothing of any harmonious notes amongſt them, which inclines me to believe they are like thoſe of ſome other eaſtern countries, beautiful to look on, but have not very melodious voices.

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abſolute. As to the hereditary ſucceſſion of the eldeſt ſon, it does not ſeem to be much conſidered by the eaſtern Princes, who uſually take a liberty of diſpoſing their crowns to which of their children they ſee fit, not regarding whether he be the ſon of a wife or a concubine; though ſometimes this occaſions a ſtruggle after their deaths, and that competitor who can make the greateſt intereſt among the Oran Caya's uſually carries it; and from hence the crown is often taken to be elective. This is the moſt probable account I can collect from authors, and ſuch gentlemen as have viſited this country; but muſt acknowledge I ſhould be glad to meet with a more certain information than I have hitherto been able to do. Mr. LOCKYER, who touched at Achen about twenty years ago, as an argument of the great power of the Oran Caya's, tells us of one who being charged with ſodomy, and ſummoned before the Sabander or Governor of the port of Achen, who is reckoned the moſt powerful of all the Oran Caya's in the kingdom; that this perſon refuſing to appear before him, he immediately ordered a detachment of the guards to cut him to pieces whenever they met him; and that they executed their order punctually, juſt before the houſe of an Engliſh merchant, in the ſtreets of Achen. But if this Sabander or Governor derived his authority as Governor of this place from the Prince, as ſeems highly probable, it being the ſeat of the empire, we can conclude very little from ſuch inſtances as theſe.

Government of the ſouth part of the iſland.

I proceed next to that part of the iſland which lyes ſouth of the equator, which, as has been obſerved already, is divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms or ſtates; the Princes whereof however ſtyle themſelves Sultans, as well as the King of Achen; but they are as frequently called Pangarans and Raja's. Each of theſe have their nobility, which conſtitute their great council, and are ſtyled Proateens; and every town and village almoſt has a Governor appointed by the Sultan, if he ſees fit, but uſually choſen by the inhabitants of the diſtrict, and confirmed by the Sultan; and both theſe orders being aſſembled to adviſe with on ſome emergencies of the government, our factors on the weſt coaſt reſemble them to our Lords and Commons, and look upon the power of theſe Sultans to be limited, like that of an Engliſh Monarch. There are alſo ſome free towns upon the coaſts, governed by their own Magiſtrates, who are called Datoo's: of theſe Bencoulen has twelve, and Sillebar four; and they do not ſeem to be under the dominion of any neighbouring Raja or Sultan, but to have the ſupreme power lodged in themſelves; though they generally pay a great reſpect to, and keep a fair correſpondence with the Sultans that lye near them.

Of the mountaineers.

There are ſtill a people independent of all theſe, who inhabit the mountains, and are governed, as 'tis ſaid, by their ſeveral Captains or heads of clans; who, probably, find it their intereſt to unite againſt all others, to maintain their antient liberties: and theſe are the people which the Mahometans have repreſented as canibals, to deter all other nations from entertaining any commerce with them, as has been obſerved already. A particular account of the manners or government of *theſe people is not to be expected*, ſo long as we are deprived of all acceſs to them, and it remains the intereſt of their neighbours to miſrepreſent them.

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As to the treaſure of the King of Achen, it is acknowledged by all to be very great, there being ſuch plenty of gold in this iſland; but what his certain revenues are, no traveller of credit has pretended to compute. The cuſtoms of Achen are reckoned very conſiderable, and the King's demeſne lands are cultivated by multitudes of ſlaves, and ſupply his court with proviſions.

As to fortreſſes, he has hardly any that deſerve the name, as has been hinted before; but the ſituation of his country renders it almoſt inacceſſible: and if we would compute the number of his forces, we muſt reckon all that are capable to bear arms in the kingdom, who are all bound to attend him in his wars: but whether he has any regular troops, beſides his guards, does not appear. However, it has been obſerved of the kingdom of Achen, that ſo ſtrong is the ſituation of it by nature, that it has never been conquered by any foreign power. But I ſuppoſe this muſt be underſtood only of the laſt three or four hundred years; for it is certain that the Moors or Arabians that now poſſeſs this kingdom, were not the firſt inhabitants, but drove them up into the mountains, and ſucceeded them in the flat country, not many hundred years ſince.

The revenues of the Sultans of the ſouthern Princes are not more certain than thoſe of the King of Achen; but it ſeems they ariſe chiefly by the duties on pepper, and they reap alſo ſome advantage from the gold mines. The forces of theſe Princes are inconſiderable apart; but we find they have united upon certain occaſions, and expelled both Dutch and Engliſh from very conſiderable ſettlements. But as to the Engliſh, if it had not been for the treachery of the Bugaſſes, or Macaſſar ſoldiers in their ſervice, 'tis thought thoſe petty Princes durſt never have attempted any thing againſt us.

Arms.

The arms this people uſe are a lance, a broad ſword, a crice or dagger (which they ſtick naked in their girdles) and a long ſhield made of tough rattans twiſted together and covered with the ſkin of a tyger, or ſome other beaſt; and they have in the kingdom of Achen, and ſome other parts of the country, both great guns and fire arms; ſome war elephants alſo they are ſaid to have, but not

not many, notwithſtanding the extravagant relations of their courage and numbers which we find in ſome of the firſt diſcoverers, and thoſe they have ſeem now to be kept rather for ſtate than any thing elſe.

They have no written laws, unleſs thoſe which relate to religion and are recorded in their alchoran: immemorial cuſtom is their law, and the moſt antient people are conſulted in doubtful caſes; if a precedent be remembered, it is thought ſufficient to found the judgment upon, as well there as in Europe. Murder and adultery is puniſhed with death; and they have not one but a crowd of executioners, who all ſtab the criminal with their criees or daggers; but female offenders they uſually ſtrangle. For theft they cut off one or more joints of the criminal's fingers or toes, and ſometimes an arm or leg, according to the nature of the crime, and the third offence is capital. They have alſo uſed beheading and impaling; and ſome of the Kings of Achen are charged with inflicting the cruelleſt tortures on their greateſt ſubjects for trivial offences. Admiral BEAULIEU relates, that while he reſided at Achen the King ſent for him one day, and he found him very much out of humour, and giving orders for torturing five or ſix women of the ſeraglio: that theſe poor creatures were brought in and tortured in the King's preſence to the laſt degree for three hours; which the Admiral, to his great mortification, was compelled to be an eye-witneſs of; and the King's rage increaſing with the tortures, he at length ordered their hands and legs to be cut off, and their bodies thrown into the river. The occaſion of this execution, it ſeems, was this, the night before one of theſe women, who lay with the reſt in a room adjoining to his Majeſty's, gave a great ſhriek, and the King inquiring into the matter, they all agreed to tell him there was nothing in it. But after many threats, ſhe that had cried out confeſſed, that ſomebody came in the night time and pricked her in the thigh with a dagger through the reeds: upon which, ſhe ſaid, ſhe cried out, and awaked her companions. But the reſt did not agree in their anſwers; ſome ſaying they heard a noiſe, and others that they heard nothing. However, the dagger was found; but no body would own it. After all, the King not being able to get any ſatisfactory account of the matter, was led into the ſuſpicion of a deſign againſt his life, carried on by his own mother; who, as he imagined, had alarmed theſe women, that their outcry might induce his Majeſty to come out of his chamber, and give the aſſaſſins an opportunity of diſpatching him. He proceeded therefore to ſee if he could make a further diſcovery of the matter by torture, and put all the women upon the rack. But their reſolution and conſtancy proved invincible; for notwithſtanding the King's frequent offers of pardon in caſe they would diſcover the plot, and the repeated intreaties of the Cadi, or Chief Prieſt, of Achen, and the whole court, who begged of them to be kind to themſelves; they did not ſo much as ſhrink or relent. One of them being very old, and ſwooning away from time to time, the King took compaſſion upon, and graciouſly ordered her to be put to death. Upon which ſhe aſſumed a gay countenance, and thanked the King for his grace and mercy: wiſhing him, in recompence for his favour, a long and happy life of a thouſand years. In a word, all of them ſtood out undaunted to the laſt gaſp; and even after their hands and legs were cut off, ſome of them had the courage to ſay, that for the ſpace of ten years they had longed for this happy hour that delivered them from the drudgery of the caſtle.

The King asking Monſieur BEAULIEU what he thought of this proceeding; the Admiral was ſo terrified with the diſmal ſpectacle, that he durſt do no other than pretend to approve it, and anſwered, that without the execution of juſtice, no government could ſubſiſt. Then the King made a ſpeech upon the occaſion, and ſaid, 'if the laſt 'night's action had paſſed unpuniſhed, his life 'muſt be ever expoſed to aſſaſſins. That his 'Oran Caya's (or noblemen) were apt to charge 'him with cruelty, notwithſtanding it was their 'own wickedneſs that drew the judgments of God 'on their heads; and that he was only the inſtru-'ment of putting them in execution. That their 'complaints of his adminiſtration were very un-'juſt; for that he ſuffered them to poſſeſs their 'wives, children and ſlaves, and to amaſs great 'eſtates, while they could contain themſelves 'within the bounds of their duty. That he 'maintained their religion, defended them againſt 'their enemies, and preſerved them in peace and 'quietneſs in their houſes: whereas before his 'reign Achen was little better than a den of 'thieves and murderers: the ſtronger oppreſſed the 'weak, and no man was ſecure of his poſſeſſions. 'And the only quarrel ſome of the grandees had 'with him was, his ſuppreſſing that violence and 'extortion they uſed to exerciſe upon the reſt of 'his ſubjects. That they claimed a privilege alſo 'of ſetting up, depoſing and murdering their 'Princes when diſobliged: and if ſuch ſpirits were 'not ſubdued, the government would ſoon be 'ſubverted. That even his mother was in theſe 'conſpiracies againſt his life; and wanted to make 'room for a ſucceſſor who would ſubmit to be 'governed by them.

Frequent ſtruggles between the King and his nobility for empire.

This he delivered with ſuch vehemency and paſſion, and with thoſe terrible looks, that the whole court immediately proſtrated themſelves on their faces to the ground, imploring his mercy; and among the reſt the Cadi, a man of fourſcore years.

of

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of age, and held in the higheſt veneration of any perſon in the kingdom.

After this the King proceeded to torture his mother, and put to death five of the principal Oran Caya's, whom he ſuſpected of favouring her. He alſo murdered his nephew the King of Jhor's ſon, his couſin the King of Bantam's ſon, and, in ſhort, cut off all the Royal Family but his own ſon, who had been twice baniſhed the court, but was at this time in favour upon diſcovering a diſpoſition, if poſſible, more cruel than his father's, and who was equally hated by the reſt of the world.

This King alſo extirpated almoſt all the ancient nobility, and raiſed up a new ſet of Oran Caya's of his own creatures. And Mr. BEAULIEU aſſures us, that while he remained at Achen there was not a day paſſed without an execution.

Speedy juſtice and execution.

The truth of this relation reſts upon the credit of Mr. BEAULIEU: but thus much is certain, that all offenders are brought to a ſpeedy trial, and ſentence is no ſooner paſſed than it is executed. As to civil cauſes, they are decided by the opinion of the Magiſtrate, and ſuch precedents as tradition or his own experience has furniſhed him with, having no written ſtated rules to go by. Their magiſtrates who live in the neighbourhood of the Engliſh, will often deſire the opinion of our Chiefs in intricate matters, and pay an uncommon regard to an European who is a man of ſenſe and temper, when they are ſo happy to meet with one: but nothing endears us more to this people than the learning the Malayan language, having found themſelves intolerably impoſed upon by linguiſts.

Coin, weights, and meaſures.

They have but two ſorts of money of their own coining, the firſt is of lead which they call caſh, of which 1500 make a mas (or 15 pence) which is their gold coin; a quarter of a mas is called a pollam or copong, which is imaginary; 16 mas is one tael, which is likewiſe imaginary, and equivalent to 20 ſhillings Engliſh; dollars and other Spaniſh money are current almoſt all over the iſland: but though 1500 caſh are uſually reckoned the value of a mas, they riſe and fall as the money-changers ſee fit, only there is ſeldom leſs than 1000, and ſeldom more than 1500 reckoned to a mas. I proceed next to thoſe weights which are uſed either for money or goods, viz. 5 tael make a buncal weight, 20 buncal make a catty, and 100 catty are a pecul or 132 pounds Engliſh weight: three pecul are a China bahar or 396 pound China weight, and of Malay weight at Achen, 422 pound 15 ounces; and upon the weſt coaſt, particularly at Bencoulen, a bahar is 500 pound great weight or 560 pounds Engliſh.

Pieces of gold are oftner uſed in merchandiſe at Achen than their coin, eſpecially in conſiderable bargains; therefore it is neceſſary to expreſs at what rate you intend to receive and pay gold, as well as what catty you buy and ſell by: the receiving a thouſand pounds in their gold mas would be an inconceivable trouble, braſs and mixed metals, and ſilver gilt being frequently found amongſt them; and even the money changers who are employed to examine them are often deceived: however if they receive any bad, they are bound to make them good to the perſon who employs them.

A merchant may be very much impoſed on alſo by receiving their gold duſt, for they will mix ſmall bits of other metal with it, which is not eaſy to diſtinguiſh, and makes it neceſſary to employ theſe money changers upon ſuch kind of receipts: there are great numbers of them who take up their ſtandings in the ſtreets of Achen, and are uſually Guzarats, or natives of the hither India. The uſual meaſure for corn or liquids is the bambou, which holds about a gallon; and I don't find any other meaſure for cloth, &c. beſides the natural cubit and fathom.

Religion.

As to the religion of this people, it is for the moſt part Mahometaniſm, which I ſhall defer the treating of till I come to thoſe large continents where its greateſt votaries reign; only 'tis obſerved, that they are not quite ſo zealous or tenacious of its precepts as thoſe who inhabit ſome other parts of the world. Their temples and moſques alſo are but mean, at Achen indeed they are built of brick or ſtone, but in the ſouthern part of the iſland are hardly to be diſtinguiſhed from their ordinary houſes: Their Prieſts however, and eſpecially the High-Prieſt or Cadi at Achen, is in great veneration amongſt them; and they ſeem to bear a great ſtroke in all affairs of ſtate. Polygamy and concubinage is ſuffered here, as in other Mahometan countries; and it is no difficult matter for the husband to obtain a divorce: but the Prieſt is conſulted on all theſe occaſions, being eſteemed the proper judge of the expediency of them; as he at firſt ratifies the contract, ſo none but one of the ſame order is allowed to diſſolve it. The Prieſt alſo aſſiſts with his prayers on the departure of any Muſſulman, and attends the funeral rites, which are much the ſame with the Mahometans of the iſland of Macaſſar, which have been already deſcribed.

As to the Pagans who inhabit the mountains, we have no account of their civil or religious rites; but as they are deſcended from the Chineſe they probably retain many of their cuſtoms, and much of their ſuperſtition.

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Treats of the iſland of Java and the city of Batavia, the reſidence of the General and Commander in chief of all the Dutch colonies and acquiſitions in India.

THE iſland of Java, uſually called Java Major, to diſtinguiſh it from the iſland of Baly or Leſſer Java, extends itſelf from the hundred and ſecond to the hundred and thirteenth degree of longitude, and from five degrees thirty minutes to eight degrees of ſouth latitude; being about ſeven hundred miles in length and one hundred in breadth, and in ſome places it may be about one hundred and fifty wide, but not much more in any part of the iſland. It ſtretches almoſt due eaſt and weſt, only the eaſt end of the iſland inclines a little more to the ſouthward than the weſt. It has the iſland of Borneo upon the north, the iſland and ſtraits of Baly towards the eaſt, the Indian ocean to the ſouth, and the iſland of Sumatra and the ſtreights of Sunda towards the north weſt.

Thoſe places which the Europeans have viſited in this iſland lying upon the ſea coaſt, and for the moſt part ſurrounded with ſalt marſhes, are not much more healthful than the port towns of Sumatra or Borneo, except Batavia, which having been drained and better cultivated, has ſome advantage of the reſt; or at leaſt the Dutch conſtitutions being now more familiar to the climate, they do not rot ſo faſt as they did heretofore: but I find other foreigners who have viſited that city ſtill complaining of the unwholeſomneſs of the air; and one reaſon of it may be, that an earthquake has choaked up and diverted the courſe of the great river, ſo that their canals and ſtreams are grown very ſhallow, and the mud lyes almoſt level with the water; inſomuch that a wherry can hardly paſs through the town at preſent, whereas formerly veſſels of a conſiderable burthen might have lain cloſe to the keys. And it is obſervable, that though running waters are not at all unwholeſom, yet if they ſtagnate and overflow the meadows and low-grounds, the fogs which ariſe from them are very pernicious: but the air is much more unhealthful when the meadows are overflowed with ſalt water, for the ſea water, if it be taken up and kept but four and twenty hours, will corrupt and ſtink ſo that there is no enduring of it, if the experiment be made in a hot climate like that of Java.

As to the ſeaſons and monſons upon the north coaſt of Java, and the iſlands which lye on the ſame romb to the eaſtward, as far as Solar and Tymore, the worſt weather is during the weſterly winds, which uſually begin the firſt week in November. In December it blows freſh, and the wet weather increaſes; and in January the weather is at the worſt both as to wind and rain, and continues much the ſame till the middle of February; after which the wind and rain abate till the latter end of March. In April the weather grows fair, and the winds are variable, with calms; but at the full and change of the moon there generally happens ſudden guſts of wind from the weſtward. About the firſt of May the eaſtern monſon may be ſaid to be ſettled, and in June and July often brings rain with it; but the eaſterly winds blow hardeſt when there is no rain; and this monſon for the moſt part affords clear wholeſom weather, which continues till the latter end of September. In October the wind ſhifts frequently, and the eaſterly winds blow faintly, and in the beginning of November the weſterly monſon ſets in again: but it is obſerved, that ſome years the monſons happen fifteen days ſooner or later than in others.

Currents.

The currents conſtantly follow the winds here, and ſit eaſt-north-eaſt or weſt-ſouth-weſt, as the monſon or trade wind does out at ſea.

When the weſterly winds and currents are ſtrongeſt in theſe ſeas, which is uſually in December and January, and part of February, it is in vain to endeavour to ſail againſt them, or indeed to coaſt along the ſhore, though there is good anchorage all along the coaſt of Java. The eaſterly winds, as well as the currents, are much more moderate; and ſhips frequently ſail againſt this monſon from Batavia to the iſland of Tymore, keeping in anchorage, and going between the iſland Madura and Java; and a ſhip may at any time come from the weſtward, through the ſtreights of Sunda to Batavia. On the Sumatra ſide theſe ſtreights are very deep, and in many places no anchorage; for which reaſon ſhips keep up on the Java ſide, where they may anchor in twenty or thirty fathom water, till they come near Batavia, and then they need not be concerned at its being a lee-ſhore, or dread the coming under twenty fathom.

Streights of Sunda.

Land and ſea breezes contrary to the monſon or trade wind.

Notwithſtanding the eaſterly monſon blows out at ſea between Java and Borneo, as alſo along the coaſt of Sumatra, from April to November, yet near the ſhores they have land and ſea breezes from different points of the compaſs: the land breezes come off between one and four o' clock in the morning, generally with a ſmall ſhower and a guſt of wind, and ſometimes thunder. About one or two in the afternoon, a freſh gale blows directly from the ſea for five or ſix hours, and then dies away; when the ſhips upon the coaſt which are bound to the eaſtward are forced to come to an anchor till the next morning, and expect the land breeze again; and as theſe winds are conſtant, the weather clear, and the ſhores always green, this way of turning along the ſhore, as the ſailors call it, is extremely pleaſant. And wherever

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ever the mariners diſcover a grove of coco-nut-trees, which ſtand very thick along the north coaſt of Java, they are ſure to find a village of Javans, who are very obliging, and will ſupply Engliſh ſhipping with all manner of neceſſaries at a much eaſier rate than the Dutch; of whoſe unchriſtian uſuage towards the Engliſh, Captain BEECKMAN with a great deal of reaſon complains, even ſo lately as the year 1714. He ſays the Dutch General at Batavia refuſed to let him have either wood, water, rice, or any neceſſaries whatever; nor would ſo much as ſuffer an Engliſhman to lye aſhore, though they did not refuſe theſe privileges to the Portugueſe, or any other European nation: there are inſtances indeed of their ſuffering ſome of our ſhips to take in water, and other neceſſaries, but they are forced to wait ſo long, and pay ſo extravagantly for what they have, that it almoſt amounts to a refuſal.

Dutch refuſe water to the Engliſh at Batavia.

Kingdoms.

When Sir FRANCIS DRAKE touched here in the year 1579. he tells us he found five Kings upon the iſland, and had he remained in this country any conſiderable time, he might have diſcovered many more; for almoſt every great town had a Prince of its own, who commanded the adjacent country, and neighbouring villages, 'till either by intermarriages and compacts, or the encroachments of the moſt powerful, they were reduced to a ſmall number, of whom the Kings of Mataran and Bantam were the moſt potent. The King of Mataran poſſeſſed much the greateſt part of the country, his territories conſiſting of all the inland provinces, as well as the ſouth-eaſt part of the iſland; but the King of Bantam was not inferior to him in wealth and power, being poſſeſſed of the north-weſt coaſt, and moſt of the ports and towns of trade: to Bantam therefore moſt European nations reſorted at their firſt arrival in the Eaſt-Indies. Here the Engliſh eſtabliſhed their principal factory; and the Dutch had another in the town, till this Prince being no longer able to bear their inſolence, forced them to remove to Jacatra, now Batavia, about forty miles to the eaſtward: nor was the King of Jacatra much fonder of their company than the King of Bantam; but upon his diſcovering an intention to remove them from thence, they immediately fell to fortifying the place he had aſſigned them for a factory, and in ſhort bid defiance to all his forces; nor have the Javan Princes been able to diſlodge them to this day, though they have ſometimes drawn down their united forces againſt the place, and maintained long wars with the Dutch; but I ſhall defer giving a full account of the uſurpations of the Hollanders in this iſland, till I come to treat of government.

Chief towns.

The chief towns on this iſland are moſt of them upon the north coaſt, of which Bantam lyes the moſt weſterly: Batavia ſtands to the eaſtward of Bantam, and farther eaſt Charabon, Samarang, Japara, Roombong, Tuban, Sidaya, Jortan, and Surabaija; and at the eaſt end of the iſland are the cities of Paſſarvan, Panarucan, and Palamboan: about the middle of the ſouth coaſt ſtands the city of Mataran, where the King, who bears that title ſtill, has his reſidence; but there are not any other cities of note on this ſide the iſland, it lying open to the ſouthern ocean, and not affording that ſecurity to ſhipping as is to be found on the northern coaſt.

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Bantam.

Bantam, the metropolis of a great kingdom (till the Dutch deſtroyed it and depoſed the King) is ſeated in a plain at the foot of a mountain, out of which iſſues three rivers, or rather one river dividing itſelf into three branches, two whereof ſurround the town, and the other runs through the middle of it. The circumference of this city, when in its glory, was not leſs than twelve miles, and very populous. It lay open towards the land; but had a very good wall to the ſea, fortified with baſtions, and defended by a numerous artillery; and the palace, or rather caſtle, where the King reſided, was no mean fortification; beſides which there were ſeveral publick buildings and palaces of the great men, which made no ordinary figure in this country. It was alſo one of the greateſt ports in the eaſtern ſeas, to which all nations reſorted, but is now become a wretched poor place, and has neither trade or any thing to render it deſirable. The principal inhabitants are removed, and the buildings ruined, their King deprived of his ſovereignty, and become a vaſſal to the Dutch.

Batavia, by the Indians named Jacatra, and by the natives and Chineſe Calacka, or Calappa, as they call the fruit of the coco-trees, which are very common here, lyes in ſix degrees ſouth latitude, longitude from London 106, and ſtands about forty miles to the eaſtward of Bantam, it is ſituated at the bottom of a fine bay, in which there are ſeventeen or eighteen ſmall iſlands, which break the violence of the winds and waves; inſomuch that a thouſand ſail may ride here very ſecurely. Two large piers run out half a mile into the ſea, between which an hundred ſlaves are conſtantly employed, in taking up the mud and ſoil which is waſhed out of the town, or the mouth of the river would be ſoon choaked up.

The city of Batavia ſtands in a flat country, and is almoſt ſquare, and about the bigneſs of Briſtol, regularly built like the towns in Holland, but with white ſtone. Their ſtreets are wide and ſtrait, and in twelve or fifteen of the principal are canals, faced with ſtone, and planted with ever-greens: the ſides of the ſtreets alſo are paved, and over their canals are reckoned no leſs than fifty-ſix ſtone bridges: after which deſcription there cannot be much occaſion to tell the reader that

A Plan of the City and Castle of BATAVIA

THE GREAT RIVER

N. Scale of Rhinlands Roods

Explanation of the Letters

First of the Castle

A. The General of ye Dutch East India Companies House

B. Apparements of ye Governor and of India

C. Place of Armes for the Iavans Guards

D. Diamont Bastion

E. Robey Bastion

F. Saffire Bastion

G. Pearl Bastion

H. The Bridge of the Castle

I. Water Gate

K. The Fault Side of ye City

L. Place of Armes call'd Point of Amsterdam

M. Middleburg point

N. Rotterdam point

O. Delft point

P. Gelderland point

Q. Orange point

R. The New Gate

S. Holland point

T. Crimbergen point

V. Amsterdam Canal

X. Vygers Canal

Y. Luymans Canal

Z. Malabar Canal

a. Iavans great or Lon Canl

b. Groene or Middle Canal

c. Negre Street or Londs Street

d. Prince Street or Princes Street

e. Prince Bregh or Prince Alley

f. Bregh or Bridge Street

g. Bandaneis Quarter

h. Malabar Quarter

i. New Church

k. Stadt House or Guild Hall

l. The Hospital

m. The West Side

n. Redoubt call'd Burton

o. Governor or Square

p. Place of Armes call'd Point Oxlenburg

q. Zeeburgh point

r. Cronimgen point

s. Orange point

t. Hoghwesland point

u. Hydevals point

w. Zeeland point

x. Iskaw point

y. Dieft point

z. Vygreech Street or Street

1. Redoubt of Captain Silvertaget

2. Holland point

3. Chinese Hospital

4. The Chinese Yard for Building Vessels

5. Chinese Market

6. The Companys Yard for Building Vessels

7. The Bridges Keeper or House of Correction

8. Londs Street or Gentlemens Street



Malayan & his Wife as habited at Batavia.

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that the place is extremely pleaſant, and that travellers are ſurprized with its beauty.

It is ſurrounded with a good wall, and two and twenty baſtions well furniſhed with cannon, and ſo contrived as to be of equal ſervice againſt an inſurrection in the city, as againſt a foreign enemy; the guns being eaſily brought to point down the principal ſtreets.

They have ſeveral handſome publick buildings, ſuch as the great church: the ſtadt-houſe, the hoſpitals, the ſpinhouſe, the houſe of artizans, &c. And there are two churches built for the reformed Portugueſe, and another for the Malays; but they do not allow either the Papiſts or Lutherans the publick exerciſe of their religion.

The fort ſtands upon the weſt ſide of the city, and commands both the town and road: it is very large, and has four royal baſtions faced with ſtone, but has no moat except the canals, which lye at ſome diſtance from the rampart, may have been miſtaken for moats: they are about twenty five foot broad, and fordable in moſt places; the inſide of the fort is crowded with buildings, there being the General's houſe, as well as the houſes of moſt of the principal officers, and companies ſervants: in the middle of the city there is a large ſquare, which ſerves as a parade for the garriſon, on the weſt ſide of which ſtands the great church, on the ſouth the ſtadt-houſe, on the north a fine range of buildings, and on the eaſt is one of their great canals: there are alſo ſeveral ſpacious market places in the city. The ſuburbs reach almoſt half a league into the country, and form a town larger than the former, but not ſo compact; being intermixed with kitchen gardens and orchards. Here the Chineſe chiefly live, and here they have their temples and burying places, and the free exerciſe of their religion, which is denied the Lutheran Proteſtants. In this part of the town alſo live the Malays, and native Javans, and other nations which the Dutch have tranſplanted from Banda, Amboyna, &c. There are ſmall forts erected every way, at two or three leagues diſtance from the town, to defend the avenues; the Dutch being conſcious the King of Mataran and the natives would lay hold of any opportunity of repoſſeſſing themſelves of their country, and driving the Hollanders from their coaſts, however they may ſeem to acquieſce and tacitly conſent, according to the modern phraſe, to be inſulted and tyrannized over by the Dutch, there is not a nation in India but would gladly throw off the yoke, and declare in behalf of liberty, and for any Prince who ſhould come to their relief. Nothing but force maintains the Dutch empire in that part of the world; their conſtitution, and the mildneſs of their government may be cried up here, by ignorant or deſigning men; but neither Indians nor Europeans think themſelves very happy under them in the eaſt.

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Their buildings it is unneceſſary to ſay more of, than that the Dutch houſes are exactly after the model of Holland, that the Chineſe build low, all upon a floor after the manner of China; and that the natives build with ſplit cane on bambou pillars by the water ſide like the Malays, whoſe kind of buildings have been more than once deſcribed already. I proceed therefore to give ſome account of the ſeveral nations that are found in Batavia at this day.

Buildings.

Nations inhabiting Batavia.

The Chineſe do not only drive the greateſt retail trade here, but are many of them good mechanicks; they alſo generally farm the fiſhery, the exciſe and cuſtoms, and apply themſelves to husbandry and gardening; to manure and cultivate the rice, cotton and ſugars which grow in the fields, about Batavia and other great towns; and exceed even the Dutch, 'tis ſaid, in their thriftineſs, as well as in cozening and over-reaching thoſe they deal with.

Chineſe.

They dreſs in a veſt and gown of ſilk or calicoe, after the faſhion of their country, and wear their hair wound up in a roll, on the hinder part of the head, and faſtned with bodkins; for which every one pays a certain tribute to the Dutch.

The Dutch are much the greateſt merchants as well as the beſt mechanicks in Batavia, the chief inns and taverns are alſo kept by the Dutch; who look upon theſe employments to be as creditable as any other amongſt them, inſomuch that an innkeeper often becomes a magiſtrate, as well there as in Holland; and their gueſts, eſpecially foreigners, are dealt with as arbitrarily as if they were their ſlaves.

Dutch.

The reformed Malayans do not trade ſo much as the Chineſe, but live for the moſt part upon fiſhing; they wear a ſhort coat or rather waiſtcoat, with ſtrait ſleeves made of ſilk or calicoe, and another piece of ſtuff wrapped about their loins which reaches to their ancles; the men tie part of their hair up in a roll and the reſt hangs down, wrapping a cloth about their heads; the women wear nothing on their heads but their hair tied up. Some few merchants there are amongſt them, not reckoned inferior to the Chineſe in the myſteries of trade.

Malays.

The Amboyneſe have a ſuburb to themſelves, they are for the moſt part carpenters, and very dexterous in building the Malayan houſes, which are made of bambou cane; they ſplit and form the cane alſo into little ſquares for windows, which afford a free paſſage for the air, the work being not much unlike that uſed in our cain chairs. They are generally bold fellows, of a threatning aſpect, and make good ſoldiers; but the Dutch obſerve they are given to mutiny, by which I preſume they mean they are not yet reconciled to

Amboyneſe.

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ſlavery. They wear a piece of calicoe wrapped ſeveral times about their heads, letting the ends hang down; the reſt of their dreſs is like the Moors: and their arms are a ſcymetar and an oval ſhield. Their women have only a piece of calicoe wrapped about their loins, and another about their ſhoulders, their legs and arms being bare.

Javaneſe. The Javaneſe have alſo a particular quarter aſſigned them in the ſuburbs; they are uſually employed either in husbandry, or building the country boats, or fiſhing. The men go naked from the head to the middle, but have a piece of ſilk or calicoe wrapped about their loins which reaches to their ancles; and ſome wear a kind of ſcarf over the right ſhoulder, by which their ſword hangs on the left ſide: they have alſo a ſcul-cap on their heads, and go barefoot. The women dreſs in their hair, but have a piece of ſilk or cloth wrapt about their bodies, and another lower which looks almoſt like a petticoat; but wear neither ſhoes nor ſtockings.

Topaſſes or Mardikers. The Mardikers or Topaſſes are a mixed breed of Dutch, Portugueſe, and other nations incorporated with the Dutch, and conformable to them in their manners and cuſtoms in a great meaſure; they live both in the city and ſuburbs, and are many of them conſiderable merchants, and have handſome houſes. The meaner ſort apply themſelves to husbandry and gardening, and ſome few of them are artificers. The dreſs of the men does not differ much from the Dutch, unleſs it be that their breeches reach down to their ancles. Their women go in their hair tied up in a knot on the hinder part of their heads, and have a waiſtcoat and a piece of ſilk or calicoe wrapped about them which reaches to their ancles, and ſerves inſtead of a petticoat.

Bugaſſes and Macaſſers. The Macaſſers and Bugaſſes, whoſe anceſtors were natives of Macaſſar and the neighbouring iſlands, have alſo their quarters in the ſuburbs: they go for the moſt part naked in their own country, having only a piece of cloth wrapped about their middle, but are pretty decently clothed at Batavia.

Tymoreans. Several of the natives of the iſland of Tymore have alſo been tranſplanted hither by the Dutch: they were formerly Pagans, and accounted a barbarous people, having very little clothing, but are now many of them turned Chriſtians or Mahometans, and conform themſelves to the manners of the people whoſe religion they profeſs.

A body of forces formed out of the ſeveral nations. Out of theſe ſeveral nations the Dutch have formed a body of ten or twelve thouſand regular troops which garriſon the city of Batavia and the neighbouring forts, about a thouſand of them being upon guard every day.

The policy of the Dutch in tranſplanting ſo many nations. By tranſplanting ſuch numbers from the neighbouring iſlands which they had ſubdued, the Dutch have made Batavia one of the moſt populous cities in the Indies, and ſecur'd themſelves againſt all conſpiracies and inſurrections that might be formed againſt them in thoſe iſlands; for having the moſt conſiderable families in their power, with the women and children of thoſe they had deſtroyed in the general maſſacre, it was not to be ſuppoſed that the reſt ſhould either have ſpirit or power to attempt any thing againſt their ſettlements; and it muſt be admitted, they have done all that men could do by force or policy to eſtabliſh their empire in the Indies, had juſtice and clemency but preſided in their councils, but the want of theſe will ever render their dominion precarious; for upon theſe alone, and the affections of the ſubject, the natural conſequence of them, can a throne be firmly eſtabliſhed. But without the gift of prophecy, unleſs they endeavour to cultivate a good underſtanding with the Indians by acts of kindneſs and humanity, which may induce them in time to forget in what a barbarous manner they were deprived of their liberties and of their ſeveral countries, they will one day probably be driven out of their ſettlements, as the Portugueſe were driven out by them, with the aſſiſtance of the abuſed natives; eſpecially if any European powers with equal force ſhould arrive in thoſe ſeas and diſpute their title.

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To proceed, as the habits of the ſeveral people in this iſland are very different, ſo are their manners, tempers, complexion and ſtature; but theſe having already been deſcribed in treating of the ſeveral countries from whence they were tranſplanted, need not be again deſcribed here, except the Javans themſelves, which have not been yet touched upon.

Stature, complexion and habits. The Javans are of a moderate ſtature, well ſhaped but tawny, and their features much the ſame with the natives of Sumatra. Their hair, as that of all other Indians, is of a ſhining black, part of it is tied up under a cap (and ſometimes under a turbant) the reſt falls upon their ſhoulders. Theſe people have mighty thin beards, which is occaſioned by pulling the hair up by the roots with tweezers ſo ſoon as any appears on their faces: they go naked to the middle, but wrap a piece of ſilk or calicoe ſeveral times about their loins which reaches down below their knees, and their arms and legs are bare. They are very abſtemious, eating only a ſmall quantity of rice, fruit and dry'd fiſh, and pure water or tea is their ordinary drink, religiouſly obſerving that precept of their prophet which prohibits their drinking ſtrong liquors. Food and liquors.

And here a proper opportunity offers of ſhewing how this people were ſubdued, their ſea ports and trading towns taken from them by the Dutch, and all other European nations excluded from having any commerce, or even a correſpondence with them.

I have



A Javanese Man and Woman.



Merchant of Java.



Topaßes and Mardikers at Batavia

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I have already mentioned in what manner the Hollanders made themſelves maſters of Jacatra, now Batavia, and their long wars with the Princes of Java, whom they ſubdued one after another; ſometimes by fomenting inſurrections in their dominions, and joining with the malecontents; at other times by aſſiſting the petty Kings in their wars one againſt the other, till in the end they ſwallowed up both parties: and if the ſubjects of any European Prince had a conſiderable factory in the dominion of an Indian King, they never failed to pick a quarrel with him, and make the expulſion of thoſe Europeans the terms on which alone they would conſent to peace. The Engliſh were never more ſenſible of theſe practices than in the reduction of Bantam, of which I ſhall give a brief account as we received it from the Dutch themſelves, wherein it appears that the flouriſhing trade the Engliſh and other Europeans carried on there, was the principal inducement to the enterprize againſt that kingdom.

They tell us that Bantam was a powerful and populous kingdom, improved of late by the reſort of foreigners from all nations thither; and amongſt the reſt, the Engliſh, Danes, Spaniards and Portugueſe; inſomuch that they were become troubleſome neighbours to the Dutch at Batavia: they pretend alſo that the King of Bantam had made ſeveral attempts upon them by ſea and land, and though he had always been beaten off with loſs, yet ſome time or other they apprehended his neighbourhood might prove fatal to them, and therefore were reſolved to be beforehand with him; which while they were meditating upon, in the year 1681, a quarrel, they tell us, luckily happened between the old and young King of Bantam, which gave them an opportunity of obtaining their ends ſooner than they expected.

The old King, the narrative informs us, being weary of the burthen of government, and chooſing to retire and ſpend the reminder of his days in peace, reſigned his dominions to his youngeſt ſon, the eldeſt having devoted himſelf to religion. The young King had not reigned many years but grievous complaints were made to the father of his injuſtice and oppreſſions: that he did not govern them according to the antient conſtitution; but having travelled to Conſtantinople, would govern them after the model the Grand Seignior governed the Turkiſh empire. That his ſubjects being diſſatisfied with theſe innovations depoſed him, and ſet up his elder brother in his room. Hereupon the old King reſumed the government again, and beſieged the caſtle of Bantam, where his ſon had ſhut himſelf up with a ſmall garriſon: in this diſtreſs the young King ſent to the Dutch for their aſſiſtance, who having long wiſhed for ſuch an opportunity, immediately fitted out a fleet and army to go to his aſſiſtance.

I ſhall not here trouble the reader with a journal of their campaign, only obſerve that they carried their point, and having defeated the father, afterwards depoſed the ſon, their good ally, making him their vaſſal, and leaving him little more than the name of King; and now having poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſovereign power, they ſeized upon the goods and merchandizes of the Engliſh and other European Merchants, and expelled them from thoſe coaſts.

And I find an addreſs or repreſentation of the Engliſh Eaſt-India company to the parliament ſeveral years before the loſs of Bantam, complaining, that the Dutch endeavoured to force the Princes and Governors all along the coaſts of Malabar, Sumatra and Java to enter into engagements with them in relation to their pepper and other commodities of the growth of their countries, not to ſell them to any other nation but the Dutch; and the natives declared that the Dutch actually made war upon them, burnt and deſtroyed their countries, and maſſacred the inhabitants becauſe they would not ſubmit to ſuch conditions. At other times they have blocked up their ports, and would ſuffer no other ſhips to enter them but their own, which practices, ſay the company, tend to the ruin of the Engliſh trade in the Eaſt-Indies: and the ſtyle they aſſumed in that part of the world was very ſuitable to theſe practices, for it ſeems they called themſelves 'Commanders of all the ſeas of the world, Protectors of all the Kings and Princes of Europe, and Supreme Moderators of all the affairs of Chriſtendom.' And when they apprehended it conduced to their honour to have the eaſtern nations believe they were governed by a great King, they would impoſe upon them ſo far as to procure letters to his imaginary majeſty, as we find they did from Japan; one particularly in the year, 1609. begins thus, 'I the Emperor and King of Japan wiſh to the King of Holland peace, &c.' but this is tolerable in compariſon of the uſage the Engliſh met with from the Hollanders at Japan, whom they miſrepreſented, abuſed and murdered in a moſt inhuman manner.

Saluations.

The manner of ſalutation among the Javaneſe, is much the ſame as among the Molays, and other Indian nations: they lift up one or both hands to their head, according to the quality of the perſon they ſalute; and if it be a Prince, they fall on their knees, bowing their faces to the ground. Their uſual poſture when they ſit is croſs-legged, having matts or carpets ſpread under them: when they viſit, they are ſeldom entertained with any thing but betel and arek, already ſo often mentioned. Their beloved ſport is cock-fighting here as well as in Java; and the Chineſe have introduced cards and dice amongſt them. Buffaloe-baiting or bull-baiting is another great diverſion;

Sit croſs-legged.

Sports and games.

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but as the beaſt is never ſtaked, or the place railed in, this diverſion often ends in ſome tragical accident. Tyger-hunting, another of their ſports, is ſtill more hazardous; they firſt prepare their traps and pit-falls, and then with great numbers of armed men ſurround the place he uſually haunts, and with their ſhouting and noiſe, endeavour to drive him into the ſnare; but he ſometimes breaks through them, and takes a different rout, to the deſtruction of thoſe who happen to ſtand in his way. Some Javan Princes, we are told, have young tygers bred up ſo very tame as to walk looſe about their courts, as dogs do here; but they frequently return to their natural fierceneſs, and do conſiderable miſchief.

Tyger-hunting.

Comedies.

The Chineſe in this country uſe the ſame diverſions they do in their own. They have their comedies, fire-works, &c. chiefly at the beginning of the new year, and then other feſtivals. Here are dancing girls alſo in Java, who get a livelihood by playing and dancing before thoſe that ſend for them, as is uſual at all entertainments and rejoicing times; and tumblers are not wanting, who ſhew as great feats of activity as thoſe amongſt us.

Fireworks.

Dancing.

Tumblers.

Way of traveling.

As to their carriages and way of travelling, ſince Batavia has been in its ſplendor, they have enjoyed all manner of conveniencies we have in Europe, coaches are almoſt as common as in the great towns in this part of the world. Fine horſes they have from Perſia, and the iſland affords ſmall fized horſes which are very ſerviceable. The Javan Princes and great men are ſometimes carried in a kind of litter or couch on men's ſhoulders, with a numerous train of ſlaves attending them; but they uſually travel on horſeback.

Shipping

The ſhipping of Java, before the Dutch built Batavia, was very inconſiderable; they had praws or boats indeed that would ſail with incredible ſwiftneſs; but hardly any veſſels above fifty tuns. The Dutch finding good oak growing upon the iſland, now build ſtout ſhips, and have ſeldom leſs than twenty or thirty men of war with which they inſult all the Princes in that part of the world. They have alſo their rope-yards and magazines, and great numbers of ſhipwrights perpetually employed at the iſland of Onroſt or No-reſt, in the bay of Batavia, building or careening of ſhips; and this place is well defended by ſeveral good platforms of guns which lye level with the water.

Trade

The Hollanders ſuffer no Europeans to trade hither; but there comes to Batavia fifteen or twenty ſail of Chineſe junks every year, from three to five hundred tuns apiece, which uſually arrive in November or December, and return the beginning of June; and thus the Hollanders are furniſhed with all the merchandiſe of China at an eaſier rate than they could by ſending their fleets thither.

Batavia is the great magazine or ſtore-houſe of the Dutch Eaſt-India company; hither they import the merchandiſes of Japan, of the Spice iſlands, Perſia, Surat, Bengal, and of the coaſts of Malabar and Chormondel, as well as every thing that Europe affords. One ſort of goods they barter for another all over the Indies; and having furniſhed themſelves with what is moſt valuable in the eaſt, tranſport it into Europe, where all is converted into ready money; ſo far is their India trade from diminiſhing their treaſure, that it furniſhes them with more than all the trade of the world beſides. They have not only ſpice ſufficient of their own growth to purchaſe every thing they ſtand in need of in India, and to ſupply all Europe, but burn and deſtroy vaſt plantations of it every year to enhance the price; and we are not to imagine there are no other iſlands but thoſe which the Dutch are poſſeſſed of which will bear ſpices, ſeveral other iſlands would produce them if the natives durſt cultivate the plants, but they are neglected leſt the Dutch ſhould be incited to inſlave them as they have their neighbours. For however we may laugh at the Hollanders claim of the ſovereignty of all ſeas, from the Cape of Good Hope eaſtward, to the ſtreights of Magellan, which is three parts of the circumference of the globe; there is not any thing they could graſp within thoſe limits which is valuable, that they have not made themſelves maſters of, and exerciſe as arbitrary a dominion over every Prince's ſubject, on the Indian ſhores, as if they were their ſlaves; and ſhould the Dutch hereafter find any European nation in poſſeſſion of a ſpice iſland, or any plantation of equal value in thoſe ſeas, they would certainly take the ſame meaſures to extirpate them, as they formerly practiſed upon their dear allies the Engliſh at Banda and Amboyna.

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The D... claim ... dom ... of the ...

To proceed, all ſorts of mechanick arts almoſt flouriſh in Batavia. There is no manufacture proper for that country which the Dutch do not promote: they have their printing houſe, their paper mills, gunpowder mills, ſugar makers, ſpinners; cotton weavers, rope makers, carpenters, bricklayers, ſhipwrights, ſmiths, braziers, and all manner of iron ware forged in Batavia. If they fall ſhort of the European workmen in any thing, it is where the work requires fine ſprings and movements, as in clocks and watches: theſe, it is obſerved, are hardly ever brought to a proper temper in hot countries, and the beſt watch that ever was carried from Europe will not go true in thoſe warm climates; nor do we often meet with a hollow blade that will not ſtand bent; the very ſteels of our firelocks in time become ſoft, and frequently want new ſteeling.

Mechan... arts.

Spring ... their clo... cuy.

The Dutch have founded ſchools in Batavia, where the learned languages are taught, and ſome advances made in the liberal arts; and the inhabitants of this city being compoſed of almoſt every

Learning.

Indian nation, all the Indian languages are ſpoken here; but thoſe of the moſt general uſe are the Malayan and the baſtard Portugueſe, with which a man might travel over this part of the world, if he underſtood no other.

The iſland of Java, towards the middle of it, is very mountainous, and covered with woods; and the low lands near the ſhore are generally marſhy, and over-run with reeds and bambou, except about Batavia and Bantam, and ſome few other towns where the meadows being cleared and drained, are made fit for tillage; and their rice or paddy fields and kitchen gardens are well ſupplied with water from the numerous rivulets which run through the country. Up theſe ſtreams the citizens of Batavia uſually go in their pleaſure boats to their country houſes and farms; but I do not find that the Dutch have any towns or garriſons above fifteen or twenty miles from the coaſt in any part of Java; and indeed this ſeems ſufficient for their purpoſe, for the inland people can trade with no other nation, and are forced to ſell them their pepper and other merchandiſe at what price the Dutch are pleaſed to ſet upon them; and by the way, the pepper ſeems not to delight in a wet marſhy ſoil, the plantations of that kind being generally a pretty way up in the country, at a diſtance from the ſhores, as has been obſerved in treating of Sumatra.

The only corn that grows in this country is rice. They have good wheat imported from Bengal at a very reaſonable rate; but the Europeans, as well as the other inhabitants, after a little time make choice of boiled rice rather than bread. About Batavia there are ſeveral conſiderable ſugar plantations, and ſome tobacco; and in their kitchen gardens they have peas, beans, roots, and herbs ſufficient to ſupply that populous city, tho' next to rice theſe are the principal food of the inhabitants. All ſorts of garden ſtuff almoſt thrives here; and the ſeeds brought from Europe, Perſia and Surat yield a great increaſe: here are Holland cabbages, purſlain, aſparagus, lettice, waterradiſhes, parſley, fennel, water melons, pompions, cucumbers, radiſhes, potatoes, &c. in great plenty; and 'tis obſerved, that the ſoil naturally produces ſeveral aſtringent plants which are good againſt the bloody flux, the reigning diſtemper of the country.

Their paſture is very different from that in colder climates; they have none of that ſhort ſweet graſs our cattle feed on, but rank four ſtuff, ſuch as is found in mooriſh grounds, and makes the fleſh of their cattle equally coarſe. They begin to ſow their rice in March, in July 'tis fit to cut, and October affords them the greateſt plenty of fruit, tho' they have ſome all the year round.

There are no vines in this iſland but about Batavia, where they have been introduced by the Dutch, and will bear ſeven times within the ſpace of two years. So ſoon as the grapes are gather'd the vine is cut, and fifteen or ſixteen weeks afterwards there is a new vintage; but notwithſtanding this vaſt increaſe they can make no wine, and have none but what comes from Europe or Perſia, which is valued at four or five ſhillings a bottle. It is obſervable that theſe vines will bear the next year they are planted; and, as well as other trees, ſhoot more in one year than they do in three or four in Europe.

Coffee.

The Dutch have lately planted the coffee ſhrub at Batavia, and it yields a tolerable increaſe; but the fruit is not equal to that of Arabia.

Indian fruits.

Almoſt all manner of Indian fruits abound here; ſuch as coco's, bonana's, plantains, anana's, or pine-apples, mangoes, mangoſteens, durions, ſeveral kinds of oranges and lemons, and their beloved betel and arek. There are alſo Benjamin and other gums found near Batavia.

Timber.

As for timber-trees, there are ſeveral kinds unknown to us; they have alſo oak not inferior to the Engliſh oak as 'tis ſaid; and cedar trees, or a red wood very like it; but the trees of the moſt general uſe are their coco's and bambou, which yield almoſt all materials neceſſary for building the houſes of the natives, or rigging out their veſſels; and the coco alſo ſupplies them with meat, drink, oil and vinegar, as has been obſerved already.

Mines and quarries.

Stone quarries are found not far from Batavia, and they have good earth to make bricks: but I don't find that the Dutch are in poſſeſſion of any part of the country that affords minerals of any kind whatever. 'Tis very probable there are mines here as well as in the neighbouring iſlands, but the natives who are in poſſeſſion of the mountains either have not diſcovered them, or are ignorant of the method of working them.

Cattle.

The beaſts we find here are hogs, wild and tame, buffaloes, and ſome few oxen and ſheep, which have been imported hither; but they do not multiply or prove ſo good as in colder countries, and the fleſh of their buffaloes is not very deſirable.

Wild beaſts.

The wild animals, ſuch as deer, wild hogs, rabbits, &c. are much to be preferred to the tame for eating. They have a reaſonable number of ſmall ſerviceable horſes; and in their foreſts are found monkeys, tygers, and ſeveral other kinds of wild beaſts.

Monkeys.

There is a ſpecies of apes, Monſieur LE GUAT informs us, found only in Java, which much reſemble the human form: one of theſe, he aſſures us, he had often ſeen on one of the baſtions of the fort at Batavia, where ſhe had her houſe, for it was a female, and went upright on its hinder legs; ſhe was very tall, and concealed her nudities with one of her hands. There was no hair either

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either on its face or hands, and its countenance was not unlike a female Hottentot. The creature made its bed very neatly every day, and went into it at night, covering itſelf with a quilt, and would ſometimes bind its head with a cloth, and lye down as if afflicted with the head-ach, and perform many other ſurprizing actions. This ape was ſent to Europe in the ſame fleet Mr. LEGUAT came home with, but died when they came into a cold latitude. He imagines great pains had been taken to teach it ſuch actions as ſeemed to be the reſult of reaſon; but others looked upon it to be an animal produced between an ape and an Indian ſlave; for when a female ſlave has committed any great fault in Batavia, they ſo dread the cruelty of their hard-hearted maſters (or rather miſtreſſes, who have very little mercy on them) that they frequently fly to the woods, and live perfectly wild; and for want of other company, it is imagined, the mother of this creature aſſociated herſelf with ſome male ape, and produced this animal, which in its figure and actions ſo much reſembled a woman. As to the fact that there was ſuch a creature, I make no manner of doubt, Mr. LEGUAT ſeeming to me one of the ſincereſt and faithfulleſt travellers that ever wrote; but how it was produced, muſt be left to every one's conjecture.

Cruelty of the Dutch to their ſlaves.

Beſides the animals already mentioned, there are porcupines, crocodiles, ſnakes, ſcorpions, millepedes, locuſts, caterpillars, and a vaſt variety of inſects, which if the annual rains fail them, devour the fruits of the earth. Their crocodiles are ſome of them twenty or thirty foot long, but not of a proportionable height or bigneſs, having rather claws than legs to go on; and if a perſon have the preſence of mind to turn frequently when he flies from one of theſe creatures, he will eaſily eſcape, for their bodies are ſo unreaſonably long that they cannot eaſily turn about; and indeed, they take moſt of their prey lying among the reeds by the river ſides like the trunk of ſome old tree, and ſeize upon the heedleſs traveller before he is aware of them. They are frequently taken by the Malays, who bait a large iron hook with a dog, which ſeems to be his favourite morſel, and fiſh for them at the mouth of ſome rivulet or creek where they uſually lye to take what is driven down to ſea. The back of this animal is compoſed of ſuch hard ſcales that they are not to be penetrated, it is ſaid, even by a muſket ball, but he is eaſily killed if they come at his belly. Theſe creatures are ſo much dreaded at Batavia, that the government allows a reward to thoſe that take or kill them.

Crocodiles and inſects.

The government of the Dutch in Java, in regard to the European inhabitants, is formed on the model of that in Holland; but in reſpect to the natives, is as arbitrary and tyrannical as any government in the known world: as they poſſeſſed the country by force, ſo they ſtill maintain their empire; and do not only exerciſe their dominion over the Javans, but over every other people who inhabit the ſhores of the Indian ſeas. It is true, the Dutch are too inconſiderable a people to be able to reduce entirely any one country of a large extent, ſuch as Java, Sumatra, or Borneo; but having a fleet of men of war always in thoſe ſeas, and a diſciplined army compoſed of Europeans as well as Indians, they make their ſettlements wherever they think fit; and though they never ſaw a tenth part of the country with their eyes where they fix, yet from the moment they have planted a colony, or taken any one town from the natives, they look upon themſelves to be ſovereigns of the whole country; and if the natives refuſe to ſubmit to ſuch laws as they are pleaſed to impoſe, they immediately denominate them rebels and traytors, and proceed to torture and put them to the cruelleſt deaths if ever they fall into their hands. In this manner alſo they treated all Europeans who preſumed to deal with the natives, till they had poſſeſſed themſelves of all the valuable branches of the Indian trade. How they uſed the inhabitants of the Molucca's, Banda, Amboyna, and Macaſſar has been taken notice of already, with the expulſion of the Portugueſe and Engliſh from thoſe countries. The taking of Bantam, and excluding all European nations from thence, has alſo been taken notice of; but the multitudes the Dutch maſſacred after the taking of Bantam, and the tortures and cruelties they afterwards exerciſed to render themſelves dreadful to the natives, under pretence of conſpiracies and rebellions againſt that high and mighty Eaſt India company, exceed any thing that has been hitherto related, even the bigotry of a falſe religion never inſpired its votaries with that rage againſt the reſt of mankind, as a Dutchman manifeſts whenever he has an intereſt in view; and covetouſneſs could never more properly be ſtyled idolatry than on this occaſion, where Chriſtians make no ſcruple of breaking both tables of the decalogue, deny their God, and fall down before a Pagan idol to promote their trade, as thoſe ſaints have done both at Japan and Pegu. And however impious ſuch practices may be, yet what muſt make the world ſtill more abhor that company is, their ſacrificing whole nations to their darling mammon.

Government.

It is true, the Javaneſe exerciſed the Dutch with continual plots and conſpiracies ſoon after the taking of Bantam; and once they ſet fire to the magazine of powder in that city, and blew up ſome hundreds of Hollanders into the air. The Dutch having apprehended four of the conſpirators carried them to Batavia, and to deter the natives from the like practices for the future, they took one of thoſe unhappy wretches, and placing him on a ſcaffold in the view of all the people, they tore

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tore off his flesh by little pieces with red hot pincers, which they continued to do from morning till evening before they put him to death; and the next day they broke the other three alive upon the wheel.

Upon another insurrection at Japara, the Dutch took a great number of prisoners, some of them they broke alive upon the wheel, others they cut off their ears and noses, and some were chained together and sent to certain islands, there to make brick and lime for the company, and remain in a state of slavery for the remainder of their lives.

And thus they do not only serve the Javans, but all other nations in that part of the world who refuse to submit to their tyranny. But notwithstanding the Dutch are pleased to look upon the inhabitants of the Indian islands as their subjects, and call every attempt that is made for the recovery of their liberties, treason and rebellion, and punish it as such; the natives of those islands probably esteem their countrymen heroes who engage in such enterprizes, and look upon these actions as the subjects of Britain would, to be noble struggles for their liberties. Should we enquire into the right the Dutch have to this pretended dominion, what can it be resolved into but force; they have not so much as the possession of a fortieth part of those countries where they pretend to the sovereignty both of sea and land, and yet if they meet with any vessels belonging to those countries, they search and plunder them; and if they discover an intention to trade with any other European nation, frequently murder every man on board, burn their towns upon the coast, and massacre the people, which they call by the soft term of doing justice on rebellious subjects. But if it be observed that the Dutch have no other right to any one country in India than what they obtained by an unjust (or more properly a piratical) war which was never formally declared, and indeed which they had no pretence to make (unless the rich produce of a country, and the power of those who invade it, can sanctify such hostile attempts) what can their friends say to excuse those murders and devastations the Dutch have been guilty of in that part of the world for a hundred years past? should we admit what some contend for, that power and the possession of a country, however obtained, give the possessor a right to the allegiance of the inhabitants; yet surely the setting our foot ashore in a country already inhabited, and under the subjection of another Prince, or the taking a port town or two upon the coast while the natural Prince remains in possession of much the greatest part of the country, will not, in the opinion even of those who make no difference between a lawful and unlawful possession, give the Dutch a right to a tenth part of what they claim. It is a maxim in our law, that while the lawful Prince enjoys any part of his dominions, he shall be deemed in possession of the whole, though the greatest part be in the power of an usurper. And if this be an equitable maxim the hard terms the Dutch give to every attempt of the natives to expel them, may justly be retorted upon themselves; who ought of right to be subject to those Princes in whose country they reside, and are guilty of treason and rebellion whenever they raise an armed force against them.

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There are some kingdoms indeed the Dutch have absolutely subdued, and reduced to a state of vassalage, whose Princes however are still permitted to enjoy their titles and the state of sovereigns; and the Hollanders also execute all their orders in the name of these deposed Princes, as expecting to find a more ready obedience from their subjects by this means; and while they keep these Kings with their families in their power, and suffer them to enjoy the appearances of sovereignty, they find themselves secured against the pretensions of all others. One who has been at Java relates, that he was surprized at the pomp he saw the King of Bantam appear in, when he knew he was no better than a prisoner of state at the same time.

The state the vassal Kings of Java live in.

He says, at the King of Bantam's going out of the gates of the castle, all the cannon on the ramparts were fired; and first marched four Amboinese with their shields and broad swords, being men of an uncommon stature and threatning aspect. Next to these, marched a company of Javans, followed by another of Ballays. Then a chair finely wrought and gilt, was carried on the shoulders of four Javans. After these, were led six fine Persian horses, with the richest accoutrements imaginable; being almost covered with gold and silver: four Amboinese carrying escutcheons followed; and then came the King's son, a Prince of about eight years of age, on horseback. He was attended by several hundred women, some carrying golden vessels, some fruits, and others flowers in their hands; and after these marched a company of Dutch soldiers. Then the King appeared, riding on a fine Persian horse, richly accoutred, and retaining still an air of Majesty, as if he was really sovereign of the country. The King also was attended by great numbers of women on foot, as most of the eastern Princes are whenever they go abroad: and there is hardly a Governor or man of quality in India, but have their women to attend them when they appear in publick.) After the women marched two other companies of soldiers, the one Dutch, and the other Javans, armed after the manner of their respective countries, and these closed the procession. This mighty pomp, with which the Dutch treat the vassal Kings, my author well observes, gives a lustre to their own power and greatness in the east; those people naturally concluding from the

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splendor they see these dependent Princes appear in, that the power and magnificence of the state which commands them, must be still more auguſt. And the Dutch being ſenſible how much the world is ſtruck with a ſplendid appearance, order their Governor-general at Batavia to take upon him the ſtate of a great King; and accordingly when he appears abroad, his coach is preceded by a troop of horſe guards, a company of halberdiers ſurround it, and a company of foot bring up the rear. His guards are clothed in yellow ſattin trimm'd with ſilver lace and fringe, and make a more glittering ſhow than the guards of any Prince in Europe. The Governor's Lady alſo has her guards and her equipage, not inferior to that of a Queen.

Splendor of the Governor of Batavia.

Forces.

The diſciplined troops the Dutch maintain in and about Batavia and Bantam, are computed to be about twenty thouſand men, of which one half may be Europeans; but they keep the ſoldiery in great ſubjection to the civil power, and except the Governor's guards, they make but a very mean appearance; their clothing being very indifferent, and of ſeveral colours: and though a ſhoemaker, or the meaneſt tradeſman in the place, is ſuffered to have his ſlave to carry an umbrella over his head, this honour is not vouchſafed to an enſign who is a commiſſion officer.

Revenues,

The revenues of the Government of Batavia are juſt what the Dutch pleaſe to make them: as the inhabitants are rich, and every thing almoſt has a duty laid upon it, they muſt be very conſiderable. 'Tis ſaid, that the Chineſe, who are not leſs than eighty thouſand men, under the Dutch government, pay a crown a head for a permiſſion to wear their hair, and a crown more for every ſilver or gold bodkin they wear in it, of which the better ſort uſe ſeveral. This may ſerve as an inſtance how arbitrary the Dutch are, and how very eaſy it is for them to raiſe what ſums they pleaſe. If they ſhould tax every tooth in a man's head, there is no remedy for it, but patience.

Their women, marriages, &c.

The Javaneſe women are ſaid to be exceeding amorous, and conſtant to their lovers; but expect they ſhould be no leſs faithful in return; if the Lady has any ſuſpicion of her gallant's entertaining a new amour, a draught is uſually prepared, which ſoon puts an end to the intrigue. Old LEGUAT ſpeaks very luſciouſly and feelingly of the Javan women, though he takes a great deal of pains in the firſt part of his narrative, to induce us to believe him extremely mortified, and perfectly indifferent to the ſex.

He ſays, the women not being ſo much expoſed to the air as the men, are not near ſo brown, and might paſs, even in Europe, for genteel; that they have good features, even according to the notions we entertain of beauty: That they have little ſwelling breaſts, a ſoft air, ſprightly eyes, and a moſt agreeable laugh; and take them all together, are perfectly handſome. That he ſaw ſome of them dance moſt charmingly, and they have a kind of drum inſtead of a fiddle, to the ſound of which, they conform their motions. Another thing which adds to their charms, he obſerves, is their extraordinary neatneſs, being obliged by their law to waſh themſelves from head to foot ſeveral times a day; and they rub and clear their skins of all ſcurf and roughneſs, ſo that they are perfectly ſoft and ſmooth.

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They are not ſhut up like the Chineſe women, but walk about the ſtreets, and enjoy as full a liberty as the Europeans. However, they expreſs a moſt profound regard for their husbands, proſtrating themſelves with their faces to the ground whenever their lord appears. They go in their hair, and have a kind of waiſtcoat with cloſe ſleeves laced before, which being cut ſloping at the boſom, diſcovers great part of their breaſts. This waiſtcoat not reaching ſo low as their hips, they wrap round the lower part of their bodies, two or three times, a piece of ſilk or linen of ſeveral colours, which looks like a petticoat; but between the waiſtcoat and the wrapper there is always a little ſpace, which diſcovers a liſt of tawny fleſh all round, the women wearing no ſhift. However, Mr. LEGUAT aſſures us, that as their waiſtcoat ſits cloſe to the body, it uſually diſcovers a moſt bewitching ſhape.

The Javaneſe are allowed two or three wives, and their ſhe ſlaves are always at their devotion: as for the Dutch, there not being European women anſwerable to the men, the Hollanders are permitted to marry the natives, upon condition the woman will turn Chriſtian, or rather profeſs herſelf ſuch, which ſhe makes no ſcruple of doing on ſeveral conſiderations: and firſt, ſhe can't but obſerve, that the Dutch are Lords of the place, and all other nations there in ſubjection to them; therefore was it only to gratify her pride, a Dutch husband muſt be very deſirable. Secondly, another happineſs of having an European husband is, that ſhe is thereby entitled to have a whole man to herſelf, which none of the natives can enjoy. And thirdly, 'tis obſerved, that the European women at Batavia, and thoſe who marry into European families, have a greater reſpect paid them, than is ſhewed that ſex in any part of the world beſides, there is hardly any of theſe, of how mean an employment ſoever the husband is, but has her ſlave to carry an umbrella over her head when ſhe goes abroad. But laſtly, there is no place where the women are more indulged in the matter of divorce, than here, if the husband goes aſtray; which, conſidering the heat of the country, and the opportunities they have of being familiar with their ſhe ſlaves, pretty frequently happens,

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pens. My friend Captain ROGERS ſays, he was aſſured by an advocate at Batavia, that of fifty eight cauſes which were depending before the council when he was there, two and fifty of them were divorces.

When an European is about to marry a Javan woman, the contract is drawn up by a publick notary, and they appear before the preſident of the council, or ſome other magiſtrate, who ſettles the conditions, and gives them a licence to marry; which being duly regiſtred, they are at liberty to ſolemnize it in the manner the Dutch church requires. The children that are born of theſe marriages, uſually wear the Javan habit to the third and fourth generation; and theſe are the converts that the Dutch ſometimes boaſt of, who fill the Malay churches. But God only knows, ſays LEGUAT, what ſort of Chriſtians theſe are, for except their appearing in their churches, they have little to diſtinguiſh them from the other Javans. However, though the women are thus made Chriſtians by matching with the Dutch, there is hardly an inſtance of a Javan man being converted, either this, or any other way: no Dutch woman in her ſenſes would marry among a people who are in a ſtate of ſlavery. Beſides, the European women can never want a match among their own people, and their privileges are ſo great, as has been obſerved, that they can have no inducement to marry among the Indian tribes, unleſs it be to make converts. And few of the Holland Ladies have ſo little pride as to barter the glorious privileges they are in poſſeſſion of at Batavia beyond the other inhabitants, to make proſelytes to their religion.

The women here, as in moſt other countries of India, are extremely lazy, not applying themſelves to any work whatever. They ſit croſs-legg'd moſt of them upon carpets, all day long, chewing of betel and arek, while the buſineſs of the houſe is managed by their ſlaves. The ſmall number of European women that were here at the firſt ſettlement of the Dutch, made them ſo much valued, that the men thought they could not ſhew them too much reſpect; and this ſwelled them to an intolerable degree of pride, which they retain to this day, though their numbers are much encreated: and they are not only proud, but ſo implacably revengeful, that none care to provoke them.

As to the Chineſe inhabitants, they no more ſuffer their wives and daughters to be ſeen here, than they do in China; and though every man takes as many wives as he pleaſes, he has his female ſlaves beſides, which ſerve him for concubines. The pomp with which the Chineſe celebrate their marriages, is not inferior to that in their own country: upon the concluſion of the contract, the intended bridegroom goes in the evening to viſit his miſtreſs in a magnificent chair, preceded by ſome hundreds of people hired for that purpoſe, each of them carrying a lanthorn faſtned to a ſtaff; after the bridegroom, follow the muſick, playing after the manner of the country, not very agreeable to Europeans. Then come the prieſts on horſeback, clothed in violet coloured robes and ſquare caps, attended by ſeveral of the bridegroom's relations and friends, who continually play their fireworks in the air as they paſs, reſembling all kinds of plants and animals. The lover having paid his compliments to his miſtreſs, which is the firſt time he has had the liberty to ſee her, returns in the ſame order he came, and ſoon after the marriage is ſolemnized, when there is another cavalcade not unlike the firſt; the woman being carried in a chair, ſo contrived, that ſhe can ſee all about her, without being ſeen. The ceremony being over, the men go to an entertainment that is provided on that occaſion, in one room, and the women in another, where the men are not admitted: and at night the woman is allowed to ſup with her Lord, an honour ſhe never knows afterwards.

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Funerals.

The Dutch, as well as the Javans, and other nations their proſelytes, who are incorporated amongſt them by their intermarriages, bury as in Europe: the reſt of the Javans, whether Mahometans or Pagans, bury their dead, and do not burn the corpſe as in Hither India, and in their funerals they ſtill retain many of the Chineſe ceremonies, from whom they derive their original. The Chineſe at Batavia celebrate the obſequies of the deceaſed in much the ſame manner they do in China, when all hopes of recovery are paſt, and the ſick man is at the point of death, his friends are called in, who bewail his approaching diſſolution, demanding continually why he will leave them, and what he wants, promiſing he ſhall be ſupplied with whatever he can ask if he will defer his departure.

When the patient has breathed his laſt, he is dreſt in his beſt clothes and laid on a bed of ſtate with lights burning before him; and for ſome days they burn incenſe and pay divine honours to the deceaſed, his wives and children ſtanding on each ſide the corps bewailing their loſs. When the time is come for the funeral, the corps is laid upon a bier and carried upon the ſhoulders of ſeveral men, attended by the prieſts on horſeback in violet coloured gowns; the mourners following dreſſed in white, and the women covered almoſt from the ſight of the people by a kind of linen tent born over their heads. Theſe, with their cries and lamentations, and the noiſe of their drums, brazen veſſels, &c. on which they perpetually beat, make a very odd kind of jargon. At Batavia the Chineſe have a burying place aſſigned them about half a league from the city: on their arrival here the body is interred, and ſeveral things which they

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imagine the deceaſed ſtands in need of are burnt, but the pictures of many more in paper than real goods; and every day for a conſiderable time they carry proviſions to the grave of their deceaſed relation; which ſome people having been ſo impious to deprive them of, it is ſaid, they ſometimes poiſon the meat to deter people from carrying it away.

There are ſeveral magnificent tombs in their burying place at Batavia, the Chineſe placing great part of their religion in raiſing noble ſtructures, and paying divine honours to their deceaſed anceſtors; and though it has been queſtioned by ſome whether this be any more than a civil reſpect, I find the former Popes, as well as the preſent, condemn this practice as downright idolatry: but I refer the reader to the deſcription of China, where he will ſee what the Jeſuits ſay to excuſe their conduct in indulging their proſelytes in the continuance of that practice.

Slaves.

There are few common ſervants at Batavia, or indeed in any part of Java; they have ſlaves from almoſt every country in Aſia; ſome are taken in war, others purchaſed of their parents, and many are born ſo; and ſlaves being as merchantable a commodity as any other in this part of the world, there are a kind of privateers in theſe ſeas who will land upon a neighbouring ſhore, and carry off whole families of men, women and children; nor does the purchaſer, whether European or Indian, ever demand how the ſeller came by them, they ſee him in poſſeſſion; and that it is preſumed, gives him the dominion of the people in his power, how wickedly or barbarouſly ſoever he may have acquired it. Much the ſame trade do the Europeans carry on on the coaſt of Africk; and tho' they would look upon it as a crime to buy ſtolen goods or cattle, yet our merchants, to the eternal ſhame of Chriſtianity be it ſpoken, make no ſcruple of purchaſing their own ſpecies, men like themſelves, ſome of them perhaps Princes who have been betrayed and depoſed by their ſubjects, and ſell them again to the cruel Spaniard, who employs them in working his mines. But ſurely no thinking man, who uſes this trade, can ever look upon himſelf as perfectly innocent of all the injuſtice, hardſhips and oppreſſions that theſe poor wretches undergo: when they retain any of theſe unhappy people in their own ſervice they are wretched enough, but when they conſign them to the Spaniards they are completely ſo. And ſuppoſing the beſt, that we diſpoſe of them to our countrymen; to carry away people of all conditions, ſexes and ages, from their country, friends, and relations, to be driven every day to ſome ſervile drudgery by a vile felon eſcaped from the gallows in Europe, who has no remains of tenderneſs or compaſſion left, what an inſupportable affliction muſt this be, eſpecially to thoſe who in the beginning of their life have been the heads of families, and perhaps commanded kingdoms? but this I ſhall enlarge on when I come to Africa.

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To return from this digreſſion, Mr. LEGUAT tells us of ſome negro ſlaves he ſaw at Batavia, whoſe features were as regular as any European; *they were, he ſays (ſpeaking of the girls)* as black as jet, and have brisk ſparkling eyes, white teeth, fine ſhapes, ſoft beautiful breaſts, and long black hair; and if it be conſidered (ſays he) that this complexion is in a manner unalterable, and not ſubject to that paleneſs, redneſs, freckles, or other diſadvantages which white women are ſubject to; and if we obſerve alſo that the black has its luſtre and value as well as any other colour, we may forbear to wonder at the taſte of thoſe gentlemen who admire a fine negro woman more than a white one. But with Mr. LEGUAT's leave, theſe are not properly negroes; thoſe we uſually term ſuch come from Africa or Madagaſcar, and have ſhort woolly hair, with features very ſhocking to our people; whereas theſe are natives of the peninſula of India, the original inhabitants whereof, and who are ſtill poſſeſſed of the middle of the country, have very engaging features, tho' they are full as black as the Africans.

Towns to the eaſtward of Batavia.

The next conſiderable town to Batavia, on the north coaſt of Java, is Charabon, which lyes about one hundred and ſeventy miles to the eaſtward of Batavia. A little farther eaſtward lyes Samarang, Japara, &c. (the exact ſituation of which places will be ſhewn in the maps of this volume) of theſe, Japara was the metropolis of a large kingdom before the Dutch made themſelves maſters of it. But theſe and the reſt of the towns under the dominion of the Hollanders being governed as Batavia is, and the manners of the people as well as the product of the country being the ſame, I proceed to give an account of the city and kingdom of Palamboang, at the eaſt end of Java: for tho' it be generally held that the Sultan of Mataran poſſeſſes all that part of Java, which is not in the poſſeſſion of the Dutch; this ſeems not to be ſtrictly true, there remaining ſtill ſome little Princes, whoſe dominions are ſo well fortified by nature, that they ſet up for an independency, and do not own the Emperor of Mataran for their ſovereign, and particularly this kingdom of Palamboang.

Kingdom of Palamboang.

Situation of the city.

The city of Palamboan or Palamboang, as it is called by the natives, is ſituated on a bay at the ſouth-eaſt part of Java, over againſt the iſland of Bally, and near the ſtreights of that name, in 8 degrees, 30 min. ſouth latitude, and in 111 degrees, 30 min. longitude from London. It is ſurrounded by pleaſant meadows, and a fine champain country for many miles together towards the land; and there are ſeveral ſmall rivers which fall into the ſea on each ſide the town: ſhips which happen

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happen to paſs this way (as our Eaſt-India men frequently do in their voyage home from Borneo) ſend their boats up theſe ſtreams over the bars at half tide, and bring off water and proviſions; but there is ſometimes a great ſurf runs aſhoar, and makes it troubleſome watering here.

The King ſtyles himſelf Raja Mas Boogos Petty. He generally reſides at Palamboang, but ſometimes at a place called Cota; which ſignifies a fort, and is about fifteen miles from the ſea. His dominion extends from the eaſt end of Java about fourſcore miles along the ſouth coaſt, and from north to ſouth about ſixty miles, at the eaſt end of the iſland, but how far it reaches up the country is uncertain.

Soundings of Bally or Palamboang.

Captain BEECKMAN, who paſſed the ſtreights of Bally, in January 1714, informs us, that the paſſage from the iſland of Madura through the ſtreights of Bally is very difficult to ſtrangers; that he was fifteen days between the eaſt end of the iſland of Madura and the ſtreights, though it be not more than thirty leagues; and might have been a great while longer if he had not obſerved, that once in 24 hours the ſouth wind burſts through the ſtreights with ſuch violence, that it conſtantly ſet him back as much as he had gained the whole day before. This wind is always attended with violent rains, and ſeldom laſts more than an hour, and gives timely notice of its approach. To avoid the difficulties the Captain met with here, he adviſes thoſe who would paſs to the ſouthward to keep the coaſt of Java on board, ſteering along ſhore, within a mile or two with the northerly breeze, which uſually laſts till the other comes from the ſouthward; and by that time you will have run four or five leagues to the ſouthward of the north-eaſt end of Java, when you will open a black ſandy bay which reaches to Poolo Gilleboang, that is, the iſland of Gilleboang; and when you perceive the Tornado beating up the ſtreights, which may be diſcerned an hour before it reaches you, it will be adviſeable to get near enough into that bay to anchor before the ſoutherly wind comes on, otherwiſe you will loſe by the latter more than you get by the former: and he obſerves farther, that there is no ſafe anchoring till you reach the above-mentioned bay. The ſtreights between Java and Bally in the narroweſt place not being much broader than the Thames, and the mountains on each ſide of a prodigious height hanging almoſt over your head, ſeem ready to fall, and afford a very dreadful proſpect; the noiſe the ſea makes in the hollows of the rocks alſo very much encreaſes the horror, and ſometimes guſts of wind come down from the hills veering round the compaſs in a few minutes: he adviſes therefore to keep the boat a-head to prevent being turned round by the circling eddies occaſioned by the rapidity of the current to the ſouthward, and which however ſoon forces the ſhip through when ſhe is got to the narroweſt part of the ſtreight. The danger of the paſſage, he ſays, is not ſo great as is generally apprehended; and when the ſtreight is paſſed, you may come to an anchor in the bay of Palamboang, and be ſupplied with wood, water, and freſh proviſions in great plenty.

Some account of the Prince and his people.

The people of Palamboang, Capt. BEECKMAN obſerved, were under ſome conſternation on his firſt appearing before the place, and ſent to adviſe their King of it, who was then up in the country; but the Sabander (the principal officer of the port) being a Chineſe, acquainting them it was an Engliſh ſhip by the colours, their apprehenſions ſoon vaniſhed.

They have been under terrible apprehenſions, it ſeems, a great while, that the Dutch deſigned to ſettle amongſt them, and took this for a Dutch veſſel; but as ſoon as the King underſtood that the commander was an Engliſhman he invited him on ſhore, and the next day went on board in the Captain's pinnace, ſeeming to put an entire confidence in him. The King was dreſſed in a ſhort black velvet waiſtcoat trimmed with narrow gold lace; a red cap on his head, and abundance of gold and ſtone rings on his fingers; but his attendants were ſo very thieviſh, that it was found neceſſary to watch them very narrowly while they continued on board. The Engliſh officers were afterwards entertained at the palace, which was a large ſquare, ſurrounded with a paliſado pale, wherein were ſeveral diſtinct rooms and apartments for the King and his women. The entertainment conſiſted of veniſon and fowls, curry, or high-ſeaſoned broths, &c. A little after dinner came in about thirty of the King's women, with each of them a ſlave carrying a basket of fruit, which was preſented to the officers, being more than their boat could carry on board at once: the King alſo preſented them with two oxen, three large deer, ſeveral bags of rice, ducks, geeſe, hens, &c. This part of the country, the natives informed them, produced alſo gold, pepper, and cotton, in great plenty. They have a breed of ſmall fiery horſes, buffaloes, goats, rice, fiſh, Indian corn, roots, and garden ſtuff in abundance, and the largeſt oxen, Captain BEECKMAN aſſures us, that are to be found any where, but in England.

Proviſions.

Corn, cattle and poultry.

Other produce of the country.

Government and religion.

The King's power does not ſeem to be limited by laws, any more than that of other Eaſtern Monarchs, and his Oran Caya's, or noblemen, ſhew him the profoundeſt reſpect. His religion is Pagan, and moſt of his ſubjects are ſuch, though there are ſome Mahometans among them; and the Chineſe have found the way hither, as they do to every port in the Indies, how obſcure ſoever.

There

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There are ſeveral little iſlands to the northward of Java, where the Engliſh meet with very good refreſhments, at a much eaſier rate than at Batavia; thoſe moſt frequently mentioned are Madura and Carimon Java. Madura lyes towards the north-eaſt end of Java, the chief town whereof is Arabaya, about eight leagues from the weſternmoſt land of Java, at the bottom of a deep bay. Carimon Java lyes more to the weſtward, between the coaſt of Java and Borneo, which the European ſhips, in their voyage to Borneo, frequently touch at.

A little to the eaſtward of Java Major lyes the iſland of Bally, or leſſer Java, and farther to the eaſtward, Lomboy, Combava, Flores, Solor, Timor, and ſeveral others; in moſt of which the Dutch have forts and ſettlements, and take the liberty of governing, and even tranſplanting the natives whenever they pleaſe; and theſe iſlanders make no inconſiderable part of the inhabitants of Batavia at preſent. From hence alſo the Dutch frequently recruit their troops; and thus they make one nation of Indians contribute to keep another in ſubjection; nor have they much reaſon to fear a defection, while they have the families and children of theſe people in their power.

Timor.

Of theſe iſlands Timor is the largeſt, the natives whereof reſembling the reſt in their perſons, manners, and cuſtoms, in deſcribing this I deſcribe all the reſt.

This iſland lyes almoſt north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt, the middle of it being in nine degrees of ſouth latitude, and 124 of longitude, from the meridian of London: it is near two hundred miles long, and generally fifty broad; there are no navigable rivers or harbours in it, but ſeveral bays, where ſhips may ride ſafely at certain ſeaſons of the year, according as the monſons are. It has a very bold ſhore, free from rocks and ſhoals, except ſome few that are viſible; and there is no anchorage a league from the land. The ſhores are flat low lands, for about three or four miles up into the country, but then the hills begin to riſe. The land next the ſea is ſandy, on which grows tall ſtrait bodied trees like pines, for about two hundred yards, and beyond them, towards the mountains, for about three miles, there is a tract of marſhy ground over run with reeds, and overflowed at every tide; the tops and ſides of the mountains are clothed with woods, intermixed with paſture grounds, and the country is indifferently well watered with ſprings and ſmall rivers.

Babao bay.

The bay of Babao, about five leagues from the Dutch fort of Concordia, is the ſafeſt riding for ſhips about the whole iſland, where you have the land from weſt and by ſouth to eaſt north eaſt to defend you; and other winds do not blow with any violence here. The greateſt inconvenience is the worm, which will deſtroy a ſhip very ſuddenly, if care be not taken to prevent it.

This iſland is divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms, the chief whereof are, Copang, Anabie, Lortribie, Polumbie, Namquinal, and Anabao; the Dutch fort of Concordia ſtands in the kingdom of Copang, in a bay towards the weſt end of the iſland, the little iſland, or kingdom of Anabao, lying over againſt it: the Dutch fort is built of ſtone, and ſituated on a rock by the ſea ſide, a river of freſh water falling into the ſea on the eaſt ſide of it. About a hundred yards from the fort, the company have a fine garden, which produces almoſt all manner of plants and roots that are found in the kitchen gardens of Europe, as well as moſt Indian fruits: they have alſo a good ſtock of European cattle here. The fort is garriſoned by fifty or ſixty ſoldiers, and there are about threeſcore houſes in the town. The Dutch are in confederacy with the people of Copang and Anabao, and uſe the ſame arts of playing the natives of this iſland one againſt another as they do in other places, making advantages of their diſſenſions.

Upon the north coaſt, about fifty miles to the eaſtward of the Dutch fort, is a Portugueſe ſettlement called Laphao; but notwithſtanding the people ſpeak Portugueſe here, they have been ſo intermixed with the natives by their intermarriages, that there is now very little diſtinction to be made between them: however, they are proud of being called Portugueſe, and have embraced the Roman catholick religion, though they ſeem to have withdrawn themſelves from under the Portugueſe government, refuſing to be commanded by ſuch Governors as have been ſent them from Goa. They have no place of any ſtrength, but their government extends much farther into the country than that of the Dutch, being in a manner incorporated with the natives, and profeſſing the ſame religion over great part of the iſland; though there are ſome parts where Paganiſm, as well as Mahometiſm, ſtill flouriſhes, whoſe diſciples generally ſide with the Dutch againſt the Portugueſe.

The Portugueſe town of Laphao ſtands by the ſea-ſide, and does not conſiſt of more than forty or fifty mean low built houſes, thatched with palmeto leaves, and a ſmall church open to the air, except at the eaſt end, which is boarded to the top. They have a little ſhed alſo, where ſix old iron guns ſtand on a decayed platform, in rotten carriages, which would contribute but little to their defence, their greateſt ſtrength ſeeming to lye in the numbers they might draw together in the country. There are ſome Chineſe live here, and as the junks of that country viſit Laphao every year, it is a place of the beſt trade on the

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the iſland, except Porta Nova, which lyes at the eaſt end of the iſland, and where the principal Portugueſe Governor reſides. It is ſaid, the Portugueſe can draw together five hundred men here, armed with firelocks, at twenty-four hours warning. However, their town was plundered and burnt ſome few years ago by a pirate, as was alſo the Dutch town of Concordia.

The natives have long black hair, and are of ſo ſwarthy a complexion, that the Europeans frequently call them black, as they do the Buggaſes. They are of a middle ſtature, ſtrait bodied, ſlender limbs, and long viſaged. Thoſe who are independent of the Dutch and Portugueſe, are ſaid to be very unhoſpitable to ſtrangers, and will not fail to cut off any Europeans that come upon the coaſt, even the Portugueſe themſelves, when they have an opportunity; but very probably they have had ſufficient provocation from the Portugueſe and the Dutch, who ever treat the Indians with a great deal of inſolence, and ſometimes very barbarouſly, when they fall into their hands. The natives have no other clothing than a little cloth about their loins, which being brought up between their legs, and faſtened, juſt hides their nakedneſs. Their greateſt finery conſiſts in a kind of coronet of mother of pearl, or thin plates of ſilver or gold, of an oval form, the breadth of a crown piece, and ſcolloped or indented on the edges; four or five of theſe on their foreheads make a mighty glittering ſhow; but moſt of them wear caps of palmeto leaves, in ſeveral forms. They go always armed with ſwords, darts, and lances; with theſe they go a hunting of wild buffaloes, which they run down, and ſtrike with their darts and lances, as they do alſo tortoiſe, and other fiſh in the water; and whether they take fiſh or fleſh, they make a fire and dry it over a kind of wooden gridiron, that it may keep; for they ſeldom return from their ſport under two or three days. They have ſome plantations of Indian corn, coco-nuts, and roots; nor have they any ſuperſtition which prohibits their eating any thing which nature produces.

Cattle.

Buffaloes and wild hogs abound pretty much in this iſland; and the Dutch and Portugueſe breed horſes, oxen, goats, and ſheep; but the ſheep do not increaſe or thrive ſo well as in colder climates. Here are alſo monkeys, guanoes, and lizards, ſerpents of ſeveral kinds, ſcorpions, centepedes, and a great variety of inſects, as in all hot countries.

Fowls.

They have in their woods wild cocks and hens, eagles, pigeons, turtle doves, hawks, parrots, parrakites, cockatoes, black-birds, hawks, and crows, and a great variety of ſmall birds, whoſe plumage is exceeding gay, and ſome of them, it is ſaid, have very muſical notes, which is very rare in this part of the world; for their birds in the eaſt generally pleaſe the eye more than the ear, their notes being as harſh as the muſick of the natives. One of theſe birds our travellers call the ringing bird, having juſt ſix notes, which he uſually repeats twice, beginning with the higheſt, and ending very low: he is about the bigneſs of a lark, his wings are blue, and his breaſt and head of a paliſh red. Their tame fowls are cocks and hens, geeſe and ducks, but the two laſt have been brought thither by the Europeans, and are not very plentiful. The woods are well ſtocked with bees, which produce great quantities of honey and wax.

Sea and river fiſh are very plentiful, and beſides many unknown to us, they have mullets, breams, ſnooks, mackrel, conger eels, rock-fiſh, oyſters of ſeveral kinds, and ſome very large; there are cockles alſo as big as one's hand, ſhrimps, craw-fiſh, prawns, and green tortoiſe or turtle, as the mariners call them. And there are ſome allegators, or crocodiles, in their bays and ſtreams, which, to me, ſeems to be the ſame creature, and only called by one or the other name, according to the different countries where they are found, tho' probably there may be ſeveral kinds of them in the ſame country, as we are aſſured there are in the Philippines.

Trees.

Among their trees they have ſeveral ſorts fit for building, but none like ours. One of them which grows by the ſea-ſide, reſembles a pine; 'tis a hard wood, of a reddiſh colour, ponderous, but very good timber. Here are alſo cotton trees, calabaſhes, wild tamarinds, wild fig trees, and ſandal wood, which moſt of the iſlands hereabouts abound with. Of palms there are ſeveral kinds, one of them ſeven or eight foot in circumference, and eight foot high, with branches only at the top, like the coco tree, the fruit in ſhape alſo like a coco nut, but no bigger than a hen's egg, and no water in it, as in thoſe. There is another palm as large and tall as the former, that bears ſeveral buſhels of ſmall fruit, which hang on the branches; but the tree has no leaves, or any thing green about it.

Fruits.

Here are alſo large groves of the common coco nut trees, extremely ſerviceable to the people of India, as has been obſerved already; and oranges, limes, lemons, mangoes, pine apples, jacks, plantanes, pomegranates, and ſeveral other Indian fruits, which are moſt of them ripe in September and October. Several kinds of good eating herbs are alſo found here; one of them particularly which eats like ſpinnage, and purſlain grows wild in the fields. No man has any property or title to this or that particular portion of land, but what is gained by occupation; whoever clears and manures a piece of ground, is looked upon to be the proprietor for that year; and it is ſeldom they plant their Indian corn twice in the ſame place. They burn

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burn the graſs and ſhrubs upon any ſpot of ground they think for their purpoſe, and prepare it againſt the wet ſeaſon. But the natives live chiefly by hunting, and upon their fruits, and will not take the pains to ſow much corn, ſo that land is of little value amongſt them, and conſequently their right to it is not diſputed with that eagerneſs it is in this part of the world.

Language. The common languages ſpoken here, are the Malayan and a baſtard Portugueſe; but the natives have a language peculiar to themſelves, which travellers give us no other account of, but that it is unintelligible to them.

Arts. Arts and ſciences they are not much acquainted with, nor would mechanicks or artiſans be of any great uſe amongſt them, the materials and implements they employ in their building, clothing, &c. being very inconſiderable. What they want Merchandiſe the Chineſe furniſh them with, taking in exchange ſandal wood, bees wax, and gold; for it ſeems gold is often waſhed down from the mountains, and found in the ſands of their rivers; but Mines. no attempt has been yet made, as I can learn, towards opening their mines. The only reaſon Dutch have forts here to keep out others. that the Dutch have to build forts in this and the neighbouring iſlands, ſeems to be to prevent any other nation ſettling here; but how the building a little fort in a country already inhabited, can give the Dutch ſuch a right to it, as to exclude all other nations from trading with the natives, is paſt my apprehenſion to find out; though ſhould the Engliſh, or any other powerful European nation, attempt to fix hereabouts, I am ſatisfied the Dutch would raiſe their whole poſſe in India to expel them, if it was for no other reaſon but becauſe theſe iſlands lye in the neighbourhood of thoſe which produce cloves and nutmegs, from whence we were expelled in the laſt century, through the connivance of a corrupt miniſtry. For as long as we were maſters of the ſtreights between Dover and Calais, nothing had been more eaſy than to have compelled the Dutch to have made ſatisfaction for their depredations abroad; and ſhould they make the like attempts at this day, now we have a Prince of ſpirit upon the throne, ſurrounded by a wiſe miniſtry, whom all the wealth of Holland can never bribe, they would probably feel the effects of their inſolence.

The monſoons and ſeaſons. But to return to Timor, the ſeaſons here are much the ſame with thoſe in other parts of India of ſouthern latitude: their fair weather begins in April or May, and continues till September or October, when ſtorms and tornadoes begin to viſit theſe parts; but the worſt weather is about the middle of December, when the wind blows ſo hard from the weſt or northweſt, that there is no bearing up againſt it, or riding in thoſe ſeas on the northern ſhores; and theſe winds are attended with violent rains till the middle of February; then both the wind and rain begins to abate, and about the latter end of April, or the beginning of May, the eaſterly monſon and fair weather are generally ſettled: but though the year is divided into the eaſtern and weſtern monſon, there are ſea and land breezes every day near the ſhores, when the weather is fair, with which a ſhip may ſail indifferently either eaſt or weſt.

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The ſettlement and deſtruction of the Engliſh factory at Banjar Maſſeen.

Now I have finiſhed the deſcription of the Sunda iſlands, and thoſe dependent on them, I ſhall, according to my promiſe, give a particular account of the ſettlement and deſtruction of the Engliſh factory at Banjar Maſſeen, in the iſland of Borneo, as I received it from one of the principal Officers, who reſided there from firſt to laſt, and whoſe relation will, I am ſatisfied, give the reader as juſt a notion of the natives of the Sunda iſlands as any thing he has met with.

The new Eaſt-India company, about the year 1700, ſent out Captain COATSWORTH in the Julian, to eſtabliſh a factory at Banjar Maſſeen, on the ſouth coaſt of the iſland of Borneo: they alſo appointed Mr. LANDAN Preſident, and four or five other merchants to be of his council, in caſe the deſign ſucceeded.

Upon their arrival at Banjar, they procured audience of the Sultan; and having made handſom preſents to that Prince and his miniſters, they obtained his chop, or great ſeal, to purchaſe and erect ſuch houſes in the town of Banjar as ſhould be neceſſary for the carrying on their trade; whereupon they furniſhed themſelves with three lantings or floating houſes, and another which ſtood upon pillars, or the bodies of trees, about five foot above the ſurface of the ouzy ground, which was uſually flooded at high water.

Deſcription of their floating houſes. Theſe lantings or floating houſes are built upon great bundles of bambou, and ſometimes trees laid along, and reaching the whole length of the houſe; nor does the weight of the ſuperſtructure preſs them down ſo much, but they remain great part of them above the water. Upon theſe bundles of bambou, or trees, joiſts are laid athwart, and upon them a floor of ſplit bambou; and over this they afterwards lay a pretty kind of matting. The walls are alſo made of ſplit cane, and run up to the height of ſix or eight foot, and then a light ſloping roof like a barn, made of cajan leaves, (which grow on the river ſides like ſedge) covers the whole. Theſe lantings are ranged in a line on each ſide the river, and form a regular ſtreet; and behind them, upon the ouzy bank, uſually ſtand the other kind of houſes on pillars, where the better ſort of people uſually inhabit; and from the houſes on pillars to the lantings are laid timbers, ſo that one may walk from one to the other. But I muſt not forget to acquaint the reader, that to prevent the lantings or floating-houſes being driven away with the ſtream, poſts

posts are drove down at each end, to which the houſe is faſtened by rings made of ratans, which however do not hinder the lanting from riſing and falling with the tide; and ſome of theſe lantings have flat rattan cables with which they are faſt moored to the trees on ſhore.

At the arrival of the Engliſh in the river Banjar, there might be near three hundred of theſe floating houſes ranged on each ſide the river, inhabited by Chineſe, Malays, Macaſſars, and the natives of Borneo, but the latter, moſt of them removed to Tatas, upon the arrival of the Engliſh; the reſt remained at Banjar, under the protection of the Engliſh, to the number of two hundred families; and of this floating town, the Preſident of the Engliſh factory was afterwards looked upon to be Governor. There are alſo a great number of ſmall veſſels from the neighbouring iſlands, as well as from China, which come to Banjar to trade.

Thus much was neceſſary to premiſe, to give the reader ſome notion of the Engliſh factory at Banjar, and make the following relation more intelligible. To proceed, the factory continued to trade with the Banjareens peaceably for two or three years, when the natives having got about twenty thouſand dollars of the company's money in their hands, and refuſing to deliver the pepper they had agreed for, were preſt by the Preſident to perform their contracts: but they could not think of a more ready way of diſcharging the debt, it ſeems, than by extirpating the Engliſh factory; and upon the Preſident's repreſenting again the injuſtice of ſelling their pepper to the Chineſe Junks, which the Engliſh had already advanced money for, he was ſtill put off with complaints of the bad crop, and their inability to deliver the pepper; while the Banjareens were, under-hand, preparing to deſtroy the Engliſh ſettlement, as the Chineſe themſelves aſſured our people. But the factory not being conſcious of any miſbehaviour, nor obſerving any thing that looked like a rupture, did not give much credit to theſe intimations; till one morning they ſaw the river covered with boats and guntings, (veſſels about forty or fifty tuns) full of armed men, prepared for an engagement: the Banjareens however did not think fit to attack the factory at that time, but came to an anchor at ſome diſtance.

Captain BARRE, Commander of the ſhip Borneo, happened to be at Banjar at this time, with whom the Preſident conſulted for their mutual ſafety; and the number of their men not amounting to more than ſixty, both in the ſhip and factory, they agreed to hire as many Buggaſſes out of the Macaſſar veſſels as they could; and having provided a large gunting, on which they mounted two great guns, and furniſhed themſelves with a good number of praws, or ſmall boats, for the Buggaſſes they had taken into their ſervice, it was reſolved to ſtand a bruſh with the Banjareens; but having waited two or three days and nights in expectation of the enemy to no purpoſe, it was determined at length to advance and attack them.

Fight between the Engliſh and the Banjareens.

Accordingly the Preſident and Captain BARRE moved forwards, attended by the Buggaſſes in their praws; but the Captain had not advanced far, when, to his great ſurprize, the veſſel he was in ſtruck againſt a chain or boom the Banjareens had laid croſs the river, juſt under water, which was ſupported by bambous, and faſtened to the trees on each ſide the river. Here the Buggaſes did him good ſervice, for they immediately looſened the boom from the trees it was faſtened to, and gave the Captain a free paſſage. The Banjareens in the mean time plyed their great guns pretty ſmartly, but were ſuch ill markſmen that the Engliſh received no manner of damage. The tops of the high trees on the ſides of the river ſuffered pretty much by their ſhot; and the greateſt danger our people ſeemed to be in, was from the ſhattered branches. The Preſident and the Captain ſtill advanced, and exchanged ſome ſhot with the enemy; when on a ſudden the whole Banjareen fleet fled, not giving them an opportunity of coming to a cloſe engagement. Two or three of their guntings which were neareſt, fell into the hands of the Engliſh, the men jumping overboard, and making their eſcape into the woods. Two days after this the Captain advanced to Tatas, about ten miles up the China river, which the enemy had abandoned, and carried off every thing of value, except ſome pepper which the Captain took on board; and having ſet fire to the town, returned to the factory at Banjar.

Ten days after this, no enemy appearing, Captain BARRE, with ſome armed guntings, and forty or fifty praws manned with Buggaſes, ſailed up the great river Banjar, almoſt as high as Negarra, a town between two and three hundred miles above Banjar, and which gives a title to one of their Sultans. When the Captain came within 12 or 15 miles of Negarra, he began to diſcover the enemy; and as he approached nearer he found they had prepared a vaſt floating machine upon the water, one hundred foot long, and forty broad, with two decks, upon the lowermoſt of which they had four iron and two braſs guns mounted, and upon the uppermoſt fifty or ſixty pattereroes. The ſides of this machine were near a yard thick, made of rattans twiſted together like basket work, which covered their men from the ſmall ſhot, and they did not ſeem to be in much danger of the great ſhot; at leaſt there could be no ſplinters to hurt them, which make the greateſt havock uſually in an engagement upon the water.

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Second fight Floating

Before the Engliſh came within diſtance, the Banjareens began to fire both great and ſmall ſhot, and ſeemed determined to defend the paſſage up the river: ſtill Captain BARRE moved forwards without firing, till he came pretty cloſe to the machine, and was ſo lucky at the firſt diſcharge to fire into their port-holes, and diſmount one of their guns; the ſame ſhot happening to kill ſeveral of their men. This ſo terrified the poor Banjareens, that whatever their reſolutions might be before, they immediately left their machine to ſhift for itſelf; and, unperceived by the Engliſh, fled out at a door they had made on that ſide of the machine which lay next the ſhore, and run up into the woods. Captain BARRE obſerving they had left off firing, advanced very cautiouſly, not imagining they could have deſerted their floating fortification ſo ſuddenly; but approaching nearer, and not being able to ſee or hear any man, either on board or aſhore, he ordered the Buggaſes to board the machine, which they found no great difficulty in doing, there being no enemy to oppoſe them. After this ſucceſs, our people, it ſeems, did not think fit to advance farther up into the country, but having taken ſeveral armed guntings which the enemy had abandoned, and this floating caſtle, they fell down the river again: however, their great prize proved ſo unweildy and troubleſome to manage, that it was a fortnight before they reached Banjar. The Preſident, who had been left behind with the ſhip Borneo, to ſecure the factory from any ſurprize, congratulated Captain BARRE on his ſucceſs, and preſented him with the two braſs pieces which were found on board the machine, which the Captain afterwards brought to England, as trophies of his victory. The rejoicings being over, the Preſident and his council began to conſider what was to be done next; for though they had always met with ſucceſs, yet it could never be for the intereſt of their maſters, to remain in a ſtate of war with the people of the country; neither pepper nor any other merchandiſe was to be expected, unleſs they could reconcile themſelves to the natives. And no proviſions having been brought out of the country ſince this miſunderſtanding, the factory began to be in great diſtreſs: therefore happening to take two Banjareen fiſhermen, they ſent a letter by them to the Sultan, to enquire into the reaſons that had induced him to ſend his forces againſt the Engliſh, who had ever lived peaceably in his dominions, and paid vaſt ſums of money beforehand, for the merchandiſe they purchaſed of his ſubjects. With this letter they alſo ſent a handſom preſent, and deſired if his Majeſty would come to a treaty, that he would ſend down a boat with a white flag to the factory.

Floating caſtle taken.

Another expedition to Caytongee.

The Preſident having waited ſeveral days, and received no anſwer, it was reſolved to try once again what force would do, ſince the Banjareens did not ſeem to have any inclination for peace: accordingly ſeveral armed guntings being fitted out, and a good number of praws procured and manned with Buggaſes to attend them, the Preſident, accompanied by Captain BARRE, ſailed with his armed veſſels up the China river, and being arrived almoſt as high as Caytongee, a town about forty miles beyond Tatas, (and from which another of their Sultans takes his title) they diſcovered a float, like the wall of ſome great town, reaching quite croſs the river, and abundance of cannon mounted upon it, and ſuch ſubſtantial breaſt works that the enemy ſeemed to be entirely covered from their ſhot. However, as they were pretty well acquainted with the unskilfulneſs of the enemy's gunners, and their want of reſolution, they ventured to approach ſomething nearer, when, to their great ſatisfaction, they diſcovered a praw with a white flag coming towards them, in which was an officer, who let the Preſident know that the Sultan would ſend ſome of his miniſters to treat with the Engliſh, if they would engage for their ſafe return. The Preſident thereupon ſolemnly promiſed, that whoever was ſent to confer with him, ſhould be protected from all violence, and be at liberty to return when they pleaſed, whether the treaty came to any concluſion or not. And however the Engliſh may have behaved in other reſpects, the Banjareens had ſo much confidence in their honour, that commiſſioners were immediately ſent out to treat with the Preſident; amongſt whom was a ſon of the Sultan's, without demanding hoſtages. The Preſident acquainted the commiſſioners, that the Engliſh were under a very great concern that they were engaged in a war with the Sultan; that it was purely in their own defence, and if the Banjareens would pay the charges the company had been put to in this war, and let them have pepper for the money they had advanced, without exacting any duties or cuſtoms from the Engliſh for the future, they were ready to make peace with his Majeſty. The whole demand, it ſeems, amounted to forty thouſand dollars, twenty thouſand had been advanced for pepper, and the charges of the war was computed at as much more. After ſome time the Banjareens were contented to yield to theſe conditions; the whole ſum was agreed to be paid in pepper, and delivered at certain prefixed times, and the former grant for the eſtabliſhment of the Engliſh factory, and a free trade, without paying any cuſtoms, was confirmed by the Sultan's ſeal or chop, and ſigned and ratified by their chief Prieſt, with all the ſolemnity imaginable; after which followed mutual congratulations and rejoicings: for the Banjareens had been no leſs diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, than the Engliſh factory, none having been imported,

Peace is concluded.

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ported ſince the beginning of the war, and very little was growing in the country at that time, tho' they have ſince applied themſelves with more diligence to this kind of husbandry.

To proceed; the Banjareens pretending afterwards that the ſeaſon for pepper had been very bad, never delivered more than fifteen coyang (every coyang is a thouſand gantons or gallons) amounting to the value of about a thouſand dollars, of all they had ſtipulated for; ſo that the Engliſh factory ſeeing no probability of getting a ſufficient quantity of pepper to load the company's ſhips, and wanting treaſure and all manner of neceſſaries, they reſolved to leave the place for a time, firſt acquainting the Sultan that they expected a performance of the treaty at their return from Batavia, whither their buſineſs called them at preſent. Accordingly the Preſident, with the council, and the reſt of the company's ſervants, embarked for Batavia, from whence the Preſident went to Bengal; others of them ſtaid at Batavia, and Capt. BARRE returned to England in the Borneo.

The Eaſt India company, notwithſtanding their ill ſucceſs in this firſt attempt to eſtabliſh a factory at Banjar, ſtill ſeemed perſuaded that there was not a more advantageous ſituation in India than this; becauſe hither the China junks annually reſorted, and the Chineſe, it was ſaid, would ſettle there, rather than at Batavia, if we were once in a condition to protect them, from whom we might purchaſe the merchandiſe of their country upon eaſier terms than at Canton. Beſides gold, bezoar, precious ſtones, and pepper, were the natural produce of the iſland; and ſometimes the Macaſſars by ſtealth would bring over cloves and nutmegs, let the Dutch be never ſo watchful. In ſhort, it was affirmed, that this might be made a ſecond Batavia, and as conſiderable a mart as any in India.

Upon theſe conſiderations, the company in the year 1704, diſpatched other ſhips to Borneo, in which they ſent over Mr. ROJET, who had been one of the council before, to be preſident of the factory: this gentleman was well received by the Banjareens, who ſeemed deſirous to renew their trade with the Engliſh, from whom they received ſilver in return for their pepper; eſpecially ſince there was no demand made of the old arrear which the natives remained indebted to the company. They continued therefore to trade peaceably with the factory for a conſiderable time, when the Engliſh company being informed, if they could build a fort on the firm land, and put themſelves in a condition to protect the Chineſe, and other nations who come to Banjar to trade with them, this ſettlement might become much more advantageous, they ſent over Capt. BARRE again, who was not only acquainted with the ſituation of the country, but was alſo a brave man, and a very good engineer, to endeavour to erect a fort at Banjar: accordingly this gentleman carried with him all manner of tools and implements neceſſary to the erecting a fortification; and ROJET happening to die after he had been preſident of the factory about a year, Capt. BARRE ſucceeded him in that poſt.

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BARRE Preſident.

Capt. BARRE found it neceſſary to import vaſt quantities of earth and ſtones, and drive down ſeveral thouſand large piles in the place he pitched on to build his fort, in order to raiſe the ground, and ſecure his works againſt the water. In the mean time, he employed forty or fifty of the Chineſe to make bricks at Tomberneo, a place which lyes about fourſcore miles to the eaſtward of Banjar river, where the Engliſh had a houſe. He alſo agreed with a Dutchman on the coaſt of Java, to furniſh him with timber; but the Dutchman was ſo cautious, as to direct him to ſend China junks for it, that his ſuperiors might not know for whom, or for what purpoſe it was deſigned. And indeed it is one happineſs that the Dutch, even the company's officers, in India, have a much greater regard to their own private gain, than to the intereſt of their maſters; inſomuch that the moſt conſiderable amongſt them, if they think they can be concealed, will, underhand, deal with our people, never conſidering the ill conſequence it may be to their own people. Was it not for this, the Engliſh trade in India would be much worſe than it is, and the company's officers would not always come home ſo rich as they do by theſe underhand practices; even at Malacca and Batavia itſelf there do not want inſtances of thoſe inconſiderable commands, who have carried on a clandeſtine trade with foreigners, notwithſtanding the ſevere penalties the Dutch threaten ſuch offenders with. And whenever they are diſcovered, a good handſome bribe ſeldom fails to bring them off.

Dutchman of Java ſells the Engliſh timber for their fort.

To return to Banjar: while theſe preparations were making for building the fort, a veſſel that was ſent to Java for timber, happening to be driven by ſtreſs of weather upon the coaſt of Mendava, a little to the weſtward of Banjar river, the Viceroy, or Governor, of that province, ſtyled Gooſtee Ganton (whom our people repreſent as a very barbarous Prince) underſtanding that this timber was deſigned for Banjar fort, detained the veſſel, and ordered the maſter and all the Chineſe mariners to be murdered in his preſence, which was no ſooner commanded than executed; only one of all the crew eſcaped and travelled through the woods to the Engliſh factory at Banjar, where he made this tragical relation to the Preſident.

The Banjareens ſurprize a ſhip bringing timber to Banjar, and murder the mariners.

Capt. BARRE hereupon complained of this inhoſpitable treatment to the Sultan, who pretended

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to be a perfect ſtranger to the affair, and denied that it was done by his orders; GOOSTEE GANTON, he ſaid, notwithſtanding he was a relation, was a deſperate man, of whom he was in continual fear himſelf; but if the Captain could contrive to get him into his power, juſtice ſhould be done upon him. It was not long before GOOSTEE GANTON left his command at Mendava, and came up to court; whereupon the Engliſh factory renewed their complaints againſt him: but the Sultan pretended he brought ſuch numbers of armed men with him, that he durſt not apprehend him. However, notice was given to Captain BARRE, that on a certain day GOOSTEE GANTON was to go by water from Tatas to Banjar river; the Captain thereupon took ſome armed Europeans with him in his pinnace, and provided ſeveral praws, which he manned with Buggaſſes, and placed himſelf in a convenient part of the river, to intercept his enemy. He had not waited long before he diſcovered the veſſels he looked for, and with them ſeveral others belonging to the Sultaneſs.

They fell leiſurely down the ſtream till they came juſt to the place where Capt. BARRE was, as if they apprehended no danger, when on a ſudden the word was given, and they plied their oars with ſuch diligence that they were in an inſtant out of the Captain's reach, neither his pinnace nor the buggaſſes praws could come near them; whereupon the Captain fired a piece or two, and one of the balls happened to enter the very praw the Sultaneſs was in. This is the outrage the Sultan mentioned to Capt. BEECKMAN afterwards, and which the reader has taken notice of in the deſcription of Borneo: and it ſeems, GOOSTEE GANTON having intelligence of the deſign to ſeize him, put himſelf on board the very praw the Sultaneſs was in, believing the Engliſh would have had more modeſty than to attack him there; and indeed, Capt. BARRE was perfectly ignorant of the Sultaneſs's being upon the water: however, the fact was related by GOOSTEE GANTON as the moſt daring inſult, and the higheſt affront that could be put upon the government; inſinuating, that if the King did not revenge it he was not worthy of his crown. And from this time, it is ſaid, it was determined to extirpate the Engliſh whenever they ſhould have an opportunity, tho' they carried it fair openly ſome time afterwards.

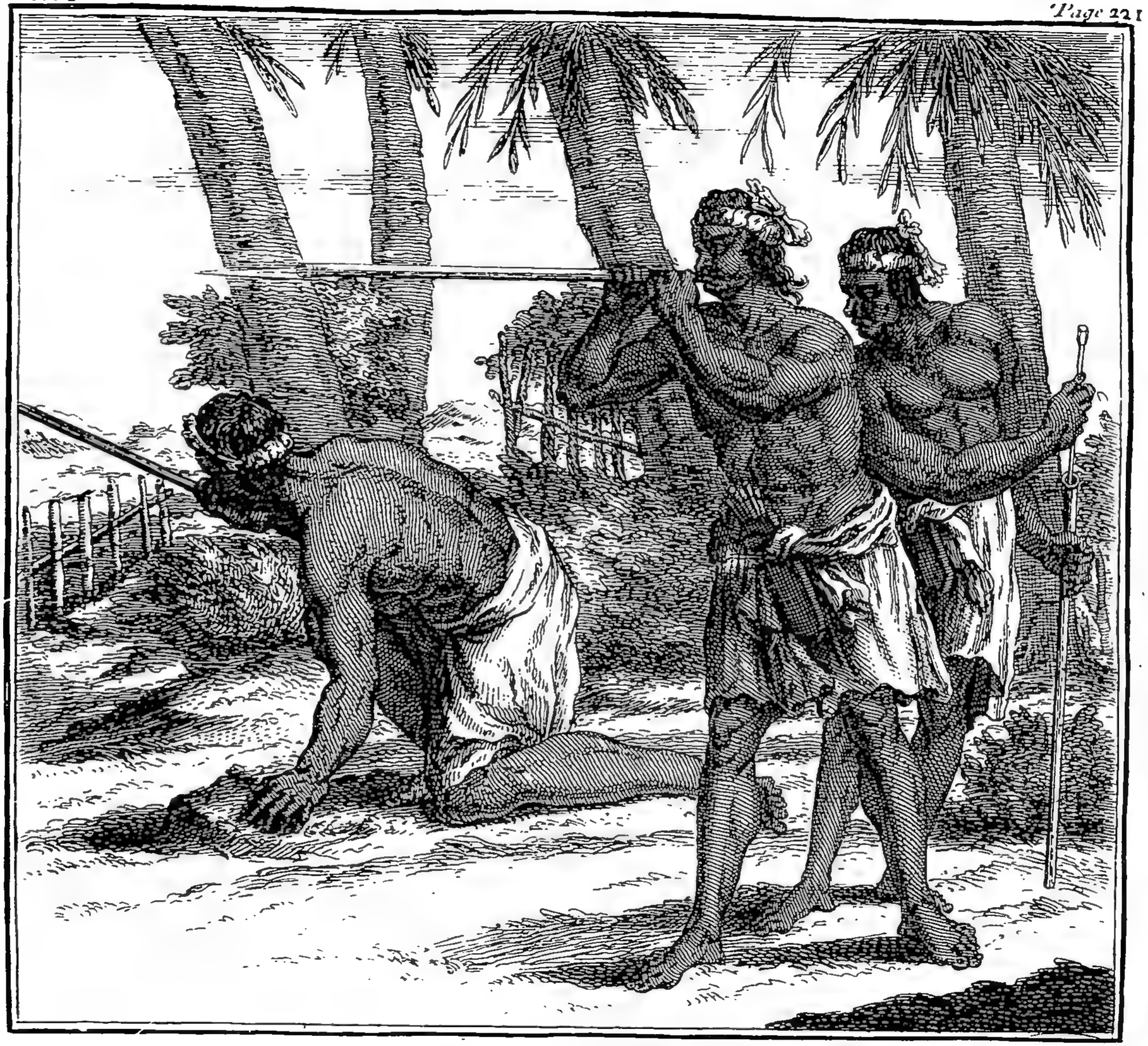
Capt. BARRE in the mean time had raiſed the earth conſiderably, and made firm ground to erect his fort upon; he had alſo actually built a noble barrack for the ſoldiers, over which were handſome lodgings for the company's ſervants. The baſtions of his intended fortreſs were alſo marked out, which he deſigned for a pentagon; and if he had lived to finiſh it, the place being ſurrounded with water, might have bid defiance to the whole nation of Banjareens; and there would, no doubt, have been a vaſt concourſe of all Indian nations, as well as the Chineſe, to trade with the Engliſh when we had been in a condition to protect them, this place lying almoſt in the centre of the Indian iſlands. But Capt. BARRE having enjoyed the preſidentſhip about a year, fell ſick and died. BARRE dies.

After the Captain's death, the ſecond in council took upon him the command, ſtill purſuing the ſchemes his predeceſſor had laid for about four months; when the unfortunate Mr. CUNNINGHAM, who had eſcaped not long before, from the maſſacre of Poolo Condore, as has been already related, was appointed Preſident of Banjar, and entered upon that command in the year 1706. CUNNINGHAM arrives.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM had not been above ſix weeks in his poſt, but he received intelligence that the whole country was in arms, and that the Sultan had determined to deſtroy the Engliſh ſettlement.

There were at this time two Engliſh ſhips in Banjar river, the Blenheim and the Carlton, of the former Capt. BARRE was commander before his death, and was ſucceeded by his fourth mate; and of the Carlton Capt. BROWN went out commander, and was ſucceeded by his ſecond mate, Capt. PHILIPS. The Preſident not thinking himſelf ſecure aſhore, conſtantly lay on board the Blenheim, though there wanted no accommodations in the factory; having ſo lately eſcaped the maſſacre at Poolo Condore, he was under the greateſt conſternation when he underſtood the Banjareens were preparing to come down upon him, inſomuch, that he ſeemed to have no other views but to ſave himſelf: he neither took any Buggaſſes into his pay, nor hired any veſſels to defend the factory; but on the contrary, left the care of it to the third in council the very night the Banjareens attacked them, though as it happened there ſeemed to be as little danger on ſhore as on board, for the people who were left in the factory beat off the enemy. Banjar factory attacked.

The guard boat indeed that lay in Banjar creek was ſurprized, and the commander with all his crew cut off. The Carlton alſo was boarded; but the mariners ſhutting themſelves up in their cloſe quarters, ſoon cleared the decks of the Banjareens with their ſmall arms; only Capt. PHILIPS, who upon a point of honour refuſed to quit his quarter deck, was cut in pieces after a brave defence. And the Banjareens having obtained no other advantages than firing the town and murdering the unarmed inhabitants, would certainly have retired if the ſhips had kept their ſtations; but the Preſident giving all for loſt, ordered his own people to ſet fire to the Engliſh factory, and then commanded the ſhips to cut their cables and fall down the river; which was done with ſuch precipitation that the Banjareens looked upon it as a complete



Biajo's or Mountaniers of Borneo.

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a complete victory; for they left behind them their very top masts and rigging, and a great quantity of arrack, rice, and other provisions on shore; and what was still more unfortunate, they abandoned fifty poor unarmed slaves who were in the factory with the workmen, and these were all cut to pieces in cold blood by the Banjareens. The Chinese also, and most of the Indian inhabitants of Banjar were destroyed; and after such a conduct as this, it is not to be wondered if the Indians have a very mean opinion of the English nation. But this is no more than what might have been expected from the choice the company made of a commander for this important post, a gentleman who had never been in any service, and who was by profession an apothecary or surgeon. But to proceed, the second in council returning from Tomberneo, where he had been some days for the recovery of his health, found both the English ships lying like wrecks at the mouth of the river, and one of them aground. He soon understood that every thing was destroyed at Banjar, which they had been so long erecting with infinite care and labour, in which the company also had been at a prodigious expence; and all this by the President's own order, before the factory was in any danger of being taken: nor were there in the whole action, whether on board or ashore, twenty English men killed.

The Banjareens were so elevated with their late success, that they ventured to fall down the river and attack the Blenheim; but this ship having taken in the company's servants from the factory, was now well manned, and gave them such a reception as they did not expect; for of three hundred men that attempted to board her, it was thought very few escaped: however, there was now no possibility of re establishing the factory again without fresh supplies from England; and as a farther mortification, they understood that the two English soldiers, with all the Chinese they had employed in making bricks at Tomberneo, were cut in pieces. The President soon after set sail for Batavia, and from thence went to Bengal, where he took passage on board the Ann for England; but this ship perished by some accident in her return home, and was never heard of since, or any one man that was on board her, such a train of ill success attended the unfortunate Mr. CUNNINGHAM, who has, however, perpetuated his memory by some pretty relations he communicated to the royal society, of which he was a member, and seems to have been better qualified for a virtuoso than a commander.

The same gentleman who gave me the preceding relation of the destruction of the English settlement at Banjar, tells me, that he looks upon the Byajo's or mountaineers of Borneo to be really as barbarous as they are generally represented, and that their very countenances discover a savage temper. That during the seven years he was in the country, they could not bring them to entertain any conversation with the English, tho' they frequently came down in their praws as far as Banjar, and brought them hogs and other provisions; and as he that brings home most heads is in the greatest reputation in his country, he says, if they meet but a poor fisherman in the river, they seldom failed to take his head off his shoulders; that the English are always upon their guard against the Byajo's, and frequently engage them, but it is generally in woods and thickets, where it is difficult to come at them; for where they are not very much superior in numbers, if they meet the Europeans on the river they constantly fly from them, and run up into some little creeks; and if they cannot escape by water, leave their praws and run into the woods. That their arms are a crice or dagger, and a sampit or trunk of about six or eight foot long, armed with a piece of iron at the end much like a bayonet: that through this trunk they shoot their poisoned darts, of which they usually carry three or fourscore in a little box by their sides. That they make use of their sampit sometimes as a lance, and will throw it a considerable distance, and sometimes they charge with it as our soldiers do with pikes, or bayonets at the end of their muskets; and thus armed, were their courage and order agreeable, they would be a match for a body of Europeans; but what actions they perform are generally by surprize; and if ever they make a stand, it is at some pass, or where they can cover themselves from our shot by woods or banks of earth. Our people pursuing them into the woods, have been frequently wounded by their poisoned darts, whereupon our surgeons usually cup them, and they most commonly do well; but my author tells me, he once saw an Englishman wounded in the hinder part of his neck with one of these darts, and he died very suddenly. He assures me also, that they will shoot these darts with such a force, that they will enter the flesh an inch deep through a man's clothes; and being usually made of brass, and barbed on each side, it is with great pain and difficulty they are got out. The clothing these people use, is little else than a cloth to hide their nakedness, and another little slip tied about their heads. They frequently come down to Tatas and traffick with the Banjareens, exchanging gold, bezoar, rice, wax, &c. for such necessaries as they want.

The Banjareens look upon the government of the Byajo's to be aristocratical; for upon all emergencies they observe, their leaders and principal men are assembled in council, and sometimes one presides, and sometimes another, as those who have been up in the country relate; and they tell us,

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us, they never truſt themſelves among the Byajo's without keeping ſome of them as hoſtages for their ſecurity: but I do not find the Byajo's uſe the ſame caution when they come down to Tatas; by which one would think they were not conſcious of any barbarous uſage towards the Banjareens; for if ſo, they could not but expect a retaliation of injuries when they put themſelves in the power of the Banjareens.

Having given as full an account of the preſent ſtate of the Sunda iſlands, as I could collect from ſuch volumes as have been publiſhed concerning them, but chiefly from ſuch gentlemen as have reſided in thoſe iſlands a conſiderable time, in the higheſt poſts under the Eaſt India company; I proceed to enquire into the ſtate of the Nicobar and Andiman iſlands, which lye over againſt the coaſt of Malacca; and from thence I ſhall return to the continent of India, where I ſtruck off to take a view of the Oriental iſlands.

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Containing the preſent ſtate of the Nicobar and Andaman iſlands.

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Nicobar iſlands, their ſituation.

THE Nicobar iſlands lye at the entrance of the bay of Bengal, from the ſeventh to the tenth degree of north latitude, and between the ninety ſecond and ninety fourth degrees of longitude, one hundred and twenty miles north north weſt of the iſland of Sumatra. The largeſt of them, at which ſhips uſually touch, and which gives name to the reſt, lyes moſt to the ſouthward of any of them. This iſland is about forty miles long, and twelve or fifteen broad.

They are not divided into Kingdoms or provinces, neither can I learn that there are any towns in theſe iſlands. We generally ſee four or five little houſes ſtanding by the ſea-ſide in every creek or bay, built on poſts, about eight foot from the ground, like the Malayan houſes on the continent over-againſt them. Theſe houſes have but one room, about eight foot in height, not ridged like a barn, but neatly arched with bended canes, and thatched with palmeto leaves.

Perſons of the natives.

The natives are a tall, clean limbed people, of a dark, tawny complexion, ſtrait black hair, and black eyes, pretty long viſaged, their noſes well turned and proportionable, and their faces taken all together tolerably handſome, only the women have a cuſtom of pulling the hair of their eyebrows, which makes them not altogether ſo taking as they would otherwiſe be.

Habits.

The men wear no clothes, but have a narrow piece of linen tied round about their bodies, to which they faſten another cloth of about a hand's breadth, and bringing it up between their legs, cover, but hardly conceal their nakedneſs. The women are ſomething modeſter, having a cloth wrapped about their loins, which reaches as low as their knees, and ſerves inſtead of a petticoat.

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Husbandry.

The country is over-run with wood, none of it being cleared or cultivated; only they have ſome plantations of coco-nut trees near the ſea ſide, from which they draw their beloved liquor toddy; the nuts afford them alſo meat and drink, but I don't find they have rice, or any other grain, growing in the country. The fruit of the melory tree, it ſeems, ſerves them inſtead of bread. This tree grows wild in the woods: it is as big as a large apple tree, has a blackiſh rind, and a pretty broad leaf; the fruit is of the ſhape of a pear, and twelve or thirteen inches about in the largeſt place. It has a tough ſmooth rind, of a light green colour, and the fruit underneath is much like that of an apple, but full of ſmall ſtrings, or fibres: they ſcrape the pulp from the ſtrings with a kind of wooden knife, and having made it up in great lumps as big as three peny loaves, they boil them in earthen pots: they will keep a week, but afterwards turn ſour. This is their chief food; for as they have no bread corn, neither have they any roots, except a few yams. Nor do they ſeem to admire hogs fleſh or poultry, though they don't want either; but fiſh is eaten more plentifully, every houſe keeping a fiſhing boat or two.

Trade.

The Nicobarians have no trade or commerce with any other nation, but as any ſhipping paſſes by, both men and women will come on board, bringing with them hogs, poultry, fruit, and other proviſions; ſometimes alſo they bring amber-greaſe to ſell, but often a mixture which looks very like it, with which the Europeans are ſometimes impoſed upon. They uſually take in return for their goods, iron, tobacco, linen, and any old rags are acceptable to them.

Face of the country.

The ſouth end of the great iſland is mountainous, and has ſteep cliffs towards the ſea; the reſt of the iſland is low land, but uneven, and covered with woods, in which are abundance of tall trees, fit for building, or any other uſes. The ſoil is a rich black mould, and might produce any grain if it was cultivated; and the coco-nut groves by the ſea ſide appear extremely pleaſant from on ſhipboard; but the iſland does not ſeem to produce any very valuable commodities, no nation that I can hear of ever attempting to make a ſettlement amongſt them, or to bring them under their dominion.

Temper of the people.

Marriage.

Religion.

The natives are a peaceable harmleſs people; murder or theft are ſeldom heard of among them, nor are they at all quarrelſome. They confine themſelves to one woman, and live as man and wife, without any Prieſt to tie the nuptial knot: and as to their religion, they neither make profeſſion of Paganiſm, or Mahometaniſm, or have any temples dedicated to divine ſervice, unleſs ſome caves they have dug in the rocks may be reckoned

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such, towards which, the Miſſionaries obſerve, they pay a kind of adoration. It is ſuppoſed alſo, that they worſhip the moon, from their great rejoicings at the firſt appearance of it. They are not divided into caſts or tribes, like the people on the continent of hither India, which lyes over-againſt them; but they eat and drink, and mingle among themſelves, or with ſtrangers, without any manner of ſcruple.

They have a language peculiar to themſelves, but are maſters of ſome few Malayn and Portugueſe words, which ſerve them to barter with foreigners who touch upon their coaſts.

The Andoman iſlands alſo lye in the bay of Bengal, a little to the northward of the Nicobar iſlands, extending from the 11th to the 15th degree of northern latitude. The manners and cuſtoms of theſe people not differing from thoſe of their neighbours of Nicobar, the deſcription of one may well ſerve for both. And however it comes to paſs, not only the more antient, but ſome modern writers, have charged the natives of both theſe countries with being canibals, and would have us believe they have a more than ordinary guſt for human fleſh; but ſurely no people were ever more abuſed: for theſe are ſo far from eating man's fleſh, that they hardly eat any fleſh at all, but live chiefly upon fruit, as the people of the firſt ages are ſuppoſed to have done. They are alſo found to be the moſt harmleſs, inoffenſive people in the world; whereas was human fleſh eſteemed a delicious morſel, all ſtrangers who come on ſhore in theſe iſlands, muſt expect to be run down and hunted, as we do veniſon. But whether the fleſh of men is their conſtant food, or only ſerved up as a rarity at entertainments, our canibal writers don't think fit to inform us, any more than they do how it is dreſſed, or whether it be eaten with, or without ſauce. But to proceed, if this people feed conſtantly on their own kind, and devour one another as often as they have an opportunity, one would think the country ſhould ſoon be depopulated. And how unſafe, what a diffidence and jealouſy muſt it create in every man, where not only malice and revenge, but a voracious appetite after human fleſh, ſhould put men upon deſtroying one another? For my part, I can't ſee how any ſociety can ſubſiſt, where people indulge themſelves in this kind of diet; would not every man fly from his neighbour into the woods and deſarts, rather than ſleep among thoſe whom he knew would make no ſcruple of killing and eating him the firſt time they were a hungry? Their conſciences cannot be ſuppoſed to be very ſqueamiſh, where they have ſuch unmerciful ſtomachs.

'Tis generally ſaid, indeed, that theſe people, notwithſtanding that they look upon human fleſh to be very delicious food, yet never eat their friends; but as the beſt friends fall out ſometimes, ſurely a man muſt be under terrible apprehenſions of being devoured, where he is conſcious that every perſon who happens to be angry with him, has two ſuch almoſt irreſiſtible motives to take away his life, as the ſatisfying his hunger and gratifying his revenge at the ſame time: one of theſe we find ſufficient in moſt countries to make people commit very barbarous actions.

But farther, if we ſuppoſe that thoſe nations which our romantick writers are pleaſed to denominate canibals, only eat human fleſh at feſtivals and great entertainments, and that their common diet is fruit and herbs at other times, as the latter certainly are in the Nicobar iſlands; methinks the change from herbs and fruits to human fleſh is ſo very great, that it muſt infallibly occaſion a great diſorder in any perſon who ſhall make the experiment. Let a child, or any perſon that has diſuſed eating meat for a time, but eat one hearty meal of it, and 'tis odds but it proves of ill conſequence; beſides, 'tis certain that thoſe who have uſed themſelves to feed upon rice and herbs or fruits have no manner of appetite or inclination to fleſh. There are many of the natives of India that never eat any, or ſeem to deſire it; and of thoſe that do, few of them eat two ounces at a meal: nay, the people upon the continent next to theſe very Nicobar and Andoman iſlands are the moſt abſtemious, and the leaſt lovers of fleſh of any people in the world; and yet have our ſots had the folly to fix upon theſe iſlands which lye in the neighbourhood of India, and which were peopled from thence, to be the ſeats of a race of canibals. But it is a very juſt obſervation, that thoſe people, which the world is leaſt acquainted with, have generally the misfortune of being denominated canibals, though the charge ſeems to amount to no more than this, that their cuſtoms are unknown, and travellers having nothing certain to relate concerning them, are apt to frame ſome monſtrous tale to make the common people ſtare and gaze. Theſe gentlemen imagine, that if they ſhould confine themſelves to nature, and relate only probable things, their relations would be thought inſipid, and therefore in every tale mix ſomething of the wonderful.

Nothing, on the contrary, has more recommended Mr. DAMPIER's travels than that air of probability with which they are related, and his endeavouring to confute thoſe monſter-mongers who have gone before him; and as he has actually viſited the remoteſt corners of the globe, and ſeveral of thoſe very countries which 'tis pretended are poſſeſs'd by canibals and the moſt ſavage of human race, and has not been able to diſcover one nation of canibals; nay, aſſures us of his own knowledge, that many of them are falſe: every reaſonable man will concude, that theſe tales

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tales do not deſerve all that credit which has been given them.

He inſtances in the Indians of Florida and the iſlands of canibals, whom he ſays he has traded with. Theſe, he ſays, are as civilized as moſt other nations; 'tis true, they have heretofore endeavoured to deſtroy our plantations, and beat us from thoſe iſlands; but the reaſon was, becauſe they apprehended they had a right to them; and it can never follow, that becauſe people are our enemies, therefore they would eat us.

And notwithſtanding that charge of cruelty and barbarity with which the Dutch load every people in India whom they have enſlaved, the charge may with abundance of juſtice be retorted upon themſelves. If the natives have been guilty of any thing of that nature, it is when the Dutch have ſet them a precedent, and been the aggreſſors. How ſhould we deal with a people who ſhould intrude into our country, bring over an armed force, raiſe fortifications, and put our fellow ſubjects to the cruelleſt deaths for no other reaſon but becauſe we ſtand up in defence of our Prince and country againſt their barbarous ravages? I was extremely pleaſed to ſee Mr. DAMPIER's obſervation agree with my own (and he had viſited as many countries, perhaps, as any Engliſhman that ever went abroad.) He ſays, 'That there is not 'that people in the world that will do a man any 'hurt if they do not apprehend ſome danger from 'him, or have met with barbarous treatment 'from ſome others whom they apprehend to be 'of the ſame country;' he don't here ſpeak of thieves and robbers, which are to be found in all countries, but of the generality of the people in any country whatever.

For my part, it has been my fortune more than once, to fall into the hands of ſuch people as are generally moſt dreaded by us; and of whom it was reported, that no Europeans ever returned alive from among them. By ſome of theſe, after a pretty ſmart engagement, I have, with ſeveral of my countrymen, been made priſoner; and notwithſtanding the provocations we had given them, we were treated with all the humanity imaginable, furniſhed not like priſoners taken in our European wars with bread and water, but with the beſt meat and drink the country afforded. We have been invited to their plays, ſinging, dancing, and other entertainments, and allowed all the liberty we could have enjoyed in our own country. It muſt be allowed, that the Indians are a timorous defenceleſs people; they know their forces are not a match for ours; they have ſeen ſeveral of their neighbours enſlaved and tyrannized over by the Dutch and Portugueſe, and do not always diſtinguiſh between one European nation and another; and may apprehend, that the Engliſh would treat them as ill as the reſt if it was in their power: accordingly, when they have ſeen our men come armed aſhore, there have been ſome inſtances of their ſurprizing and cutting them off; but this muſt never be aſcribed to the ſavageneſs of their tempers, it proceeding meerly from that univerſal principle of ſelf-defence. And it ſeems pretty evident to me, that the Sultan of Borneo, one of the Sunda iſlands we have been treating of, had never uſed the Engliſh ill, if our people had not indiſcreetly boaſted too much of the ſtrength and grandeur of the Engliſh company. He was apprehenſive they would have encroached upon his dominions, or at leaſt laid ſome reſtraints upon his trade, as he ſees the Dutch do in other kingdoms on every ſide of him: and in fact, the ſhips which have gone lately to Borneo, aſſuring that Prince they were private traders, and did not belong to the company, were allowed a freedom of trade, which would not be permitted them if it was known they were company's ſhips. It will, I believe, be eaſily admitted, that ſome of our captains and factors who are ſent abroad, have been guilty of indiſcretions; and that they ſometimes want that education or experience which are requiſite to qualify them to treat with ſovereign Princes. And however defective the eaſtern monarchs may be in point of courage, their underſtandings and capacities do not ſeem at all inferior to ours. It cannot but pique theſe gentlemen, to ſee a Dutch boor or arrogant ſailor inſulting men of quality in the rudeſt manner. Reſpect to ſuperiors ſeems to be the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtick of an Aſiatick; and when they obſerve the ſcum of our people ſetting themſelves upon the level with their princes, it muſt be very provoking. But what demonſtrates the humanity and civility of thoſe diſtant nations, where they have not been ill dealt with, is their hoſpitable reception of us when we firſt went amongſt them; and had the behaviour of other Europeans been the ſame, they would probably have met with a ſuitable entertainment.

Sir FRANCIS DRAKE, in his voyage round the world, was met by the people of Nova Albion with preſents, and treated not only civilly, but hoſpitably, deſiring his friendſhip, and to be taken under the protection of the ſame ſovereign. The like reception he met with at Ternate, the principal of the Molucca iſlands, and after that he was nobly entertained at the iſland of Baratue.

Arriving at Java, the writer of that voyage ſays, 'We found great courteſy and honourable 'entertainment;' of five Kings they found there, four of them came on board the admiral, without expreſſing the leaſt diſtruſt. They live, ſays that author, amicably together, 'as having one 'ſpirit and one mind.' The Javans have, ſays he, a houſe in every village for their common aſſembly, where they meet every day twice, men, women,

women, and children, bringing rice and meat with them; and here they rejoice together in one another's company.

The publiſher of Sir THOMAS CAVENDISH's voyage, ſays, when he came to the iſlands of Ladrones, the natives came off in their canoes, with all manner of fruits and fiſh, which he dealt with them for, giving them old iron, fiſhing lines, &c. in exchange; but the Spaniards having given theſe people an ill name, and ſtyled their country the iſlands of robbers, he and his crew looked upon them as ſavages, and perhaps canibals: and though theſe poor people, by his own relation, offered no manner of injury to his men, yet when he had furniſhed his ſhip with ſuch proviſions as he wanted, he ordered ſome muskets to be fired amongſt them, and probably killed and wounded ſeveral of the natives. And if the next ſhips that came this way, ſuffered by this conduct, it is not to be much wondered at: what nation would not have revenged ſuch an outrage when they had it in their power? The imputation of barbarity or treachery can never be fixed upon them for taking a juſt revenge, after they had met with ſuch uſage. To return bullets for bread, and wounds and death for the refreſhments that were offered them after a tedious voyage, muſt be allowed to be a ſufficient provocation; and moſt of the misfortunes our mariners meet with abroad, may be reſolved into ſome ſuch ſtupid conduct as this. I am ſenſible we have had many boats crews cut off, and thereupon we immediately denominate the natives ſavages, if not canibals; but who knows the provocations they met with. The abuſes the Dutch have offered the inhabitants of the ſea coaſts whereever they come, are innumerable; nor can I wholly excuſe our own nation: and if theſe people now behave themſelves in a ſavage barbarous manner to us, it is becauſe ſome Europeans, by their cruelties or oppreſſions, have made them ſuch. They were not barbarous when we firſt viſited their coaſts; their innocence and humanity as much exceeded ours perhaps, as that of the primitive ages did the preſent. Our religion and philoſophy does certainly far exceed theirs in point of ſpeculation; but I queſtion if the morality of the Indians be at all inferior to ours.

To proceed in the relation our firſt adventurers give us of their reception in the Indian iſlands; in the Philippines, Mr. CANDISH, it ſeems, met with as good entertainment as he could wiſh; but he inſiſted that the natives ſhould become ſubject to the Queen of England, and made them actually pay him a tribute on that account: indeed he ſoon after returned them their money, inviting them into an alliance againſt the Spaniard; but it is not eaſy to imagine that any foreign people ſhould take theſe claims to their country, and impoſitions, kindly. Indeed where a people offer themſelves to come under the protection of any Prince or State, there can be no objection to the accepting it; but what we, or any other European nation have to do to require another people, independent of us, to ſubmit to our government, is paſt my apprehenſion; unleſs we fall into the Popiſh or Presbyterian notions, that dominion is founded in grace. When the Pope granted the dominion of all the countries diſcovered, or to be diſcovered, in the Eaſt-Indies, to the Portugueſe, and thoſe in the Weſt-Indies to the Spaniard, then indeed this doctrine was much in vogue; and it is not to be conceived upon what other foundation the holy Father could take upon him to make thoſe ample grants, unleſs he imagined himſelf to be Sovereign of all Sovereigns, inſtead of ſervant of all the ſervants of the Lord. And thus far with the Pontif, it ſeems, the Dutch Presbyterians agree, that ſaintſhip gives them a title to rule over all heathen and heretick nations; and accordingly they ſerve all people they are ſtrong enough to deal with, from the cape of Good Hope to the ſtreights of Magellan, which takes in a greater portion of the world than either of thoſe bulls that were made to France or Spain; and traytor and rebel is the common term that the Dutch give any of theſe people, when they refuſe to obey their High Mightineſſes commands.

Mr. CANDISH afterwards touched at Java, where he was ſupplied with fruit, fleſh, fiſh, fowl, and all manner of freſh proviſions; nor do we hear any thing of the treachery and cruelty of the natives, which the Dutch have ſince made a pretence for ſacrificing thouſands of the Javaneſe, and taking their country from them; the barbarity complained of in the natives, ſeems to conſiſt in nothing elſe but a retaliation of injuries received, and repeated attempts to recover their antient liberties. The Dutch ought firſt to acquire a legal dominion before they brand theſe poor people with the odious names of rebels and traytors, and puniſh them as ſuch; otherwiſe every man they put to death is murdered, and the charge of treaſon may juſtly be retorted upon them.

The hoſpitable entertainment Admiral LANCASTER met with, both at Achen and Bantam, the firſt voyage he made thither for the Engliſh Eaſt India company, is a farther confirmation of the good diſpoſition of the natives of the Sunda iſlands. The letters he brought home with him from the Kings of Achen and Bantam, and thoſe conceſſions that were then made in point of trade, ſhew a ſufficient inclination in the natives to cultivate a good correſpondence with the Europeans. Whatever unhoſpitable treatment they have ſince been guilty of, is entirely owing to the brutiſh behaviour of certain European Nations, to whom the obſervation of the poet, cœlum non animum mutant, is extremely applicable. Nor is it to be

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be wondered at, that thoſe who are brutes at home, ſhould be much more ſo abroad, as they have fewer reſtraints upon them.

I ſhall give one inſtance more of the humanity and goodneſs of the eaſtern people when we firſt came amongſt them, and that is found in Captain Saris's *deſcription of the iſlands of Japan*. Never were men more kindly entertained, or more hoſpitably treated by a foreign nation, than this gentleman and the firſt Engliſh merchants who traded thither; and yet by the fooliſh bigotry and aſſuming conduct of the Portugueſe Jeſuits on one ſide, and the miſrepreſentations of the Dutch on the other, all Chriſtian nations have been ſince expelled and excluded from having any commerce with them (the Dutch themſelves excepted) and even the Hollanders are ſhut up in a little corner of an iſland, and never ſuffered to converſe with the natives, upon pain of death, except ſome few weeks every year upon the arrival of their ſhipping, and then they are diſarmed, and all the guns, ſails, tackling, and the very helms of their ſhips are ſecured, to prevent any hoſtile attempts. But from whence can all this immoderate caution proceed, unleſs from the ill uſage they have met with from Europeans? Surely it ſufficiently demonſtrates what I have ſo often obſerved, that we did not find but make theſe nations barbarous, and if they have any thing ſhocking in their behaviour at this day, they learnt it from us, who inſtead of planting Chriſtianity, and improving their morals, have in fact corrupted them.

But what was a farther inducement to me to give this relation of Capt. SARIS's voyage, is, that this intelligent gentleman ſeems to give the beſt account of the manners and cuſtoms of the Japoneſe, of any of our countrymen that ever travelled thither, and ſupplies all that was wanting in the former relation I gave of that people.

'THE eleventh of June, 1613, about three o'clock in the afternoon, we came to an anchor half a league ſhort of Firando, the tide ſo ſpent that we could not get farther in. Soon after, I was viſited by the old King Foyne Sama, and his nephew Tone Sama, governor then of the iſland under the old King, they were attended with forty boats or gallies, rowed ſome with ten and ſome with fifteen oars on a ſide. When they drew near to the ſhip, the King commanded all, but the two wherein himſelf and his nephew were, to fall a ſtern; and they only entred the ſhip, both of them in ſilk gowns girt to them, with a ſhirt and a pair of breeches of flaxen cloth next their bodies; either of them had two cattans or ſwords of that country by his ſide, the one of half a yard long, the other about a quarter: they wore no bands, the fore parts of their heads were ſhaven to the crown, and the reſt of their hair, which was very long, was gathered together and bound up on a knot behind, wearing neither hat nor turband, but bare headed. The King was aged ſeventy two years, his nephew or grandchild that governed under him, was about two and twenty years old, and either of them had his governor with him, who had command over their ſlaves as they appointed him. Their manner of ſaluting was, firſt by putting off their ſhoes, then they clapped their right hand within their left, they put them down towards their knees, and ſo wagging or moving of their hands a little to and fro, they ſtooping ſtep with ſmall ſteps ſidelong from the party ſaluted, and cry, augh, augh. I led them into my cabbin, where I had prepared a banquet for them, and a good conſort of muſick which much delighted them: they bad me welcome, and promiſed me kind entertainment. I delivered our King's letter to the King of Firando, which he received with great joy, ſaying he would not open it till ANGE came, who could interpret the ſame unto him. This ANGE is in their language a pilot, being one WILLIAM ADAMS an Engliſhman, who had been ſhipwrecked on the coaſt, and had remained about twelve years in the country. The King having ſtayed aboard about an hour and an half, took his leave: he was no ſooner aſhore, but all his nobility, attended with a multitude of ſoldiers, entered the ſhip; every man of worth brought his preſent with him; ſome veniſon, ſome wild fowl, ſome wild boar, the largeſt and fatteſt that ever any of us had ſeen; ſome fruits, fiſh, &c. They did much admire our ſhip, and made as if they had never ſeen it ſufficiently. We being peſtered with the number of theſe viſiters, I ſent to the King, requeſting him that order might be taken to remove them, and to prevent all inconveniencies that might happen: whereupon he ſent an officer, being a principal man of his own guard, with charge to remain and lye aboard that no injury might be offered unto us; and cauſed a proclamation to be made in the town to the ſame effect. The ſame night, HENRICK BROWER, Captain of the Dutch factory there, came aboard to viſit me, or rather to ſee what paſſed betwixt the King and us.

'The twelfth in the morning there being brought aboard ſuch abundance of fiſh, and ſo cheap as we could deſire, we weighed and ſet ſail for the road. The King ſent at leaſt threeſcore great boats or gallies very well manned to bring us into the harbour; I doubted what the cauſe of their coming might be, and was ſending of the skiff to command them not to come near the ſhip; but the King being the headmoſt, waved with his handkerchief, and willed the reſt

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'to attend; and himſelf coming on board told 'me, that he had commanded them to come to 'tow our ſhip in about a point ſomewhat dange-'rous by reaſon of the force of the tide, which 'was ſuch, that having a ſtiff gale of wind, yet 'we could not ſtem it; and coming into the 'eddy, we ſhould have been ſet upon the rocks: 'ſo we ſent hawſers aboard them, and they fell 'to work; in the mean while the King broke 'his faſt with me. Being at an anchor, I would 'have requited the people for their pains, but the 'King would not ſuffer them to take any thing. 'We anchored before the town, in five fathom, 'ſo near the ſhore that we might talk to the peo-'ple in their houſes. We ſaluted the town with 'nine pieces of ordnance, but were not anſwered; 'for they have no ordnance here, nor any fort but 'barricadoes only for ſmall ſhot.

'Divers noblemen came to bid me welcome, 'whereof two were of extraordinary account, 'called Nobuſane and Summadone, who were 'very well entertained, and at parting held very 'great ſtate, one ſtaying aboard whilſt the other 'was landed; their children and chief followers in 'the like manner. There came continually ſuch 'a world of people aboard, both men and women, 'as that we were not able to go upon the decks. 'Round about the ſhip was furniſhed with boats 'full of people, admiring much the head and ſtern 'of the ſhip. I gave leave to divers women of 'the better ſort to come into my cabbin, where 'the picture of VENUS with her ſon CUPID 'did hang, ſomewhat wantonly ſet out, in a large 'frame; they thinking it to be our Lady and her 'ſon, fell down and worſhipped it, with ſhews 'of great devotion, telling me in a whiſpering 'manner, that ſome of their companions (which 'were not ſo) might not hear that they were 'Chriſtians; whereby we perceived them to be 'Chriſtians converted by the Portugueſe Jeſuits. 'The King came aboard again, and brought 'four chief women with him: they were attired 'in gowns of ſilk, clapt the one skirt over the 'other, and ſo girt to them, bare legged, only a 'pair of half buskins bound with ſilk ribbon a-'bout their inſtep: their hair very black and very 'long, tied up in a knot upon the crown, in a 'comely manner; their heads no where ſhaven 'as the mens were. They were well faced, 'handed and footed, clear skinned and white, but 'wanting colour, which they amend by art. Of 'ſtature low, but very fat; very courteous in 'behaviour, not ignorant of the reſpect to be gi-'ven unto perſons according to their faſhion. The 'King requeſted that none might ſtay in the cab-'bin ſave myſelf and my linguiſt, who was born 'in Japan, and was brought from Bantam in our 'ſhip thither, being well skilled in the Malayan 'tongue, wherein he delivered to me what the 'King ſpoke unto him in the Japan language. 'The King's women ſeem'd to be ſomewhat 'baſhful, but he willed them to be frolick: they 'ſung divers ſongs, and played upon certain in-'ſtruments, whereof one did much reſemble our 'lute, being bellied like it, but longer in the neck, 'and fretted like ours, but had only four gut 'ſtrings, they finger with the left hand, like ours, 'very nimbly; but the right hand ſtriketh with 'an ivory bone, as we uſe to play upon a cittern 'with a quill.

'They delighted themſelves much with their 'muſick, keeping time with their hands, and 'playing and ſinging by book, pricked on line 'and ſpace, much reſembling ours here. I feaſted 'them, and preſented them with divers Engliſh 'commodities; and after ſome two hours ſtay, 'they returned. I moved the King for a houſe, 'which he readily granted, and took two of the 'merchants along with him, and ſhewed them 'three or four houſes, willing them to take their 'choice, paying the owners as they could agree.

'The thirteenth I went aſhore, attended upon 'by the merchants and principal officers, and de-'livered the preſents to the King, amounting to 'the value of one hundred and forty pounds, or 'thereabouts; which he received with very great 'kindneſs, feaſting me and my whole company 'with divers ſorts of wild fowls and fruits, and 'calling for a ſtanding cup (which was one of the 'preſents then delivered him) he cauſed it to be 'filled with his country wine, which is diſtilled 'out of rice, and is as ſtrong as our aquavitæ; 'and albeit the cup held upwards of a pint and 'half, notwithſtanding, taking the cup in his 'hand, he told me he would drink it all off 'for a health to the King of England; and ſo 'did my ſelf, and all his nobles did the like. And 'whereas in the room where the King was, 'there was only my ſelf and the cape merchants, '(the reſt of our company being in another room) 'the King commanded his ſecretary to go out 'unto them, and ſee that every one of them did 'pledge the health. The King and his nobles 'did ſit at meat croſs-legged upon mats, after the 'Turkiſh faſhion, the mats richly edged, ſome 'with cloth of gold, ſome with velvet, ſattin and 'damask.

'The one and twentieth, the old King came 'aboard again, and brought with him divers wo-'men to be frolick. Theſe women were actors 'of comedies, which paſs there from iſland to 'iſland to play, as our players do here from town 'to town, having ſeveral changes of apparel, for the 'better grace of the matters acted; which, for 'the moſt part, are of war, love, and ſuch like. 'Theſe women are the ſlaves of one man, who 'putteth a price what every man ſhall pay that 'hath to do with any of them, more than which,

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' he is not to take, upon pain of death, in caſe ' the party injured ſhall complain; it is left to his ' own diſcretion to prize her at the firſt, but riſe ' he cannot afterwards, fall he may; neither doth ' the party bargain with the wench, but with her ' maſter, whoſe command ſhe is to obey.

' The greateſt of their nobility, travelling, ' hold it no diſgrace to ſend for theſe pandars to ' an inn, and to compound with them for the ' wenches, either to fill their drink at table, for ' all men of any rank have their drink filled to ' them by women, or otherwiſe to have the uſe ' of them. When any of theſe pandars die, tho' ' in their life-time they were received into com- ' pany of the beſt, yet now as unworthy to reſt ' amongſt the worſt, they are bridled with a ' bridle made of ſtraw, as you would bridle a ' horſe; and in the clothes they died, are dragged ' through the ſtreets into the fields, and there caſt ' upon a dunghill for dogs and fowls to devour. ' The twenty ninth, a ſoma or junk of the Flem- ' ings arrived at Langaſaque from Siam, laden ' with braſil wood and skins of all ſorts; wherein ' it was ſaid that there were Engliſhmen, but ' proved to be Flemings: for that before our com- ' ing they paſſed generally by the name of Eng- ' liſhmen, for our Engliſh nation hath been long ' known by reports among them, but much ſcan- ' daled by the Portugueſe Jeſuits, as pirates and ro- ' vers upon the ſeas; ſo that the natives have a ' ſong which they call the Engliſh Crofonia; ' ſhewing how the Engliſh do take the Spaniſh ſhips, ' which they ſinging, do act likewiſe in geſture ' with their cattans by their ſides.

' The firſt of July, two of our company hap- ' pened to quarrel the one with the other, and ' were very likely to have gone into the field, to ' the endangering of us all; for it is a cuſtom ' here, that whoſoever draws a weapon in anger, ' although he do no harm therewith, he is preſently ' cut in pieces; and doing but ſmall hurt, not ' only themſelves are ſo executed, but their whole ' generation.

' The ſeventh, the King of the iſland Goto, ' not far from Firando, came to viſit King Foyne, ' ſaying, that he had heard of an excellent Engliſh ' ſhip arrived in his dominions, which he greatly ' deſired to ſee, and go aboard of. King FOYNE ' intreated me that he might be permitted, for ' that he was an eſpecial friend of his; ſo he was ' well entertained aboard, banqueted, and had ' divers pieces ſhot off at his departure, which he ' very kindly accepted; and told me, that he ' ſhould be right glad to ſee ſome of our nation to ' come to his iſland, whither they ſhould be hear- ' tily welcome.

' The eighth, three Japonians were executed, ' viz. two men and one woman: the cauſe was ' this, the woman, none of the honeſteſt (her huſ- ' band being travelled from home) had appointed ' theſe two their ſeveral hours to repair unto her: ' the latter man not knowing of the former, and ' thinking the time too long, coming in before ' the hour appointed, found the firſt man with ' her already; and enraged thereat, he whipt out ' his cattan and wounded both of them very ſore- ' ly; having very near hewn the chine of the ' man's back in two. But as well as he might, ' he cleared himſelf of the woman, and recover- ' ing his cattan wounded the other. The ſtreet ' taking notice of the fray, forthwith ſeized upon ' them, led them aſide, and acquainted King ' FOYNE therewith, and ſent to know his plea- ' ſure (for according to his will the party is exe- ' cuted) who preſently gave order that they ſhould ' cut off their heads, which done, every man that ' liſted, as very many did, came to try the ſharp- ' neſs of their cattans upon the corps, ſo that be- ' fore they left off, they had hewn them all three ' into pieces as ſmall as a man's hand, and yet ' notwithſtanding did not then give over, but ' placing the pieces one upon another, would ' try how many of them they could ſtrike through ' at a blow, and the pieces are left to the fowls to ' devour.

' The tenth, three more were executed as the ' former, for ſtealing of a woman from Tirando, ' and ſelling her at Langaſaque long ſince; two ' of them were brethren, and the other a ſharer ' with them. When any are to be executed, they ' are led out of the town in this manner: there ' goeth firſt one with a pick-ax, next followeth ' another with a ſhovel, for to make his grave ' (if that be permitted him) the third man beareth ' a ſmall table, whereon is written the party's of- ' fence; which table is afterwards ſet up upon ' a poſt on the grave where he is buried. The ' fourth is the party to be executed; his hands ' bound behind him with a ſilken cord, having a ' little banner of paper (much reſembling our ' wind-vanes) whereon is likewiſe written his ' offence. The executioner followeth next, with his ' cattan by his ſide, holding in his hand the cord ' wherewith the offender is bound: on either ſide ' of the executioner goeth a ſoldier with his ' pike, the head thereof reſting on the ſhoulder of ' the party appointed to ſuffer, to ſcare him from ' attempting to eſcape. In this very manner I ' ſaw one led to execution, who went ſo reſo- ' lutely, and without all appearance of fear of ' death, that I could not but much admire him, ' never having ſeen the like in Chriſtendom. The ' offence for which he ſuffered, was for ſtealing ' of a ſack of rice (of the value of two ſhillings ' and ſix-pence) from his neighbour, whoſe houſe ' was then on fire.

' The thirtieth in the morning, one of the ' young King's Governors was by his order cut ' into

'into pieces in the ſtreet, for being (as it was 'thought) too familiar with his mother. A ſlave 'of his died with him, for endeavouring to de-'fend his maſter.

'The third of Auguſt, King FOYNE ſent to 'know the bulk of the King of England's pre-'ſents to the Emperor, and what number of peo-'ple I would take with me, that he might pro-'vide veſſels and carriages accordingly; and on 'the ſeventh he furniſhed me with a galley of his 'own, rowed with twenty five oars of a ſide, 'and ſixty men beſides, whom I took with me, 'ten Engliſh and nine others, and departed from 'Firando for the Emperor's court. We rowed 'between ſeveral iſlands, which were moſt of 'them well inhabited, and had many well built 'towns in them: one of them particularly called Fucate. 'Fucate, had a very ſtrong caſtle built of free-'ſtone, with a ditch five fathom deep and twice 'as broad, with a drawbridge, all in good repair. 'At this town I landed and dined; it was regu-'larly built, ſo that you might ſee from one end 'of the ſtreets to the other: the place was popu-'lous, and the people exceeding civil and courte-'ous. All along the coaſt, as far as Ozaca, we 'found people who lived with their whole families 'in boats upon the water: and the women catched 'fiſh by diving when they miſſed of them with 'their nets, and that in eight fathom water. The Women-divers. 'eyes of thoſe diving women are as red as blood, 'by which they may be known from all other 'women.

'We came afterwards to another great town, 'where there lay in a dock a ſhip or junk of eight 'hundred or a thouſand tun, which was ſheathed 'with iron; ſhe was built in a very homely man-'ner, and as the natives acquainted us, ſerved to 'tranſport ſoldiers from one iſland to another in 'time of war.

'On the 27th of Auguſt we arrived at Oſaca, 'a town as big as London within the walls, and 'has a river as broad as the Thames, over which 'there are ſeveral timber bridges built of a great 'height. There are ſome good houſes but not 'many here, though it be one of the greateſt 'ports in Japan. It has a caſtle very large and 'ſtrong; the walls are all of freeſtone, ſix or ſe-'ven yards thick, with towers at proper diſtances; 'and a very large ditch with ſeveral drawbridges 'over it, leading to as many gates; and theſe 'are plated with iron. Over againſt this town, 'on the other ſide the river, ſtands the town of Sacay. 'Saccay, which is not quite ſo big as Oſaca, but 'is however a place of great trade.

'At Oſaca I was furniſhed with nineteen horſes 'at the Emperor's charge, to carry the preſents 'and my attendants, and had a palanquin pro-'vided for my ſelf and a led horſe. Theſe the 'officer, who was ſent to conduct me to court, 'took up at every ſtage as regularly as we do 'poſt-horſes in Europe; and I had alſo a ſlave 'appointed to run before me with a pike, as the 'great men of the country have when they travel. 'The road for the moſt part was wonderful even, 'and where we met with a mountain, a paſſage 'was cut through it. At every league's end 'there are two ſmall hills on either ſide the 'way, on each of which was planted a pine tree to 'ſhew the diſtance from place to place. The roads 'are thronged with people, and the villages, farms, 'and country houſes ſtand very thick. Their tem-'ples or ſotoques are uſually ſituated in the plea-'ſanteſt part of the country, in the middle of ſome 'grove; ſurrounded by the cells of their prieſts, 'which look like a cloyſter. As we approach-'ed the ſuburbs of any great town, we found the 'carcaſſes of malefactors fixed to croſſes, which 'is the uſual puniſhment for capital crimes in this 'country; and theſe hanging till they rot or 'are devoured, cauſe an intolerable ſtench. The 'ſixth of September we came to Surunga, where 'the Emperor then reſided. We uſually travelled 'about ſixteen leagues a day, reckoning three 'Engliſh miles to a league. I had ſix men to 'carry the palanquin, in which I rode where the 'way was even, and if it was up hill they allow-'ed me ten; and theſe would carry me with as 'great expedition as if I had been on horſeback.

'The city of Surunga is as big as London Surunga. 'with the ſuburbs. All the handicrafts we found 'lived in the skirts of the city, the middle being 'reſerved for people of diſtinction, having no 'mechanicks intermixed amongſt them. As ſoon 'as we were ſettled in our lodging, I gave notice 'of our arrival by Mr. ADAMS, and was directed 'to reſt a day or two and I ſhould have acceſs to 'the Emperor. The ſeventh was ſpent in fitting 'up of the preſents, and providing little tables of 'ſweet wood to carry them upon, according to 'the cuſtom of the country. The eighth I was 'carried in my palanquin to the caſtle of Surun-'ga (where the Emperor kept his court) and was 'attended with my merchants and others carry-'ing the preſents before me. Being entered the 'caſtle, I paſſed three drawbridges, every one of 'which had a corps de guard; and coming up 'a pair of very fair and large ſtone ſtairs, I was 'met by two grave comely men, the one of them 'called CODSKENDONA, the Emperor's ſecretary, 'the other ſtiled FUNGODONO, the Admiral, who 'led me into a fair room matted, where we ſat 'down croſs legg'd upon the mats. Soon after 'they led me betwixt them into the chamber of 'preſence, where was the Emperor's chair of ſtate, 'to which they wiſhed me to do reverence: It 'was of cloth of gold about five foot high, very 'richly ſet forth for back and ſides, but had no 'canopy over head; then they returned back

'again

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'again to the place where we ſat before; and 'having ſtayed about a quarter of an hour, word 'was brought that the Empetor was come forth: 'then they roſe up and led me betwixt them unto 'the door of the room, where the Emperor was 'making ſigns to me that I ſhould enter in there, 'but durſt not look in themſelves. The preſents 'ſent from our King to the Emperor, as alſo thoſe 'which (according to the cuſtom of the coun-'try) I gave unto the Emperor as from myſelf, 'were placed in the ſaid room upon the mats, 'very orderly, before the Emperor came into it. 'I paid my compliments to the Emperor after 'the Engliſh manner, and delivered our King's 'letter to his Majeſty; who took it in his hand 'and put it up towards his forehead, and com-'manded his interpreter, who ſat a good diſtance 'from him behind, to will Maſter ADAMS to tell 'me I was welcome from a weariſome journey; 'and that I ſhould take my reſt for a day or two, 'and then his anſwer ſhould be ready for our 'King: then he asked whether I did not intend 'to viſit his ſon at Eddo, I anſwered I did; the 'Emperor ſaid that order ſhould be taken to fur-'niſh me with men and horſes for the journey, 'and againſt my return his letters ſhould be ready 'for our King. So taking my leave of the Em-'peror, and coming to the door where I had left 'the Secretary and the Admiral, I found them 'there ready to conduct me to the ſtairs head, 'where formerly they had met me; and there I 'took my palanquin, and with my attendants re-'turned to my lodging.

'The twelfth we ſet out for Eddo or Jeddo, to 'pay our compliments to the Emperor's ſon, be-'ing furniſhed with men and horſes, as formerly, 'at the publick charge; and the fourteenth ar-'rived at Jeddo, which is much larger than Su-'runga, and the buildings fairer: it made a very 'glorious appearance as we approached it, the cor-'ner and ridge tiles of the houſes being yellow, 'gilded or glazed, and ſhining like the ſun itſelf. 'The poſts of their doors and ſhutters of their 'windows alſo were gilded and varniſhed like the 'Japan cabinets; but their windows are not 'glazed. The ſixteenth I had acceſs to the young 'King in the caſtle of Jeddo, and delivered my 'preſents. The caſtle is ſtronger and fairer than 'that of Surunga, and the guards made a better 'appearance. This Prince accepted his Majeſty's 'letters and preſents very kindly, and ordered me 'to refreſh my ſelf till his letters and preſents 'were prepared for the King of England. The 'nineteenth the King ſent me two ſuits of armour 'varniſhed as preſents to his Majeſty, with a long 'ſword and a waggerdaſh for my ſelf. The 'twenty firſt I departed from Jeddo by water, and 'returned to Surunga the twenty ninth.'

I ſhall conclude this account of Capt. SARIS's reception at Japan with the letter ſent to his Majeſty by that Emperor; and the privileges granted the Engliſh Eaſt-India company, which ſufficiently ſhew that the averſion that people have at this day for all European nations, proceeds rather from our own inſolent or imprudent conduct, than from any barbarous diſpoſition of the natives.

CHAP. IV.

To the King of Great-Britain.

'YOUR Majeſty's kind letter ſent me by 'your ſervant Capt. JOHN SARIS, (who is 'the firſt that I have known to arrive in any part 'of my dominions) I heartily embrace, being not 'a little glad to underſtand of your great wiſdom 'and power, as having three plentiful and mighty 'kingdoms under your powerful command. I 'acknowledge your Majeſty's great bounty in ſend-'ing me ſo undeſerved a preſent of many rare 'things, ſuch as my land affordeth not, neither 'have I ever before ſeen; which I receive not as 'from a ſtranger, but as from your Majeſty, 'whom I eſteem as my ſelf, deſiring the continu-'ance of friendſhip with your Highneſs, and that 'it may ſtand with your good liking to ſend your 'ſubjects to any part or port of my dominions, 'where they ſhall be moſt heartily welcome, ap-'plauding much their worthineſs in the admirable 'knowledge of navigation, having with much 'facility diſcovered a country ſo remote, being 'no what amazed with the diſtance of ſo mighty 'a gulf, nor greatneſs of ſuch infinite clouds and 'ſtorms, from proſecuting honourable enterprizes 'of diſcoveries and merchandiſing, wherein they 'ſhall find me to farther them according to their 'deſires. I return unto your Majeſty a ſmall to-'ken of my love, (by your ſaid ſubject) deſiring 'you to accept thereof, as from him that much re-'joices in your friendſhip. And whereas your 'Majeſty's ſubjects have deſired certain privileges 'for trade, and ſettling of a factory in my do-'minions, I have not only granted what they 'demanded, but have confirmed the ſame unto 'them under my broad ſeal, for better eſtabliſhing 'thereof. From my caſtle in Surunga, this fourth 'day of the ninth month, in the eighteenth year 'of our dary, according to our computation. 'reſting your Majeſty's friend. The higheſt 'commander in this kingdom of Japan. Sub-'ſcribed

MINNA MOUTTONO. YEI. YE. YEAS.

Privileges

INDIA Proper or the EMPIRE of the Great MOGUL.

Agreable to Modern History.

By H. Moll Geographer.

70 Deg. East from London 80 90

60 120 180 240 300 360 420 English Miles

P. of INDEPENDENT

P. of USBECK

TARTARY

TIBET

INDOSTAN

BENGAL

The BAY of BENGAL

INDIAN OCEAN

Andaman Islands

I. CEYLON

Maldiva Isl.

Cabulstan

Hajacan

Guzarat

Candich

Berar

Orixa

Malva

Agra

Delly

Cachemire

Lahor

Nagracut

Pencab

Attock

Siba

Rudoc

Lassa

Purbet or Naugracut Mts

Mevat

Patna

Iesuvat

Malda

Hugly

Fort William Calcuta

Tropick of Cancer

Chitor

Ama dabad

Cambaya

Diu

Surat

Bombay

Dunde

Dabul

Goa

Carwar

Bassalore

Manquelore

Padue

Andalo

I. Pareel

I. Cubelo

Sundel

Maconapore

Padra Banca

Suelba

Candusal

Colombo

Gallo

C. Comorin

Ramanakoil

Tegapatan

Anjengo

Danish Fort

Ruslon

Cochin

Porcat

Cananor

Callecut

Tellichery

Mangalore

Barcelor

Onnapur

Mirjan

Ramier

Honor

Batecala

Mangalore

Coudapour

CHAP. IV.

Privileges granted by OGOS HOSAMA, *Emperor of Japan, unto the right worſhipful Sir* THOMAS SMITH, *Knt. Governor; and others the honourable and worſhipful adventurers to the Eaſt-Indies.*

Imprimis.

'WE give free licenſe to the ſubjects of Great Britain, viz. Sir THOMAS SMITH, Governor, and company of the Eaſt-India merchants and adventurers, for ever ſafely to come into any of our ports of our empire of Japan, with their ſhips and merchandiſes, without any hindrance to them or their goods; and to abide, buy, ſell, and barter, according to their own manner, with all nations, to tarry here as long as they think good, and to depart at their pleaſure.

2. Item, 'We grant unto them freedom of cuſtom, for all ſuch merchandiſes as either now they have brought, or hereafter ſhall bring, into our kingdom, or ſhall from hence tranſport to any foreign part; and do authoriſe thoſe ſhips that hereafter ſhall arrive, and come from England, to proceed to preſent ſale of their commodities, without farther coming or ſending up to our court.

3. Item, 'If any of their ſhips ſhall happen to be in danger of ſhipwreck, we will our ſubjects not only to aſſiſt them, but that ſuch part of ſhip and goods as ſhall be ſaved, be returned to their Captain, or cape merchant, or their aſſigns: and that they ſhall, or may, build one houſe or more, for themſelves, in any part of our empire where they ſhall think fitteſt, and at their departure to make ſale thereof at their pleaſure.

4. Item, 'If any of the Engliſh merchants, or other, ſhall depart this life within our dominions, the goods of the deceaſed ſhall remain at the diſpoſal of the cape merchant. And that all offences committed by them, ſhall be puniſhed by the ſaid cape merchant, according to his diſcretion: and our laws to take no hold of their perſons or goods.

5. Item, 'We will, that ye our ſubjects, trading with them for any of their commodities, pay them for the ſame, according to agreement, without delay, or return of their wares again unto them.

6. Item, 'For ſuch commodities as they have now brought, or ſhall hereafter bring, fitting for our ſervice and proper uſe, we will that no arreſt be made thereof, but that the price be made with the cape merchant, according as they may ſell to others; and preſent payment upon delivery of the goods.

7. Item, 'If in diſcovery of other countries for trade, and return of their ſhips, they ſhall need men or victuals, we will that ye our ſubjects furniſh them for their money, as their need ſhall require.

8. Item, 'And that without other paſs-port, they ſhall and may ſet out upon the diſcovery of Yeadzo, or any other part in or about our empire. The diſcovery of Yeadzo to the northward.

'From our caſtle in Surunga, this firſt day of the ninth month, and in the eighteenth year of our dary, according to our computation. Sealed with our broad ſeal,' &c.

Under written

MINNA MOTTONO. YEI. YE. YEAS.

Thus I have ſhewn the hoſpitality and benevolence the natives of the eaſtern iſlands expreſſed towards the Europeans, when they firſt viſited that part of the world; and from theſe inſtances it appears how little they deſerve thoſe harſh epithets generally beſtowed upon them; that they are far from being that barbarous or treacherous people they are repreſented. But we have made them our enemies, and they make uſe of ſuch ſtratagems as enemies uſually do in all parts of the world, to defend themſelves from unjuſt uſurpations and oppreſſions. The Portugueſe and Dutch at leaſt, by whom they make an eſtimate of their neighbours, have been guilty of ſuch inſolence and cruelty wherever they have ſettled, that no wonder Europeans are treated in that part of the world with the utmoſt caution, and ſometimes as the common enemies of mankind. Should the eaſtern people fall upon us, and commit thoſe diſorders in the cities of Europe, as many of our countrymen do abroad, we ſhould make no ſcruple of doing juſtice upon them, and venture the being thought barbarous or inhoſpitable: few of us would ſuffer our throats to be cut, or ſubmit to be made ſlaves, and have our country taken from us, if by force or ſtratagem we could prevent it.

THE

THE PRESENT STATE OF INDIA PROPER, OR The EMPIRE of the GREAT MOGUL.

CHAP. I.

Treats of the ſituation and extent of this mighty empire, of the foundation of it by TAMERLANE, *and the vaſt additions that have been made to it by his ſucceſſors.*

CHAP. I.

Situation.

UNDER the name of India Proper, I comprehend all thoſe countries which lye between the kingdom of Ava on the eaſt, and the empire of Perſia on the weſt; and between cape Comorin on the ſouth, and Usbeck Tartary and Thibet on the north and north-eaſt. Cape Comorin, the moſt ſouthern part of Proper India, lyes in the latitude of ſeven degrees forty-five minutes north, and the northermoſt part of the province of Cachemire lyes in the latitude of forty degrees, ſome odd minutes; ſo that the whole extent from north to ſouth is three and thirty degrees, or thereabouts; which, reckoning ſixty miles to a degree, makes nineteen hundred and eighty miles: and if we reckon from the weſtern ſide of India, next Perſia, which lyes in the longitude of ſixty-ſix degrees, to the borders of the kingdom of Ava, which lye in ninety-two, it takes up twenty-ſix degrees of longitude, and is about fifteen hundred miles in breadth.

Extent.

This empire is of very modern date, but has been growing ever ſince the firſt foundation of it by TAMERLANE, down to this preſent time, inſomuch that it is now one of the largeſt in Aſia. There is very little of this vaſt extent of country we have included under the name of Proper India, but what is at preſent under the dominion of the great Mogul, he is in fact maſter of all the plain country, though it muſt be acknowledged there are ſome Rajas, or Indian Sovereigns on the coaſt of Malabar, and ſome others in the very heart of India, who inhabit the mountainous and inacceſſible parts of the country, which yet maintain their liberties, and have not ſubmitted to the yoke.

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It is true, ſcarce any geographers or chart-makers have hitherto extended the Mogul's dominions farther ſouthward than twenty degrees. But ſince he is poſſeſſed of all the open country, as far as cape Comorin, I do not ſee why we may not properly make the ocean the boundary of his dominions. The Engliſh at fort St. George, which lyes in the latitude of thirteen north, have long paid tribute to the Mogul; and it is almoſt an age ſince the kingdoms of Golconda, and Biſnagar or Canara, have been conquered. Notwithſtanding which, ſome late authors ſpeak of the kingdoms of Golconda, Biſnagar, &c. as if they were yet governed by their reſpective Princes. Theſe provinces are not ſo much as enumerated by ſeveral authors, who have taken upon them to write of the Mogul's empire; but on the contrary, are ſtill made the ſouthern boundaries of it, which ſhews that we have done little elſe the laſt fifty or ſixty years but compiled and collected from antient authors, without ſo much as enquiring into the changes and revolutions which have happened in thoſe parts of the world, or what the preſent ſtate of thoſe countries is.

As

CHAP. I.

Name.

As for the name of India or Indoſtan, it is generally held to be taken from the river Indus, which ſtrictly ſpeaking, includes only that country which lyes between the Indus and the Ganges; but has been for ſeveral ages extended to all thoſe kingdoms which lye ſouth or eaſt of it, except China. And notwithſtanding the Moguls at this day ſtyle this country Mogulſtan, from the title of their Emperor, who is called the Great Mogul, and from the country from whence they derive their original; yet it is much more known by the name of India to foreigners, than by the name of Mogulſtan; and probably this laſt name will be loſt when another family comes upon the throne, as it is in China; where every new family gives a new name to the empire: but all foreigners, notwithſtanding, continue to call it by the name it was firſt known to them.

Tamerlane.

The great TAMERLANE, King of the Usbeck Tartars, who derived his pedigree from the Moguls, is ſaid to have laid the foundation of this empire about the year 1400, but of all the vaſt conqueſts he made, it is certain his ſucceſſors retained but very little: and though none of the Princes of Indoſtan were able to ſtand before him, yet upon his engaging in many other diſtant enterprizes, the people generally returned to the obedience of their natural Princes. I ſhall not here undertake the hiſtory of TAMERLANE, or his deſcendants, any farther than it relates to India; and it is obſervable, that thoſe who are eſteemed the beſt hiſtorians of theſe times, have intermixed ſuch a heap of fabulous and incredible relations with the real hiſtory, as would incline a man to ſuſpect every thing he reads. They are intolerably out, even in the geography of the countries they ſpeak of; and mention ſtates and empires that never had a being.

They are alſo much divided, it ſeems, as to the place of TAMERLANE's death; ſome will have it to be at Otrar, when he was engaged in a war with China; ſome ſay he died at Samarcand, his capital city; and others at Cabul in Indoſtan, while he was extending his conqueſts to the moſt ſouthern parts of India. But however that be, it is generally agreed, that to MIRACHA, the third ſon of TAMERLANE, he aſſigned the north-eaſt part of Perſia, and his new conqueſts in Indoſtan. MIRACHA did not think fit to fix the ſeat of his empire in India, but choſe Herat in Perſia for his reſidence; and once a year he generally came down with a conſiderable force, to demand the tribute impoſed by his father on the Indian Princes, many of whom refuſed any ſubmiſſion to him; and one of the Raja's, in a pitched battle, made MIRACHA priſoner, but gave him his liberty, upon condition he would make no demands of that nature on his country for the future. Some time after, in another engagement, MIRACA, we are told, had the good fortune to take the ſame Raja; but inſtead of reſtoring him to his liberty, put out both his eyes. The Tartars, who value themſelves much on their dexterity in ſhooting with bows and arrows, every day exerciſing before MIRACHA, who took a particular delight in that ſport; was told, that the Raja his priſoner excelled all others at it; *and blind as he was, would hit a mark, if any* noiſe was made at the place he was to ſhoot: whereupon the King ordered him to be brought out, and a bow and arrows put into his hands: the Raja, it is ſaid, deſired his Majeſty would give the word of command when he was to ſhoot; which MIRACHA complying with, the Raja let fly, and ſhot the King through the body, directing the arrow to the place from whence the voice came. The latter part of the ſtory I lay very little ſtreſs upon; though this be not by far the moſt improbable circumſtance we meet with, in the hiſtories of the Mogul's family. The French authors particularly ſeem to have given a more than ordinary ſcope to their inventions here; and to make up with ſurpriſing incidents, what they want of the true hiſtory of thoſe Monarchs.

To proceed, it is generally computed that MIRACHA died in the year 1451, having reigned forty-ſix years, to whom ſucceeded his ſon ABOUCHAID; though upon the great ſeal of the Mogul Emperors, round which all the Kings from TAMERLANE are engraved, we find MAHOMED between MIRACHA and ABOUCHAID.

Abouchaid.

ABOUCHAID, after an unfortunate reign of twenty-eight years, left his dominions to his ſon SEC-OMOR, who was a very peaceful Prince, and reſided generally at Samarcand. He was killed by a fall from his terras, in the year 1493, having reigned twenty-four years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon BABAR, who being expelled from Samarcand, retired into India, and afterwards made a conqueſt of the kingdom of Patana; or at leaſt drove the inhabitants up into the mountains, about the year 1519, where they yet remain, ſometimes tributary, and at others in a ſtate of hoſtility with the Moguls; but BABAR, upon his victory over the Patanes, made Delly the ſeat of the empire. This city, according to Indian tradition, was the capital of King PORUS's dominion; and RANA, who was defeated here by TAMERLANE, it is ſaid, derived his original from that Prince. To proceed, BABAR having conquered the Patanes, and removed the imperial ſeat to Delly, the Tartars reſorted to him in crowds from the north, and particularly from Samarcand, in hopes of making their fortunes under him; and now it was that the Indians firſt begun to call all Tartars indifferently Moguls. The Perſians alſo obſerving BABAR's ſucceſs, came over to

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him in troops, in hopes of coming in for a ſhare in the ſpoil; and by their aſſiſtance this Prince eſtabliſhed himſelf in his new conqueſts. BABAR died in full peace, in the year 1530, having reigned about thirty years in India, and left his dominions to his ſon AMAYUM, or HOMAYUM.

AMAYUM.

AMAYUM depoſed.

A young Patane Lord, named CHIRA, who had been bred up with AMAYUM, in his father's court, became his principal favourite, and was advanced to the greateſt poſts in the government. Such a confidence did this Prince place in him, that he made him his Generaliſſimo, and Commander of the guards about his perſon; but CHIRA, on whom ambition, or a pretended love to his country, had a much greater influence than all the favours beſtowed on him by AMAYUM, meditated how he might depoſe his indulgent maſter, and reſtore the Patanes to their antient ſovereignty. (The Patanes are a Mahometan nation, ſuppoſed to come from Egypt, or ſome other of the African or Arabian ſhores, and ſettled in this country about four hundred years before the Moguls ſubdued them.) This Patane Lord firſt diſcovered his ambition, it is ſaid, by changing his name from CHIRA, which ſignifies a young lion, to that of CHIRCHA, which ſignifies the royal or imperial lion; and being commander of all the Perſian, Tartar, and Mogul troops, among whom he had rendred himſelf very popular by his obliging behaviour; and his own people, the Patanes, as well as the Indian Raja's, being glad of an opportunity of throwing off the Mogul yoke, all things ſeemed to conſpire to raiſe him to the throne. AMAYUM, however, being apprized of this univerſal diſaffection to his perſon, occaſioned by his favourite, aſſembled a ſmall body of Tartars and Perſians, with which he gave battle to CHIRA; but the numbers being very unequal, AMAYUM was ſoon compelled to leave the field, and fled to the Sophy of Perſia for protection, after he had reigned in Delly about eleven years.

In his retreat to Perſia we are told, that while AMAYUM was ſleeping at noon day, in an open place expoſed to the ſun, an eagle hovered over his head, and with her expanded wings ſhaded his face from the ſcorching heat, which his followers looked upon as a happy omen of his reſtoration. But whether this be a French or an Engliſh flight is not eaſy to determine; only thus much is obſervable, that moſt of the French relations of foreign nations are filled with ſuch pretty incidents, as ſerve to amuſe rather than inſtruct: the whole work is ſo covered with embroidery, that it is very difficult to ſee the ground. If I ſhould purſue the French writers of this hiſtory, I muſt next give an account of the ſpeeches and compliments that paſſed between the Sophy and AMAYUM, at their firſt interview; but theſe, like thoſe of Generals before an engagement, being uſually the product of the writer's fancy, I paſs them by, and think it ſufficient to obſerve, that CHIRCHA having reigned nine years, was killed by the burſting of a cannon that had been preſented him, which he gave fire to himſelf; and leaving no children, the Patanes and Raja's were divided about ſetting up another in his room, which gave AMAYUM an eaſy opportunity of recovering his kingdom, eſpecially as he was aſſiſted in the enterprize by his powerful friend the Sophy. But I muſt not forget that it is to the Patane King CHIRA that the Indians aſcribe the building of Caravanſera's, or houſes for the convenience of travellers, at proper diſtances on the great roads. To him alſo they give the honour of regulating their weights and meaſures, ſcales and balances being at that time utterly unknown in the Indies; and no other meaſure uſed but the ſpan or cubit.

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AMAYUM reſtored.

AMAYUM, upon his reſtoration, ſhewed his gratitude to the Faquir CHADULA, who firſt brought him the news of CHIRA's death, by granting him an eſtate in lands, to be enjoyed by him and his poſterity for ever; and this is the only Mahometan family in India, it is ſaid, who can claim the property of any lands at this day. His deſcendants alſo take place of all others, and his tomb has great honours paid to it. But AMAYUM, it ſeems, did not expreſs the like gratitude to the Sophy of Perſia, who had replaced him on the throne: he neither paid him the annual tribute, or put him into the poſſeſſion of the province of Candahor, as he had promiſed. From whence our author obſerves, that the Mahometan Princes (and he might have added others) ſeldom obſerve any treaties longer than it is for their advantage.

It was not many years that AMAYUM reigned after his reſtoration. It came into his thoughts, it ſeems, to erect him a ſtately tomb, after the manner of the Mahometan Princes; and when it was near finiſhed, as he was walking over the ſcaffolding, and giving ſome directions to the workmen, he unfortunately fell down, and was ſo violently bruiſed by the fall that he never ſpoke afterwards. This monument was finiſhed by his ſucceſſor, and his corps repoſited there: the inſide is lined with the fineſt marble; and there is a magnificent dome over it, ſo beautified and gilded that when the ſun ſhines it dazzles the eyes of them that look at it. The Moulas, or Mahometan Prieſts, who belong to the foundation, are obliged to keep the building in repair; they alſo ſtrew freſh flowers every day upon the tomb, and cover it with the richeſt brocades. This tomb ſtands at the foot of a large bridge, without the gates of Delly, and is one of the curioſities

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riosities which travellers visit when they come that way.

AKEBAR.

AMAYUM died in the year 1552, and was succeeded by his son AKEBAR, or AKBAR, whom all our historians agree wanted no accomplishments to adorn a throne. He had, they tell us, a most penetrating judgment, an extensive knowledge, an intrepid soul; and at the same time was generous, tender, and compassionate: he soon perceived that the Moguls or Tartars bore no proportion with the Patanes and Indians under his government, and therefore invited the neighbouring Usbecks and Persians to serve under him: he preferred them to the principal posts, and gave them wives, that they might in time be a balance for that part of his subjects whom nature and interest inclined to be disaffected to his government. And the greater part of those who are called Moguls at this day, are a mixture of white people of several nations, professing the Mahometan religion; but it being found that in a short time they lose their complexion, and degenerate into softness, like the original natives of the country, new supplies of Persians and Tartars are encouraged to transplant themselves; and these usually fill the greatest posts in the government. This Prince also, to strengthen himself against the Patanes, whom he dreaded most, took several bodies of Rajaputes, or Rashboots, (as the Europeans call them) into his service. These are the bravest people among the native Indians, who make arms their profession, and are Pagans by religion; and to endear them the more, it is said, he took the daughters of the principal Raja's among the number of his wives, and suffered the Raja's to match with the Mogul Princesses. Though I must confess this part of the history is a little difficult to subscribe to, because no people in the world are so scrupulous of mixing with those of a different religion, or even with a different sect or employment, as the generality of the Pagans of India are; though there are some sects, on the other hand, that admit of very great liberties. To proceed, AKEBAR having taken all prudent measures to render his government secure at home, began to think of extending his dominions towards the sea-coasts, that he might come in for a share of the trade and riches that the maritime places possessed: and the first enterprize of this nature which he undertook was against the kingdom of Guzarate, which extends from the river Tapte, upon which the town of Surat stands, to the mouth of the river Indus. This part of India at that time enjoyed a most flourishing trade; the Portuguese in particular, who had established several colonies in this part of the country, imported immense treasures every year from Europe in exchange for the manufactures of India.

...ft of ...ate.

The Prince who then reigned in Guzarate, was Sultan BAHADAR, or BADAR, a Mahometan. (For about the same time the Patanes transported themselves to India, another colony of Arabians settled themselves in Guzarate, and taking an advantage of the weakness of the Indian Princes, drove the natives up into the mountains, and took possession of the sea-coasts, and all the principal places of trade, and set up for Sovereigns themselves.) Sultan BADAR had maintained a long war with the Portuguese, who daily encroached upon his territories, and lately made themselves masters of Diu, a town which lyes upon an arm of the sea, almost opposite to Surat: but both Sultan BADAR and the Portuguese, being alarmed at the approach of the Mogul, united their forces against him. It was with some difficulty, it is said, that AKEBAR prevailed on his troops to march against the Portuguese. They had been represented at Delly as something more than mortal, and those vast floating machines, armed with artillery, with which they had heard they fought upon the water, they were apprehensive might be made use of, or at least something of the like nature, upon the land. They dreaded the encounter therefore to such a degree, that they were upon the point of turning their backs and quitting the enterprize; till AKEBAR, who had fully informed himself of the numbers and strength of the enemy, and their manner of engaging, convinced his troops how much inferior this little Guzarate Prince, and the Portuguese were, to the forces he brought with him; and putting himself at the head of his troops, in one brisk charge, he routed both the Guzarates and Portuguese. Sultan BADAR fled, but his children were taken prisoners, and put to death by the conqueror, and the whole kingdom immediately submitted to his power, except those towns the Portuguese were possessed of; which being fortified after the modern way, bid defiance to his forces, as indeed a very slight fortification will at this day. Their elephants, which are their greatest strength, are of very little use in a siege; a battery of great guns would soon lay them on heaps, if they could be supposed so intrepid as not to be disordered by the fire, or the report of a cannon.

AKEBAR finding Guzarate so easy a conquest, bent his arms towards Decan, which lyes to the southward of it. This was divided into several little sovereignties; MUSTAPHA, a Mahometan Prince, possessed that part of the country wherein the towns of Brampour and Acer are situated, whose subjects gave him the title of Melec, or King. Amadanger, and the territory belonging to it, was subject to the Queen of Cande; and AMBAR commanded the district of Doltabad. These Princes, though at other times enemies, united their forces against AKEBAR, and gave him battle, but were defeated by him, with very

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little loſs. The towns of Acer, Brampour, and Amadangar, held the conqueror in play ſome months afterwards; but at length MUSTAPHA and the Princeſs of Cande, both ſurrendered their capitals upon conditions, and AMBAR was killed in an engagement, as he was marching to the relief of AMADANGAR. MUSTAPHA afterwards attended the Mogul's court, and was content for ſome time to remain in the rank of an Indian Raja: and the Princeſs of Cande was taken into the number of the conqueror's wives, and treated in the quality of a ſovereign Queen, remaining for a conſiderable time the favourite Sultaneſs: though ſuch was her enmity to AKEBAR when he beſieged her capital, that deſpairing to hold out, ſhe cauſed all her treaſure to be melted into bullets, and inſcribed with the bittereſt curſes againſt her enemy, ſhot them into the neighbouring woods, to prevent his poſſeſſing it. Some of theſe gold and ſilver bullets, MANOUCHI aſſures us, were found in his time, (about forty years ago) and he read the inſcriptions on them with abundance of delight; and one particularly of gold, he ſays, weighed eight pounds at leaſt.

AKEBAR, after the conqueſt of Decan, removed the imperial ſeat from Delly, razing that city to the ground, and built him a palace at Fetipour: but the air being found unhealthful, he returned to the place where Delly ſtood, and built another glorious city in the neighbourhood of it. But ſuch was his love of variety, that he ſoon after removed to Agra, a city which ſtands upon the river Gemma, as Delly does, but a great deal more to the ſouthward; and this has of late years been the ordinary reſidence of the Mogul Emperors, probably becauſe it ſtands more in the center of their dominions than the other, now they have extended their dominions ſo far to the ſouthward. As this city was the greateſt part of it built by AKEBAR, he called it after his own name Akebarabad; but was no ſooner dead, than it reſumed the antient name of Agra, which it retains at preſent.

AKEBAR having ſpent ſome time in erecting cities and palaces, began to think of extending the bounds of his dominions ſtill farther; and RAMA, one of the moſt powerful of the Indian Raja's (ſaid to be deſcended from PORUS) and whoſe dominions lay to the eaſtward of Guzarate, was the next Prince who felt the force of his arms. The Raja, though ſupported by ſeveral Indian Princes his neighbours, was not able to make head againſt the Mogul in the open field, and therefore ſhut himſelf up in the city of Chitor, a place then looked upon to be impregnable. For it ſeems, it is ſituated on the top of a mountain, in the midſt of a large plain, and at the bottom of the hill runs the river Nug, which almoſt ſurrounds the mountain; a rivulet of fine water alſo has its ſource within the fortreſs, and there are fields ſufficient within it to ſupply the garriſon with rice and other proviſions.

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The hiſtorians who relate the ſiege of this place, make it a ſecond Troy on almoſt every account. The love of PADMANI, the Raja's wife, they make the principal motive of AKEBAR's undertaking the attack of this place, though ſhe muſt be a meer Dulcinea to this Prince, for they do not ſo much as pretend he ever had a ſight of her. The duration of this ſiege ſome of them alſo will have to equal that of Troy, and like that it was alſo ſurprized by ſtratagem. All that I can collect of certainty, is, that Chitor held out about two years, that the Raja was killed in the ſiege, and the whole country thereupon ſubmitted to the conqueror.

AKEBAR, after he had ſubdued this province, employed himſelf ſome time in cultivating the arts of peace, in the enlarging the city of Agra, and beautifying his palaces; and among other great works, he planted the road from Agra to Lahor, and made it one continued walk of ſhady trees, tho' it be not leſs than four hundred and fifty Engliſh miles from one city to the other. This ſtill remains as a monument of this Emperor's grandeur, and is an inconceivable refreſhment to travellers in ſo hot a climate.

He was a great admirer of all robuſt exerciſes, and took a pleaſure in the moſt hazardous; as thoſe of breaking young unruly horſes, and managing the war elephants when they fought; an employment ſo very dangerous, that the wives of thoſe who are obliged to do it by their office, tear off their clothes, and the pendants from their ears, when their husbands are thus expoſed. Nay, it is reported of him, that in the war he had with the peaſants of the country, the moſt obſtinate he ever was engaged in, when ſome of them had ſhut themſelves up in a town, and the conductors of the elephants were commanded to break open the gates, upon their expreſſing ſome reluctance to hazard themſelves in ſo deſperate an undertaking, the Emperor commanded one of them to diſmount, and clothed in a common ſoldier's coat, mounted the elephant himſelf, and managed him with that dexterity, that he forced open the gate in the midſt of a ſhower of arrows, which the beſieged poured upon him, and had the good fortune to come off unhurt. This war with the peaſants, which begun in AKEBAR's reign, laſted a conſiderable time; for being acquainted with all the defiles and inacceſſible parts of the foreſts, it was found exceeding difficult to drive them from their haunts; and the government is ſo ſevere upon this ſort of people to this day, that if a peaſant be found in arms, he loſes his head. Nothing is more common than to ſee the heads of theſe wretches hanging on the roads ſides in terrorem.

War with the

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A rebellion.

While Akebar was engaged in this war with the peaſants, his eldeſt ſon, JEHAN GUIRE, broke out into rebellion againſt him, but his party was ſoon defeated, and the Prince made a priſoner. However, ſuch was his father's tenderneſs for him, that he did not keep him long confined; but to deter him from ſuch practices for the future, upon his enlargement, he made the Prince follow him into a foreſt, where he ſhewed him the heads of the principal conſpirators hanging upon the branches of the trees. The Prince being taught by ſo tragical a proſpect the danger that attends ſuch enterprizes, or moved by a ſenſe of the Emperor's indulgence to him, 'tis ſaid, ever after continued unſhaken in his loyalty and duty to his father.

This inſurrection was no ſooner ſuppreſſed, but the Patanes, who had been driven up into the mountains by AMAYUM, began to make incurſions into the open country; and threatned to reſume their antient ſovereignty in the kingdom of Delly. Againſt theſe AKEBAR ſent an army of eighty thouſand men, who entered the Patane country, but were all cut in pieces, or periſhed in the deſarts.

European gunners ſaid into the Mogul's ſervice.

AKEBAR obſerving that from the want of good gunners and engineers generally proceeded the diſgraces he met with in his enterprizes of late, he invited ſeveral Europeans to his court; but as to the relations ſome authors give us of his procuring Engliſh gunners from Surat, they ſeem to be a little out in their chronology, for the Engliſh had no factories or ſettlements in India at this time: ſome Engliſhmen, 'tis true, did travel to the Mogul's court by land, in the latter end of AKEBAR's reign; and probably did ſerve him in the capacity of engineers, which might occaſion the miſtake. And they tell us of one of theſe Engliſhmen, who being debarred of drinking of wine, as the Mahometans themſelves are, thought of this ſtratagem to procure it: when the Emperor came to ſee him fire at a mark, and there was one ſet up ſo very large that it was not eaſy for him to miſs it, the gunner notwithſtanding ſhot very wide; which the Emperor enquiring into the reaſon of, was told, that the engineer had a defect in his ſight ever ſince he had diſuſed the drinking of wine; which his Majeſty underſtanding, ordered him what he would have; the gunner having drank very plentifully, at the next trial anſwered his expectation, and made a very nice ſhot. Whereupon, MANOUCH aſſures us, it was recorded in the Indian chronicle which he ſaw himſelf, if we believe his editor CATROU, 'that wine 'was as natural to an European as water to a fiſh, 'and to forbid them the uſe of it was the depriving them of life:' and that thereupon the Emperor gave foreigners the liberty of planting vineyards, and making wine in the country about Agra, which turned to a very good account.

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European artiſts invited to court, and Miſſionaries.

AKEBAR alſo encouraged all manner of European artiſts to come and fix at Agra from Goa and other Portugueſe ſettlements; ſuch as goldſmiths, lapidaries, phyſicians, ſurgeons, &c. and ſent for ſome of the Portugueſe Miſſionaries to inſtruct him in the Chriſtian religion, but whether out of curioſity, or becauſe he underſtood they were well verſed in the mathematicks; or laſtly, as the Miſſionaries themſelves apprehended, becauſe he had thoughts of embracing the Chriſtian religion, is not very evident. The Portugueſe tell us indeed, that being enamoured with the piety and integrity he obſerved in one of the Portugueſe Ambaſſadors, he was firſt induced to ſend for thoſe Fathers; but he had ſo many other ſtrong inducements, and his behaviour was ſuch afterwards, that his kindneſs to the Miſſionaries does not ſeem to proceed from any inclination to their religion. However, Father AQUAVIVA, and two other Miſſionaries, who undertook the converſion of this Monarch, were well received: he ordered a ſum of money alſo to be preſented them on their arrival, which the Fathers refuſed, inſiſting on their vows of poverty; and this, ſays the hiſtorian, gave the Emperor a high opinion of their merit.

The Fathers, on the other hand, preſented his Majeſty with a bible in four languages, of a fine impreſſion, and the pictures of our Saviour and the bleſſed Virgin. AKEBAR, 'tis ſaid, laid the bible on his head to ſhew his reverence for it; and both himſelf and his children kiſſed the ſacred pictures. The Fathers tell us they found little difficulty in convincing him of the weakneſs of the Alcoran, and how much the Scriptures were to be preferred to it; and that his Majeſty himſelf obſerved, that the Chriſtians had propagated their doctrine by ſpilling their own blood, while the Mahometans had advanced theirs by ſhedding the blood of others: but upon the Fathers preſſing him to declare for JESUS or MAHOMET, he gave a canting hypocritical anſwer, telling them, that 'ſo important a change muſt 'be brought about by God; and that he ſhould 'never ceaſe imploring his light and aſſiſtance.'

The Emperor, 'tis certain, wanted the Miſſionaries to inſtruct their children in the learned languages, and promote arts and ſciences in his court, and therefore was cautious of ſaying any thing ſhocking upon theſe occaſions; and indeed, paid them ſuch honours as he refuſed to Ambaſſadors, and even to ſome crowned heads, ſuffering them to ſit in his preſence after the European manner; and that he might converſe with the Fathers more familiarly, he learnt the Portugueſe language. His Majeſty acknowledged that the miracles of our Saviour ſeemed to be confirmed by the Alcoran: that the morality of the Goſpel, and the manner of eſtabliſhing it by the ſufferings of its votaries, ſufficiently evinced that JESUS

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CHRIST was a true Prophet ſent from God: but then the myſteries of the Trinity and Incarnation were inſurmountable difficulties. To which the Miſſionaries anſwered, that if he believed the miracles, and that he was a true prophet, he muſt acknowledge the truth of what he had revealed. The Emperor replied, 'What muſt I become a 'Chriſtian then, and change the religion of my 'Fathers? How dangerous is this to a Sovereign? 'How difficult for him who has been bred up in 'the eaſe and liberty of the Alcoran?'

Whether the Jeſuits have related theſe conferences juſtly in every reſpect, I ſhall not take upon me to determine; but it ſeems probable enough from the character we have of this Prince, that he took ſome pleaſure in laughing at the abſurdities of the Alcoran, and the ignorance of the Mahometan Prieſts or Moulas. He alſo ſuffered the Portugueſe Miſſionaries to preach the Goſpel in any part of his dominions, and protected them from the reſentment of his Mahometan ſubjects.

Inſurrection of the Patanes.

While AKEBAR remained thus in ſuſpenſe what courſe to take, the Fathers tell us an inſurrection happened in Patane; and that the Emperor's brother and the whole province of Cabulſtan joined the malecontents. This new rebellion the Mahometan doctors aſcribed to the anger of heaven for the Mogul's favouring the Chriſtian religion; and they took care to inſtill ſuch notions into the people, inſomuch that the Emperor was apprehenſive of a general revolt, and found himſelf under a neceſſity of ſhewing ſome coldneſs towards the Fathers, and ſhunning any farther converſation with them. Whereupon all their Indian proſelytes returned to their primitive Mahometiſm, and the Miſſionaries had only a ſmall congregation of European Chriſtians left in Agra. The Miſſionaries themſelves ſeemed now convinced that the Emperor's enquiries into the grounds of the Chriſtian religion proceeded from curioſity, or ſome other ſecular motives.

AKEBAR afterwards marched againſt the Patanes, who being abandoned by the Emperor's brother, and their new allies, were driven up to their mountains again. Upon this ſucceſs the Mogul grew intolerably vain and proud, and formed a deſign of ſetting up a new religion of his own contriving. He propoſed to introduce a medley of all religions, the baptiſm of the Chriſtians, the circumciſion of the Mahometans, and the idolatry of the Indians; and thus he hoped to comprehend all his ſubjects, and unite them in one uniform way of worſhip: but he propoſed always to retain a plurality of wives, as moſt agreeable to his own and the peoples inclinations.

AKEBAR frames a new religion.

The imperial city of Lahor, which lyes to the north of India, was pitched upon as the propereſt place to make the experiment, and found the inclinations of his ſubjects; but the Emperor did not think fit to venture on ſo great a change till he had firſt aſſembled a formidable army, with which he ſoon after reduced the kingdom of Cachemire. The Mahometan moſques were commanded to be ſhut up, and ſome of them turned into ſtables: he inſtituted a new ſet of forms and ceremonies, to which he required an exact conformity. AKEBAR himſelf adored the ſun three times a day, at his riſing, in the meridian, and at his ſetting: then he appointed ſome ſet hours for the worſhip of JESUS and the Bleſſed Virgin, and wore an agnus Dei, the picture of the Virgin MARY, and ſome relicks that had been preſented him by the Miſſionaries about his neck. As to the Mahometan religion, he continued their circumciſion, and ran over the praiſes of God on a kind of bead-roll, after the manner of thoſe people. But what was the moſt ſhocking of any of his inſtitutions was, the commanding his ſubjects to worſhip him as a god, when he appeared every morning in a balcony in the view of the multitude. He received their vows and heard their prayers, and cauſed it to be divulged among the people that their petitions would infallibly be miraculouſly granted. But though there have been thoſe who have required the ſame incenſe, AKEBAR appears to me to be a Prince hardly capable of ſuch daring impieties: it reſts upon the credit of Mr. MANOUCH, or rather his editor CATROU and the Popiſh Miſſionaries, who, it is evident, were ſufficiently diſguſted with this Prince, and probably were not extremely favourable in the relations they give us of his reign.

AKBAR requires divine honours to be paid him.

AKEBAR having cauſed himſelf to be worſhipped as a god, according to the Fathers account of him, marched with his army into the kingdom of Cachemire, which ſubmitted to him without ever ſtriking a ſtroke. This ſucceſs, it ſeems, did not at all elate the Emperor, but on the contrary he grew melancholy and dejected, troubled with remorſe of conſcience, as the Miſſionaries will have it, for his late extravagance; and thereupon ſent to Goa to deſire ſome of the Fathers to attend him, and ordered a great ſum of money to be diſtributed among the poor of Goa, as an atonement for his ſins. They tell us farther, that he had got over the great objection to Chriſtianity, and diſmiſſed his women, reſerving only one to himſelf. His devotion alſo to the Bleſſed Virgin was publickly known; and on the feaſt of her aſſumption he cauſed her image to be placed on a magnificent throne, and the Mogul with his children and courtiers proſtrated themſelves before it. The two Miſſionaries who were deputed from Goa to attend him in the year 1589, flattered themſelves with ſeeing the Chriſtian religion ſpeedily eſtabliſhed in the empire; but this, it ſeems, was all grimace. The Fathers were kindly received at firſt, and had great honours paid them; but were ſoon convinced

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convinced it was with other views they were ſent for than what was outwardly pretended, and thereupon returned to Goa: for notwithſtanding the Emperor ſometimes was preſent at the Chriſtian feſtivals, and aſſiſted at the publick devotions on his knees; he again cauſed prayers to be offered up to himſelf as to the deity, and delighted in nothing more than in having ſuch petitions put to him as none but heaven could anſwer. He alſo inſtituted a feaſt in honour of the ſun; and cauſed an altar to be raiſed in form of a throne in the midſt of a ſpacious plain, that all his ſubjects might adore it.

Akebar's ill ſucceſs and diſcouragement.

It was on Eaſter Sunday, 1597, that AKEBAR and the young Princes his children were paying their devotions to this glorious planet, whoſe image enriched with precious ſtones, and the ſun ſhining upon them in its full brightneſs, caſt an inſupportable luſtre; when on a ſudden, the heaven was covered with black clouds, the altar was overturned by a thunder ſtorm, the lightning ſet fire to the Emperor's tent, and great part of the camp was in flames in an inſtant: the Emperor's palace alſo, and the neighbouring city was ſet on fire, and almoſt conſumed; and the vaſt treaſures of gold and ſilver which had been amaſſed together by the Moguls were melted, and ran down the ſtreets of Lahor; and the Emperor was obliged to quit the place and retire into the kingdom of Cachemire. But this relation the reader muſt take upon the credit of MANOUCH, or rather CATROU his editor; for I do not find it in any other writers, except ſome zealous Miſſionaries; and there ſeems to be ſo much inſincerity and prevarication in the Fathers when they ſpeak of judgments and miracles, which they frequently introduce as a demonſtration of the truth of their miſſion; that I do not give entire credit to all their relations of that kind; though I would not on the other hand abſolutely reject them, but leave every one to their own conjectures. To proceed, this miraculous fire from heaven, we are told, gave great credit to their Fathers, who had before remonſtrated to the Emperor, as they tell us, that he might juſtly expect the vengeance of heaven as a puniſhment for his idolatrous practices; and proſelytes upon this occaſion came over to them in crowds; though they were ſo well acquainted with the levity of the Indians, that they did not venture to baptize any but thoſe who were at the point of death. And here we meet with farther miracles, for it ſeems while they adminiſtred baptiſm to dying men, they ſometimes reſtored health to their bodies.

The Emperor, we are told, was wonderfully diſturbed in his mind at this ſurpriſing deſtruction of his palace; but yet he ſtill openly maintained his idolatrous worſhip; for which the Fathers ſay, God exerciſed him with new afflictions. MUSTAPHA, one of the Decan Princes, whom he had formerly ſubdued, and who had lived peaceably in the Mogul's court for a conſiderable time, about this time retired from thence, and found means to repoſſeſs himſelf of his country again; and many of the Mahometans, diſguſted at the ſlights the Emperor had put upon their religion, went over to him.

Emperor's beloved ſon killed.

The Prince PIHARI, the Emperor's beloved ſon, to whom he had given the name of MORAD, was ſent with a gallant army to ſuppreſs this inſurrection. He engaged the Raja in the province of Cambaya, being conſiderably ſuperior to the enemy in numbers; but MUSTAPHA, being an experienced Captain, and perfectly acquainted with the country, gained an entire victory over the Emperor's forces, and the body of young MORAD was found in the field of battle among the ſlain. This ſtroke of fortune, it is ſaid, pierced AKEBAR to the heart; and he was ſo ſenſible of the anger of heaven, that he never after worſhipped the ſun, nor ſuffered divine honours to be paid to his own perſon.

The Emperor ſoon after returned from Cachemire by the way of Lahor, and marched ſouthward till he arrived at Agra, where mighty preparations were made againſt MUSTAPHA. In the mean while the Emperor grew extremely thoughtful, abandoning all manner of diverſions but hunting, which he followed chiefly for the opportunity of retiring alone into the foreſts and unfrequented places. In one of theſe excurſions, ſitting by himſelf under a ſhady tree, it is ſaid, he obſerved a caterpillar creeping near him, which he killed with the point of one of his arrows; and ſhooting an antilope ſoon after with the ſame arrow, the beaſt expired in an inſtant, though the wound was not in a mortal part; whereupon the Emperor ordered the antilope to be opened, the fleſh appeared black and corrupted, and the dogs died that eat of it, by which AKEBAR diſcovered how very ſubtile the poiſon extracted from this inſect was; and cauſed a quantity of pills to be made up with it, which he compelled ſome diſaffected lords to take in his preſence, and thereby diſpatched them: and though this poiſon operated very ſlowly, it was without remedy, which ſeems to contradict the former part of the ſtory; where we are told that the antilope was killed and the fleſh putrified in an inſtant: and indeed the learned ſeem to be of opinion, that no poiſon can have ſo ſwift an operation as this is ſaid to have upon the antilope, which enclines me to think this little incident was added by way of amuſement. However we are aſſured, that now it was that the Mogul firſt inſtituted the office of poiſoner general.

Akebar's death.

To return, theſe experiments had a very tragical effect upon the firſt inventor, it ſeems, for AKEBAR having a gold box made with three partitions,

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titions, in the one of which he carried his betel leaves, in another cordial pills, and in the third his poiſons, miſtaking the one for the other, took the fatal pills he had prepared for an enemy; and notwithſtanding all the aſſiſtance he received, both from his own and the Portugueſe phyſicians, no remedy could be found to relieve him; but as it proved a lingring illneſs, the Fathers had another opportunity of endeavouring his converſion, but to no more purpoſe than before. AKEBAR died a good Muſſulman at laſt.

AKEBAR, according to the cuſtom of his forefathers, had erected a noble marble tomb in his life time, covered with a magnificent dome: the inſide was hung with gold brocade, travellers tell us, by AURENGE ZEBE, to conceal the image of the Bleſſed Virgin, St. IGNATIUS, and a crucifix which AKEBAR had cauſed to be placed in the niches of the marble walls, and which ſome look upon as a preſumption that this Emperor died a Chriſtian; but others more rationally conclude that they were deſigned like other figures and ſtatues that are found there only for ornament.

AKEBAR'S character.

Many are the virtues and great qualities hiſtorians aſcribe to this Prince; but how well they agree with the preceding hiſtory, the reader will judge. He diſtributed juſtice impartially, it is ſaid, and was an unwearied hearer of cauſes, which he ſeldom omitted twice a day; and was ſo cautious of ſpilling blood, that he gave orders that no man ſhould be put to death but by his expreſs command repeated three ſeveral days. They endeavour to excuſe the art of poiſoning he introduced, by ſaying he only practiſed it againſt the ſecret enemies of the ſtate, and ſuch as he apprehended to be too great to be brought to publick juſtice. His temperance was ſuch, that as he ſeldom violated the law of Mahomet by drinking wine, ſo he never eat fleſh, but contented himſelf with rice and ſweetmeats, and ſometimes a-ſpoon diet. He gave all encouragement to foreigners, but eſpecially to merchants and mechanicks. He had a mighty thirſt for knowledge, and endeavoured to penetrate into every ſcience and every religion; and inform himſelf of the grounds the ſeveral people he converſed with had for their reſpective opinions: and it was to this curioſity chiefly, that the Fathers were indebted for the kind reception they met with in his court. The hiſtory of his reign was written by his particular direction, and parts of it frequently read over to him, and corrected by himſelf. In ſhort, the vaſt additions this Prince made to the empire, the arts he introduced, the opening a way to the ſea coaſts, the trade and commerce which AKEBAR firſt eſtabliſhed in his dominions; the beautiful cities and palaces he built, and other noble works which yet remain, are evident marks of his grandeur: but his ſetting up himſelf to be worſhiped as a god, his idolatry and hypocriſy; and the poiſoning the greateſt of his ſubjects uncondemned, and even unheard, if the Miſſionaries have not done him injuſtice, very much tarniſhes the glory of his reign. It ſeems he was at ſome times exquiſitely good, and at others the very reverſe; ſo that whether we conſider the dark or the bright ſide of his character, he may very well deſerve the name he bore of AKEBAR or THE INIMITABLE.

CHA JEHAN's acceſſion.

CHA SELIM, or as we pronounce it, SHAW SELIM (i. e. the peaceful King) ſucceeded to the throne of his father AKEBAR, in the year 1605, and upon his acceſſion, took upon him the name of JEHAN GUIRE or Sovereign of the world. It is generally ſaid, that AKEBAR appointed Sultan COSROU, the eldeſt ſon of CHA SELIM, his ſucceſſor; but however that was, neither Sultan COSROU, or any of his adherents, made any claim to the crown at the acceſſion of CHA SELIM the father.

The Emperor CHA SELIM, or rather CHA JEHAN, as he will be ſtyled in the courſe of this hiſtory, was no more a bigot to his religion than his father; but inſtead of that temperance and abſtemious way of living which AKEBAR was famous for, he indulged in all manner of exceſs: and ſome imagined he was inclined to the Chriſtian religion becauſe of the liberties he took in drinking wine, and eating, without diſtinction, all manner of meats; which the Imans or Mahometan Doctors were at firſt perpetually repreſenting to be inconſiſtent with the profeſſion of Mahometiſm. He enquired therefore what religion allowed its votaries to eat and drink, without ſcruple, all that came before them; and being informed it was the Chriſtian, 'Come then, '(ſays he,) let us immediately alter our habits, 'and change our turbans into hats; for what 'religion can there be in eating or forbearing to 'eat this or that kind of food?' Upon this the Moula's were ſtruck with dreadful apprehenſions of a change of religion; but ſome of the wiſeſt of them ſoon diſcovered that it was not religion, but an unconquerable appetite after ſuch food and liquors as their law prohibited, which occaſioned this declaration in favour of Chriſtianity. To keep the Emperor firm to their religion therefore, they acquainted his Majeſty that they had held a conſultation on this occaſion, and unanimouſly agreed, that the prohibition of the Alcoran againſt wine, &c. did not extend to ſovereign Princes, but that they might enjoy their full liberty in eating and drinking whatever they ſaw fit notwithſtanding; which was ſo obliging a ſolution in the behalf of a voluptuous Prince, that we hear of no attempts afterwards towards a change during the remainder of his reign. And where are the Doctors that will not indulge a Prince in his vices, if he will eſtabliſh them in their revenues?

The

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The faints in OLIVER's days were of this very opinion, that 'the precepts of the Gofpel were 'never intended for extraordinary men like him, 'but only to keep vulgar fouls in awe.'

To return; the Emperor, being now looſed from all reſtraints, and encouraged in his debauches by the very clergy themſelves, ordered the palace gates to be always open to the Franks or Europeans of what nation ſoever, and frequently drank with them till morning, even in the very time of the Mahometan lent, which the Miſſionaries ſtill interpreted to proceed from his inclination to Chriſtianity; and mention an occurrence, which, they ſay, gave much reputation to the Chriſtian religion. The Emperor, they tell us, having appointed a diſputation between the Fathers and the Mahometan Doctors, in his preſence, and one of the Mahometan Prieſts ſpeaking in deriſion of the holy ſcriptures, affirming, that they had been corrupted, and that many facts related in them did not ſo much as carry an air of probability; one of the Miſſionaries thereupon propoſed to take the Bible in his hands, if the chief Moula would take the Alcoran in his; that a great fire ſhould be made, and they would both walk into the midſt of the flames, to teſtify the truth of their reſpective religions, and which of them heaven declared in favour of, ſhould be followed. But the Moula, we are told, declined the trial, and the Emperor did not inſiſt on it. This ſtory is related by Sir THOMAS ROE, the Engliſh Ambaſſador at the court of CHA JEHAN, but with very conſiderable variations; and I perceive it is not agreed whether this happened in the reign of AKEBAR, or of this Prince: neither are the Catholicks agreed whether it was Father AQUAVIVA, or Father ACOSTA, that made the bold offer of aſſerting the truth of their religion by the fiery trial. They introduce another ſtory in this reign of a jugler's ape, by whom this Emperor made an experiment of the truth of the Chriſtian religion, which relation we alſo find in Sir THOMAS ROE; and though he does not ſeem to doubt the facts, yet as he was not an eye-witneſs of them, I muſt beg his, and the Miſſionaries pardon, if I cannot ſubſcribe to ſome circumſtances with which they are related. Sir THOMAS ROE is allowed to be a gentleman of probity, but we are ſenſible of the credulity of that age, and that many a good Proteſtant in the Indies has given into ſtories framed by the Catholicks there, for which there has been very little grounds. However, ſince theſe relations are in every hiſtorian who writes of this country, ſuch as they are, I ſhall give them to the reader from Sir THOMAS ROE's journal.

The Jeſuit's houſe and church being burnt, the crucifix remained untouched, which was given out for a miracle, and much talked of. The King, who never lets ſlip any opportunity of new talk, or novelties, hearing of this accident, calls the Jeſuit, and queſtions him about it: he anſwers ambiguouſly, whereupon his Majeſty asked, whether he did not deſire to convert him? and being anſwered in the affirmative, replied, you ſpeak of your great miracles, and of many done in the name of your prophet, if you will caſt the crucifix and picture of CHRIST into a fire before me, if it burn not, I will become a Chriſtian. The Jeſuit refuſed the trial as unjuſt; anſwering, that God was not tied to the call of man, that it was a ſin to tempt him, and that he wrought miracles according to his own will; yet he offered to caſt himſelf into the fire for a proof of his faith, which the King would not allow of. Here aroſe a great diſpute, begun by the Prince, a moſt ſtiff Mahometan, and hater of all Chriſtians, urging, that it was reaſonable to try our religion after this manner; but withal, that if the crucifix did burn, then the Jeſuit ſhould be obliged to turn Moor. He urged examples of miracles ſaid to be wrought for leſs purpoſes than the converſion of ſo mighty a King, and ſpoke ſcornfully of CHRIST JESUS: the King took up the argument, and defended our Saviour to be a Prophet, comparing his works with thoſe of their abſurd ſaints; inſtancing the raiſing of the dead, which never any of theirs did. The Prince replied, that to give ſight to one born blind was as great a miracle. This being hotly debated on both ſides, a third man interpoſed to end the controverſy, ſaying, that both the father and the ſon were in the right as to their opinions; for to raiſe a dead body to life, muſt be owned to be the greateſt miracle ever done; but that to give ſight to an eye naturally blind, was the ſame work, becauſe a blind eye was dead, ſight being the life of it: therefore he that gave ſight to a blind eye, did, as it were, raiſe it from death. Thus this diſcourſe ended.

The other ſtory is this; a jugler of Bengala, of which craft there are many, and very notable at it, brought before the King a great ape, which, as he ſaid, could divine and propheſy; and to this beaſt ſome of the Indian ſects attribute a ſort of divinity: the King took a ring off his finger, and cauſed it to be hid under a boy's girdle, there being a dozen preſent, then bid the ape divine, who went to the right child, and took it out. His Majeſty being ſomewhat more curious, cauſed the names of twelve law-givers, as CHRIST, MOSES, MAHOMET, HALY, and others, to be writ on twelve papers, in the Perſian tongue, and ſhuffling them in a bag, bid the beaſt divine which was the true law, who putting in his paw, took out that inſcribed with the name of CHRIST. This amazed the King, who ſuſpecting the ape's maſter could read Perſian, and might

assist him, wrote them anew in court characters, and presented them the second time: the ape found the right, and kissed it. At this, a great officer grew angry, telling the King it was some imposture, and desiring he might have leave to make the scrolls anew, offering to undergo any punishment if the ape could deceive him: he writ the names, putting only eleven in a bag, and kept the other in his hand, the monkey searched, but refused all; the King commanding it to bring one, it tore them in a fury, and made signs the true Lawgiver's name was not among them. The King asked where it was, and the ape ran to the nobleman, and caught him by the hand, in which was the paper inscribed with the name of CHRIST JESUS. The King was concerned, and keeps the ape. This was done in publick before thousands, and no doubt is to be made of the truth of the matter of fact.

This Emperor removed the imperial seat from Agra to Lahor, which lyes four or five hundred miles to the north, in a more temperate climate; and the fine walk of trees from one city to the other, which was begun by AKEBAR, was finished by this Prince. He made also large additions to the city of Lahor, and built him an elegant convenient palace, but not near so magnificent as that of Agra. Here it was that the Emperor engaged in an amour, which occasioned him infinite troubles during the remainder of his reign; and though the beginning of the story have the air of a romance, yet as to the substance of it there is very little reason to entertain a doubt; the distractions in the Royal Family, and the wars that succeeded among the Princes of the blood, sufficiently attest the truth of the principal facts.

His Majesty, it seems, was walking on his terras, under which a fine river runs, when he saw a barge rowing under him wherein was a Lady of a surprizing beauty sitting under a canopy: the Emperor let the barge pass by, but sent immediately to enquire after her name, and where her residence was. The messengers informed him that the Lady's name was NOUR MAHAL, and that she was married to an officer who commanded 500 men in his Majesty's service; whereupon the Emperor ordered rich presents to be made her, and that she should be acquainted how much he was smitten with her beauty. But the Lady vowed inviolable fidelity to her husband, and would not hear any proposals to his dishonour. His Majesty, not being able to prevail with her to alter her resolution, wrote to her husband to attend a certain General; and at the same time sent to the General to put him to death as soon as he saw him, which was executed accordingly, but not so secretly but NOUR MAHAL heard of it, and would not be put off with accounts the Emperor ordered to be divulged, that he was killed by accident.

When his Majesty therefore renewed his addresses, and acquainted her there was now no difficulty in the way, and that he desired no more than the nicest virtue might comply with, to take her among the number of his wives; she broke out into the bittersest invectives, and reproached him with his treachery and cruelty. But the time of her widowhood being expired, and having had leisure to vent her grief, and reflect on the advantageous offers which were made her, his Majesty found her more complying; and upon condition that she should be the first Queen, that her father should be Prime Minister, and her relations preferred to the greatest posts, she was contented to yield to the embraces of her husband's murderer. The Emperor solemnized his marriage on the arrival of this new Queen in his palace, by a festival which lasted eight days; and instead of the name of NOUR MAHAL, which she had before, he gave her that of NOUR JAHAM, or THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD. But notwithstanding one of the greatest Emperors of the East was captivated with her charms, and the empire was for some time governed by her nod, her parentage was but mean; and when she came from Persia, the place of her birth, with her first husband, he was no more than a camel-driver, tho' he afterwards advanced his fortunes in the Mogul's service, and became a commander of five hundred men, as was observed before.

The first year she came into the Haram, (the women's apartment) like a true woman, she took care to rid her self of her rivals, no less than five Queens, the most in the Emperor's favour, died within that time, by poison, as it was supposed. And such was her power with the Emperor, that she made a sober man of him. He was content to part even with his bottle, for a time, to oblige her; at least she prevailed with him to stint himself to nine glasses at a sitting, and if ever he exceeded those bounds, she knew how to punish him by a more than ordinary reservedness. Her next ambition was, to unite her blood with that of the Emperor's, and marry her only daughter, which she had by her former husband, to the heir apparent of the crown; for she had no children by the Emperor. His Majesty had four sons by several wives: the eldest was born in the life of his grandfather AKEBAR, and was styled Sultan COSROU; the second Sultan PERVIS, the third Sultan CHORROM, and the fourth Sultan SCHERIAR. It was to Sultan COSROU that NOUR JAHAM intended to have married her daughter; but this Prince, it seems, was prejudiced against her already, on account of the influence she had over his father: and another obstacle was, his having married

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ried a daughter of one of the great Raja's, of whom he was paſſionately fond; whereupon he ſlighted the propoſal. The Sultaneſs afterwards offered her daughter to SCHERIAR, the youngeſt ſon, Sultan CHORROM being already married to her niece, the daughter of ASAPH CHAM, her brother. SCHERIAR was pleaſed with the match, as the moſt likely means to advance him to the throne, after the death of his father; and the marriage was no ſooner celebrated, but the three elder brothers were appointed to diſtant governments. Sultan CHORROM was ſent to Decan, Sultan PERVIS to Bengal, and Sultan COSROU, the eldeſt, was deſigned for Guzarate; but inſtead of going to that command, he aſſembled a body of troops, to ſecure his ſucceſſion to the crown, which he apprehended to be his right, even at that inſtant: for he was bred up in a belief that his grandfather AKEBAR had appointed him his immediate ſucceſſor, and though he was content his father ſhould enjoy the crown before him, he could not bear to ſee his youngeſt brother the favourite at court, and with his mother-in-law the Sultaneſs, taking ſuch ſteps as muſt infallibly exclude him.

The Emperor had at this time two great miniſters to whom he committed all affairs of ſtate; the one ASAPH CHAM, brother to the Sultaneſs, and the other MAHOMET CHAM, of a mighty genius, and incapable of corruption, as it is ſaid. Theſe miniſters had eſpouſed different parties; ASAPH CHAM, as may naturally be ſuppoſed, was in his ſiſter's the Sultaneſs's intereſt, and Mahomet in that of Sultan COSROU's. The Sultaneſs, we find, prevailed ſo far, that COSROU was forced to have recourſe to arms, and ſhe had laid an ambuſcade to ſeize on his friend MAHOMET, and diſpatch him as he went out of the palace; but MAHOMET eſcaped their hands, and aſſembling a ſmall party of ſoldiers, of whom he was General, ſurrounded the Emperor's apartment, and compelled his Majeſty to mount his elephant, and ſeating himſelf by his ſide, under the ſame canopy, he held a naked dagger in his hand, letting the Sultaneſs know, that if any attempt was made to ſtop his paſſage, the Emperor muſt not expect to ſurvive it. And thus he brought the Emperor to his own houſe, where he had a body of troops under arms, ſufficient to protect himſelf from the practices of NOUR JAHAM, and his enemy ASAPH CHAM.

It was expected now, that JEHAN GUIRE would have been depoſed, and the crown placed upon the head of Sultan COSROU, but MAHOMET ſoon reſtored the Emperor to his liberty, aſſuring his Majeſty, that what he had done, was only to preſerve his own life; and to demonſtrate his loyalty, he would immediately march againſt Sultan COSROU, if he refuſed to lay down his arms and return to his duty. COSROU reaſonably apprehending that if ever he ſhould fall into the power of NOUR JAHAM, it would be of fatal conſequence to him, refuſed to quit the field; and engaging MAHOMET, was defeated, and brought priſoner to court, and afterwards ſhut up with his wives and children in the caſtle of Guallore.

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Sultan COSROU made priſoner.

While the Prince remained in this captivity, NOUR JAHAM made him an offer, not only of his liberty, but to aſſure his ſucceſſion to the crown if he would marry her daughter, whom ſhe propoſed to divorce from his younger brother SCHERIAR, as being an unactive Prince, and never likely to maintain himſelf upon the throne if he ſhould happen to be placed upon it. But ſuch was Sultan COSROU's contempt or prejudice to NOUR JAHAM's family, or as others ſay, ſuch was his paſſion for one of his wives, that he refuſed to comply with NOUR JAHAM even in theſe wretched circumſtances. ASAPH CHAM, brother to the Sultaneſs, alſo encouraged the unfortunate COSROU to perſiſt in his reſolution, having an intereſt to manage diſtinct from that of his ſiſter's: for Sultan CHORROM the third ſon of the Emperor, as has been obſerved, had married his daughter; and if Sultan COSROU and NOUR JAHAM ſhould be reconciled, his ſon-in-law could never hope to ſucceed. But to make all ſure, leſt Sultan COSROU, induced by the hardſhips he ſuffered, or the hopes of a crown, might at length be prevailed on to comply with the Sultaneſs, he procured the Emperor to ſend for Sultan CHORROM to court, where they agreed together to procure Sultan COSROU to be privately murdered in priſon. It was firſt attempted by poiſon, but the Prince ſuſpected the deſign, and would eat nothing but what was dreſſed by his beloved wife; whereupon they reſolved to take the ſhorteſt way, and ordered the Captain of the fortreſs to ſtrangle him, which was executed without the Emperor's knowledge. However, a fact of this nature could not be tranſacted ſo privately but it was at length diſcovered; and though the murderers were perſons of that conſequence that the Emperor could not puniſh it in the manner it deſerved, yet he, from thence forward, determined to make his grandſon BOLAQUI, the ſon of Sultan COSROU, his ſucceſſor; who appeared to be a Prince of very great expectations, and then about ſeventeen years of age.

COSROU murdered.

This Prince therefore was brought to court, and treated as the preſumptive heir of the crown, while Sultan CHORROM was commanded to retire to his government of Decan. Here he ſpent his time in making alliances with the neighbouring Raja's, and by preſents and offers of preferment brought over moſt of the beſt officers in the empire to his party; while the old Emperor ſpent his time in the amuſements of the ſeraglio, or over a bottle with his friends; for either the Sultaneſs now indulged him in it, or ſhe had not

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A drunken frolick of the Emperor's.

that influence over him as when her charms were in their bloom.

No Prince, it ſeems, ever delighted more in laying aſide his ſtate, and converſing familiarly with his ſubjects; he frequently diſguiſed himſelf and came into places of publick reſort, where he would ſit down and enter into merry diſputes with the meaneſt of his ſubjects. In one of theſe frolicks, it is reported, that he met with an honeſt tradeſman at a punch houſe (for theſe had been permitted in his own and his father AKEBAR's reign.) The man, it ſeems, was in a humour for ſinging, with which his Majeſty was infinitely pleaſed; and having drunk to a pretty good pitch, they began to talk of ſtate affairs. The tradeſman wondered a camel driver's widow ſhould have ſuch an influence over the Emperor; and that he ſhould ſuffer his eldeſt ſon to be murdered without ſhewing a ſuitable reſentment: his companion endeavoured to excuſe JEHAN GUIRE's paſſion by encomiums on the beauty, wit, and good humour of NOUR JAHAM. He let him underſtand alſo that ſhe had no hand in the death of the Prince, and ſome other male adminiſtrations that were complained of, though every thing that was amiſs was charged on her advice; and that the perſons concerned in the murder of his ſon were too powerful to be brought to juſtice. In ſuch diſcourſe as this theſe merry gentlemen paſſed great part of the night; and the royal toper having diſcharged the reckoning, the tradeſman in return for the favour invited his companion to dine with him next day, which was agreed to.

Orders were accordingly given next morning at the palace for the elephants to be got ready; and being magnificently accoutred with their clothing of crimſon velvet trimmed with gold, the Emperor mounted on a throne which ſparkled with precious ſtones, riding on his elephant of ſtate, and ſurrounded by his guards, took the way to the weaver SECANDER's houſe, for this was the honeſt fellow's name, who had been engaged ſo deep in politicks with his Majeſty the night before. The tradeſman was in the utmoſt conſternation when he heard the guards enquiring for him, and began to reflect on his laſt night's converſation; when the Emperor put him out of his pain by telling him the freedom he had uſed was ſo well taken that he intended to advance him to a conſiderable poſt; and ordered him to mount one of the elephants and return to the palace with him. Many other circumſtances are added to this ſtory, and poſſibly the greateſt part of it may have been contrived only to give us an idea of the frankneſs and condeſcenſion of this Prince: but Sir THOMAS ROE has given us an account of another of his drunken frolicks that may be depended on, which diſcovers at leaſt as much cruelty as good humour in this Prince.

His Majeſty, it ſeems, had been very drunk with the Perſian Ambaſſador and ſeveral of his nobility over night, who drank with him by his expreſs command; which ſome perſons happening either maliciouſly or accidentally to mention the next morning, the Emperor forgetting his orders, demanded who gave thoſe noblemen permiſſion to drink wine? to which it was anſwered the buxy, for no man dares ſay it was the King, when he ſeems to be willing to make a doubt of it. The cuſtom is, that when the King drinks, which is alone ſometimes, he will command the nobility to drink after him, which if they do not it is looked upon as a crime; and ſo every man that takes a cup of wine of the officer has his name writ down, and he makes his teſelin, though perhaps the King's eyes are clouded. The King not remembring his own command, called the buxy, and asked whether he gave the order, who falſely denied it, for he had it from the King, and by name called all that drank with the Ambaſſador. The King then called for the liſt, and perſons named in it, and fined ſome one, ſome two, and ſome three thouſand roupies; and ſome that were nearer his perſon he cauſed to be whipped before him, they receiving a hundred and thirty ſtripes with a terrible inſtrument, having at the ends of four cords iron like ſpur-rowels, ſo that every ſtroke made four wounds; when they lay for dead on the ground, he commanded the ſtanders by to ſpurn them, and after that the porters to break their ſtaves on them. Thus moſt cruelly mangled and bruiſed they were carried out, one of them died on the ſpot; ſome would have excuſed it by laying it on the Ambaſſador, but the King replied he only ordered a cup or two to be given them. Though drunkenneſs be a common vice, and an exerciſe of the King's, yet it is ſo ſtrictly forbidden, that no man can enter the guzelcan where the King ſits but the porters ſmell his breath; and if he have but taſted wine is not ſuffered to come in; and if the reaſon of his abſence be known, it will be a difficult matter to eſcape the whip; for if the King once takes offence, the father will not ſpeak for the ſon.

But this Emperor was not ſo entirely devoted to wine, or women, as to loſe the reliſh of a rural life: he frequently retired in the ſummer, into the kingdom of Cachemire, the moſt northern part of his dominions, which is looked upon in India as a terreſtrial paradiſe, being exceeding temperate and healthful, and abounding with all things that can render life deſirable. Here the Emperor built him an elegant palace, laid out delightful gardens, made canals and caſcades, and imbelliſhed it with a thouſand beauties. The Sultaneſs took a particular delight in ſtocking the canals with tame fiſh, and many years after there were taken fiſh with gold rings, which this

Palace of Cachemire.

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this Princeſs had faſtened to ſome of her favourites.

It was in this charming retirement the Emperor was enjoying himſelf with his beloved NOUR MAHAL, when news was brought him that the great CHA ABBAS, King of Perſia, theatned to invade Indoſtan, unleſs Candahor was delivered up to him, according as AMAYUM, grandfather to the preſent Mogul, had ſtipulated. Orders were ſent hereupon, to SIAN CHAM, Viceroy of Multan, to march towards the frontiers, and ſtop the progreſs of the Perſian arms. But this General being unprovided of ammunition, and almoſt every thing elſe, to take the field, was forced to be a witneſs of the taking of Candahor, after it had held out a ſiege of ſix months. And what diſtracted the Emperor more, was, his ſon Sultan CHORROM's raiſing a rebellion in the heart of the empire.

Perſian invaſion.

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CHAP. I.

A drunken frolick of the Emperor's.

that influence over him as when her charms were in their bloom.

No Prince, it ſeems, ever delighted more in laying aſide his ſtate, and converſing familiarly with his ſubjects; he frequently diſguiſed himſelf and came into places of publick reſort, where he would ſit down and enter into merry diſputes with the meaneſt of his ſubjects. In one of theſe frolicks, it is reported, that he met with an honeſt tradeſman at a punch houſe (for theſe had been permitted in his own and his father AKEBAR's reign.) The man, it ſeems, was in a humour for ſinging, with which his Majeſty was infinitely pleaſed; and having drunk to a pretty good pitch, they began to talk of ſtate affairs. The tradeſman wondered a camel driver's widow ſhould have ſuch an influence over the Emperor; and that he ſhould ſuffer his eldeſt ſon to be murdered without ſhewing a ſuitable reſentment: his companion endeavoured to excuſe JEHAN GUIRE's paſſion by encomiums on the beauty, wit, and good humour of NOUR JAHAM. He let him underſtand alſo that ſhe had no hand in the death of the Prince, and ſome other male adminiſtrations that were complained of, though every thing that was amiſs was charged on her advice; and that the perſons concerned in the murder of his ſon were too powerful to be brought to juſtice. In ſuch diſcourſe as this theſe merry gentlemen paſſed great part of the night; and the royal toper having diſcharged the reckoning, the tradeſman in return for the favour invited his companion to dine with him next day, which was agreed to.

Orders were accordingly given next morning at the palace for the elephants to be got ready; and being magnificently accoutred with their clothing of crimſon velvet trimmed with gold, the Emperor mounted on a throne which ſparkled with precious ſtones, riding on his elephant of ſtate, and ſurrounded by his guards, took the way to the weaver SECANDER's houſe, for this was the honeſt fellow's name, who had been engaged ſo deep in politicks with his Majeſty the night before. The tradeſman was in the utmoſt conſternation when he heard the guards enquiring for him, and began to reflect on his laſt night's converſation; when the Emperor put him out of his pain by telling him the freedom he had uſed was ſo well taken that he intended to advance him to a conſiderable poſt; and ordered him to mount one of the elephants and return to the palace with him. Many other circumſtances are added to this ſtory, and poſſibly the greateſt part of it may have been contrived only to give us an idea of the frankneſs and condeſcenſion of this Prince: but Sir THOMAS ROE has given us an account of another of his drunken frolicks that may be depended on, which diſcovers at leaſt as much cruelty as good humour in this Prince.

His Majeſty, it ſeems, had been very drunk with the Perſian Ambaſſador and ſeveral of his nobility over night, who drank with him by his expreſs command; which ſome perſons happening either maliciouſly or accidentally to mention the next morning, the Emperor forgetting his orders, demanded who gave thoſe noblemen permiſſion to drink wine? to which it was anſwered the buxy, for no man dares ſay it was the King, when he ſeems to be willing to make a doubt of it. The cuſtom is, that when the King drinks, which is alone ſometimes, he will command the nobility to drink after him, which if they do not it is looked upon as a crime; and ſo every man that takes a cup of wine of the officer has his name writ down, and he makes his teſelin, though perhaps the King's eyes are clouded. The King not remembring his own command, called the buxy, and asked whether he gave the order, who falſely denied it, for he had it from the King, and by name called all that drank with the Ambaſſador. The King then called for the liſt, and perſons named in it, and fined ſome one, ſome two, and ſome three thouſand roupies; and ſome that were nearer his perſon he cauſed to be whipped before him, they receiving a hundred and thirty ſtripes with a terrible inſtrument, having at the ends of four cords iron like ſpur-rowels, ſo that every ſtroke made four wounds; when they lay for dead on the ground, he commanded the ſtanders by to ſpurn them, and after that the porters to break their ſtaves on them. Thus moſt cruelly mangled and bruiſed they were carried out, one of them died on the ſpot; ſome would have excuſed it by laying it on the Ambaſſador, but the King replied he only ordered a cup or two to be given them. Though drunkenneſs be a common vice, and an exerciſe of the King's, yet it is ſo ſtrictly forbidden, that no man can enter the guzelcan where the King ſits but the porters ſmell his breath; and if he have but taſted wine is not ſuffered to come in; and if the reaſon of his abſence be known, it will be a difficult matter to eſcape the whip; for if the King once takes offence, the father will not ſpeak for the ſon.

But this Emperor was not ſo entirely devoted to wine, or women, as to loſe the reliſh of a rural life: he frequently retired in the ſummer, into the kingdom of Cachemire, the moſt northern part of his dominions, which is looked upon in India as a terreſtrial paradiſe, being exceeding temperate and healthful, and abounding with all things that can render life deſirable. Here the Emperor built him an elegant palace, laid out delightful gardens, made canals and caſcades, and imbelliſhed it with a thouſand beauties. The Sultaneſs took a particular delight in ſtocking the canals with tame fiſh, and many years after there were taken fiſh with gold rings, which this

Palace of Cachemire

CHAP. I.

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CHAP. I.

In order therefore to balance the power of MAHOMET, ſhe perſuaded the Emperor to ſend for Cham CANNA, his mortal enemy, to court; inſinuating that MAHOMET deſigned to advance Sultan PERVIS to the throne, even in his father's life-time. Cham CANNA, as he was inſtructed, came up with a very heavy charge againſt MAHOMET: he magnified the ſervices he himſelf had performed to the imperial family, by quitting the party of Sultan CHORROM, for which, inſtead of receiving encouragement or protection, he repreſented that he had been confined, and uſed as a priſoner in the camp of Sultan PERVIS, and his children ſent to the citadel of Agra. That in ſhort, the Sultan and MAHOMET acted as if they were already maſters of the empire, and had no regard to the intereſts of his Majeſty. Thus the Emperor was prevailed on by the artifices of the Sultaneſs and Cham CANNA to diſmiſs that fortunate General MAHOMET from his command, requiring him to give a ſtrict account of his conduct.

MAHOMET CHAM diſgraced.

MAHOMET being very ſenſible that the Sultaneſs had determined to ruin him, and that as his Majeſty was ſurrounded by her creatures, no declarations of the ſervices he had performed to his country, or profeſſions of his innocence, were ever like to be heard, he had recourſe to his former ſtratagem, reſolving once more to get the Emperor into his power, which he effected in this manner: the Emperor, it ſeems, was now upon his progreſs from Agra to his beloved retirement of Cachimere, when MAHOMET having aſſembled five thouſand Rajaputes (or Raſhboots) who were devoted to his ſervice, he ſurprized the Emperor one morning in his tent, while his army was paſſing the river Tziunab. The greateſt part of the Emperor's forces were already on the other ſide: the guards were ſtruck with a pannick fear at the approach of the Raſhboots, and fled in the utmoſt conſternation; ſo that MAHOMET, without ſtriking a ſtroke, once more became maſter of his Sovereign, with the Prince BOLAQUI, Sultan SCHERIAR, and his two greateſt enemies ASAPH CHAM and Cham CANNA; and, in ſhort, the whole court. The city of Agra hereupon declared for MAHOMET CHAM; and the citadel ſurrendered to one of his officers. But ſuch was the moderation of MAHOMET, ſays the hiſtorian, that notwithſtanding it was then in his power to have advanced which of the royal family he pleaſed to the throne, he never attempted any thing of that kind; but left the Emperor and NOUR MAHAL at liberty to purſue their journey to the north, attending them in the quality of Captain of their guards. The Sultans BOLAQUI and SCHERIAR he ſent to the caſtle of Agra, and carried ASAPH CHAM and Cham CANNA along with him, in irons.

Seizes the Emperor's perſon again.

The Sultaneſs, piqued to the heart to find herſelf in the power of MAHOMET, who of all men ſhe deteſted, and taught by his example, meditated how ſhe might ſurprize him in her turn, and diſengage herſelf and the Emperor; ſhe held intelligence therefore with ſome of the principal officers of the army, who had been diſperſed on the firſt ſurprize, repreſenting that MAHOMET had but a handful of men he could depend on; and that if they would aſſemble a body of troops, and poſt them upon the road purſuant to her direction, it would be no difficult matter to defeat that ſmall detachment of Raſhboots, and make MAHOMET priſoner. But this old General, it ſeems, had timely intelligence of the ambuſcade that was preparing for him, and thereupon immediately returned back towards Agra with his priſoners, ASAPH CHAM and Cham CANNA, leaving the Mogul and his Sultaneſs to purſue their journey northward by themſelves: and, moved by an unexampled ſtrain of generoſity, ſoon after releaſed Cham CANNA, and gave him liberty to follow the court; firſt ſwearing him upon the Alcoran, that he would not bear arms againſt him for the future.

But the Sultaneſs reſolving to be revenged on MAHOMET, for the many killing affronts ſhe had received, prevailed with the Emperor to ſend a powerful army againſt MAHOMET, of which Cham CANNA accepted the command, notwithſtanding his oath: and by preſents or promiſes ſhe procured all MAHOMET's friends, even his own ſon, to deſert him. In this diſtreſs the old General not knowing which way to turn himſelf, offered his ſervice to Sultan CHORROM, who finding his father the Emperor upon the decline, and being ſenſible, that, in caſe of a demiſe, MAHOMET might contribute much to his advancement to the throne, he received him with open arms: and it was but a very little time afterwards that a courier brought him advice of the Emperor's death, as he was on the road from Cachimere to Lahor, which happened in the year 1627.

JEHAN GUIRE's death.

There were now three competitors for the crown; Sultan SCHERIAR, who had married the daughter of the Sultaneſs, was by her intereſt proclaimed in the palace. The army adhered to Prince BOLAQUI, grandſon of JEHAN GUIRE, who being recognized by the city of Agra, for ſome time enjoyed the imperial title. The Sultaneſs and her ſon-in-law SCHERIAR were delivered up to him, whom he confined in priſon, and put out the eyes of the latter. The two old miniſters ASAPH CHAM and MAHOMET CHAM, notwithſtanding, had their eyes upon Sultan CHORROM, but the treaſure and forces of the empire being in the power of BOLAQUI, they did not yet think it a proper time to declare themſelves. BOLAQUI reſolving to ſound his uncle's intentions,

BOLAQUI is ſet up by the army.



Cha. Iehan the Great Mogul

CHAP. I.

tions, ſent to demand a tribute and homage for the kingdom of Decan, and the other dominions he held of the empire. The Omrah, who was diſpatched to Sultan CHORROM on this occaſion, was acquainted that he was in ſo ill a ſtate of health that he could not poſſibly tranſact any buſineſs; ſtill the Omrah perſiſted to ſee him, which with ſome difficulty he was at length permitted to do, and found the Sultan in a very weak languiſhing condition, as he apprehended, and vomiting blood in ſuch quantities that he did not think it poſſible he could live many days. The Omrah thereupon immediately diſpatched a courier to Agra with the news, which he knew would be very acceptable to the court. But this illneſs, it ſeems, was all counterfeit, and the blood he ſeemed to vomit was only the blood of a kid he held in his mouth: however the deſign was ſtill carried on, Sultan CHORROM diſappeared of a ſudden; and it was not only given out that he was dead, but his whole court went into mourning for him. The crafty MAHOMET alſo prevailed with the Omrah who came from BOLAQUI, to write to his maſter, to obtain leave for the burying the Sultan in the royal ſepulchre at Agra, which was readily granted; and upon the return of the courier a pompous funeral proceſſion was begun, ſuitable to the quality of ſo great a Prince. MAHOMET CHAM, at the head of a thouſand officers of the deceaſed, attended the hearſe, and Sultan CHORROM himſelf followed in diſguiſe; ſeveral bodies of the Rajaputes, allies of Sultan CHORROM, fell in with the proceſſion upon the road, under pretence of paying their laſt devoirs to the deceaſed. ASAPH CHAM, who had not declared himſelf, but remained of BOLAQUI's council in Agra, treacherouſly adviſed the young Emperor to meet his uncle's corps, as they drew near Agra, who thereupon marched out with an ordinary guard, and ſuch an equipage as was ſuitable to the occaſion. He was ſurprized to ſee ſo numerous a body of troops attending the hearſe, and ſuſpecting he was betrayed, turned ſhort on a ſudden, and made his eſcape, never attempting to recover Agra; and indeed, he did not ſtop till he found himſelf in the Perſian dominions. He looked upon the defection to be univerſal; and very well knew that the conſequence of falling into his enemy's hands was death, or the loſs of his eyes at leaſt.

Bolaqui takes refuge in Perſia.

In the mean time Sultan CHORROM threw off his diſguiſe, and at the head of his troops made his entry into the city of Agra, which opened her gates to receive him. He was immediately proclaimed Emperor, and took upon him the title of CHA JEHAN, or King of the world. The unfortunate Sultan SCHERIAR had before loſt his eyes, but his brother, not ſatisfied with that, ordered him to be ſhut up, with his two ſons, in an apartment of the palace, and the doors to be walled up, where it is ſuppoſed they all died for want of food, being never heard of ſince.

Scheriar ſtarved with both his ſons.

CHA JEHAN having an inſuperable averſion to the Chriſtians, or rather to the Portugueſe, upon account of their refuſing to aſſiſt him in his wars againſt his father, determined to extirpate them out of his dominions: nor were they now ſo formidable an enemy in the Indies as they had been heretofore, being every day beaten at ſea by other European nations, in ſight of the coaſts; and many of their ſettlements taken from them by the Dutch. His firſt enterprize therefore, after his acceſſion, was againſt the Portugueſe fort of Hugley, not far from the mouth of the Ganges, which he commanded CASSAM CHAM to beſiege in form. That General when he firſt appeared before the place, only made a demand of a certain ſum of money, upon the payment whereof he promiſed to retire with his troops; but he had no ſooner poſſeſſed himſelf of the treaſure than he ordered the trenches to be opened, and played from his batteries upon the fort, with ſuch fury that the Portugueſe ſoon ſurrendred at diſcretion, and were all made priſoners of war; though the garriſon conſiſted of ſix or ſeven hundred men, who were moſt of them tranſplanted to Agra, and compelled to turn Mahometans, except ſome few, whom the Miſſionaries aſſure us died martyrs to their religion.

Hugley taken from the Portugueſe.

The laſt Emperor, JEHAN GUIRE, as has been obſerved already, had made Lahor his moſt conſtant reſidence, as his father AKEBAR did Agra; and each of them enlarged and beautified their reſpective favourite cities. The preſent Mogul CHA JEHAN, removed the imperial ſeat to Delly, which lyes between them both in that noble walk of trees ſo often mentioned in this hiſtory. He did indeed build a new city, to which the old ſerved as a ſuburb, and gave it the name of Cha Jehanabad, or the city of CHA JEHAN, which it might carry in his life-time, but is now generally called Delly again. The foundations of this new city, it is ſaid, were laid in blood; and that CHA JEHAN commanded his officers to cut the throats of ſeveral malefactors there, the better to cement them.

Delly built by CHA JEHAN.

The gardens of the palace he ſpared no pains or charge to beautify. A Venetian drew the plan of them, after thoſe beautiful models he had ſeen in Italy; and becauſe the river Jemma, on which Delly ſtands, was too low for the fountains and waterworks he intended, he turned the courſe of another river into the gardens which lay at thirty leagues diſtance. Here CHA JEHAN propoſed to ſpend the remainder of his life in eaſe and pleaſure, his youth having been taken up in a perpetual ſtruggle and contention with his father, and his family, in order to ſecure his acceſſion to

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the crown. He had, according to the maxims of Eaſtern policy, cut off or baniſhed all that could make any pretenſions to the throne; and ſeemed now reſolved to indulge himſelf beyond any of his luxurious predeceſſors.

Plays, muſick, dancing; the fights of elephants, tygers, &c. had each their hours aſſigned for them: and as he was bred in arms, he took a particular pleaſure in ſeeing the bloody combats of the gladiators, hunting was another favourite ſport: but he indulged his paſſion for the fair beyond either of them. The hundreds and thouſands of the ſlaves in his haram, how young or beautiful ſoever, he deſpiſed; the wives of the greateſt Omrah's only he thought worthy his purſuit; which unaccountable paſſion laid the foundation of thoſe misfortunes he afterwards experienced in the decline of life.

So mean and contemptible did this vicious Prince appear in the eyes of his ſubjects, in a few years, that they loſt all reſpect for his perſon: and the great Rajas, or tributary Princes, refuſed any longer to obey his orders: Theſe uſed to mount the guards by turns, with ſeveral thouſands of their Rajaputes, and pitch their tents before the gates of the palace; the Raja AMARSIN having neglected his turn, was reprimanded by the Viſier CHAM, principal ſecretary of ſtate, in the preſence of the Mogul. The Raja thereupon drew his crice and ſtabbed the Secretary to the heart; he was himſelf indeed ſtabbed in a thouſand places afterwards, but the Rajaputes, to revenge their Prince's death, deſtroyed ſeveral thouſand people in the town of Delly, and particularly all they met with who belonged to the palace. Nor was the government now in a condition to take ſatisfaction of that people, which ſome other Rajas obſerving, threw off their allegiance alſo, and ſet up for an independency.

Covetous in his old age.

CHA JEHAN, as he grew in years, from a profuſe voluptuous Prince, became the greateſt miſer that ever ſat upon a throne. To his Generals and Governors of provinces, it is ſaid, he allowed no other ſubſiſtence than what they acquired by that unlimited power he gave them, of fleecing the people under their command; and when any of them by this means were grown immoderately rich, he found ſome miſconduct in their adminiſtration, and emptied their bags into his own treaſury. He had two large vaults under his palace, in one of which he hoarded up his gold and the other his ſilver, having them caſt in ſuch large ingots that they were not eaſily removed. In theſe vaults he ſpent great part of the day, feeding his eyes with that immenſe wealth, the like whereof was not to be found in any kingdom of the world. In the mean time his ſons had no allowance, any more than the reſt of his officers, except what they could extort from the people, in the diſtant governments where they were ſent, chiefly to avoid the expences they occaſioned at court.

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The children of CHA JEHAN.

This Emperor had four ſons and two daughters, viz. Sultan DARA or DARIUS, his eldeſt ſon; Sultan SUJAH, ſometimes ſtyled CHA CHUIA, i.e. the prudent Prince, was the ſecond ſon; ORANGZEB, or the ornament of the throne, the third; and MORAD BACK, or perfect deſire, was the fourth. BEGOM SAHEB, which ſignifies Princeſs of the blood, or the royal Princeſs, was the eldeſt daughter; and indeed of all his children ROXANARA BEGUM, which ſignifies the illuſtrious Princeſs, or the light of Princeſſes, was the ſecond daughter; and ſome mention a third, named MERINZA BEGUM; but if there was ſuch a Lady, ſhe made no great figure in this reign.

Sultan DARA's character.

The Emperor deſigned his eldeſt ſon DARA for his ſucceſſor, kept him always near his perſon: he was a Prince of bright parts, which had been improved by a generous education. The European Miſſionaries, to whom he gave great encouragement, had inſtructed him in philoſophy, mathematicks, and other ſciences: he entertained alſo European engineers, and ingenious mechanicks in his ſervice; and few Princes ever made a greater progreſs in whatever he applied himſelf to: the only fault we find him charged with is the having too high a ſenſe of his own merit; and, in conſequence of that, looking with too much contempt on thoſe who were of his miniſtry, and whoſe province it was to aſſiſt him with their advice or intereſt: his openly countenancing Chriſtianity, or the diſciples of that religion, though it is not to be numbred among his faults by us, occaſioned alſo a general prejudice againſt him, among the Mahometan Omrahs; and perhaps contributed as much as any one thing to his miſſing the crown: for let the prevailing religion be never ſo abſurd, the leaſt ſuſpicion, that a Prince has a deſign to make alterations in it, is uſually of more fatal conſequence than any other ſtep that he can take.

DARA however being veſted with almoſt ſovereign authority by his father; and being allowed to ſit on a ſopha or chair of ſtate but very little lower than the Emperor's, even in his preſence, which never was allowed to any of the Mogul Princes before, was outwardly adored and courted by all the world; and excepting the revenues of the empire, there was not any mark of royalty which CHA JEHAN did not confer upon this favourite ſon, which was anſwered by ſuitable returns of gratitude and filial obedience.

The only thing that was blameable in DARA, as has been hinted, was his treating the great Raja's and principal miniſters with too much contempt; for as he perfectly deſpiſed the fawning behaviour

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behaviour so inseparable from a true courtier, so he could not believe he should ever stand in need of these inconsiderable animals to support his just pretensions to the crown. But while DARA by his haughty behaviour made himself enemies at court, the other brothers were making interest in their respective provinces to advance their pretensions, or at least secure themselves against the power of Sultan DARA, in case of a demise of the crown. AURENGZEBE alone seemed so mortified a Prince, and so entirely devoted to religion, as to despise all worldly grandeur. The due administration of justice in his province of Decan, and his devotions, took up the greatest part of his time; what he had to spare was spent in erecting temples or charitable foundations, or in heavenly conversation with the Faquirs, who are an order of begging Friers among the Mahometans; though there is one memorable story related of him, which one would have thought should have lost his credit with them.

He ordered all the Faquirs, which were to be found in the province, to be assembled on a certain day, declaring that he designed to distribute his charity amongst them; and desired the consolation of eating a meal of rice and herbs with those holy men. Accordingly a multitude of this order were assembled, and a frugal entertainment provided for them, such as their institution required.

After dinner AURENGZEBE let them know that he had ordered every one of them a new suit of clothes, and desired them to put off their rags, which he was uneasy to see so many of the votaries of their holy Prophet compelled to wear, through the uncharitableness of the people among whom they dwelt.

The brethren hereupon were struck with the utmost consternation, and would have excused their accepting the offer, by their vows of poverty; but the Viceroy, who was well acquainted with the gold and precious stones those rags concealed, would not be denied: and after he had put the Friers into a more decent dress, he ordered the treasure to be separated from the trumpery, whereby he made himself master of an immense sum, which, it is said, was one of the best funds he had to support him in the war against his father and brothers. But notwithstanding AURENGZEBE had pillaged the saints in this manner, he still continued to transact all his concerns with an air of sanctity; religion was the pretended inducement to every undertaking. His zeal for the orthodox faith it was that put him upon the conquest of Golconda: this King, it seems, was a heretick of the Persian sect, and therefore did not deserve to reign. A true believer only could be entitled to the rich diamond mines of this country; not that we can suppose the mortified AURENGZEBE had an eye upon these for his own private advantage, but it must be to the general prejudice of religion to let such treasures remain in the possession of an heretick Prince. But whatever was the true motive to this enterprize against the King of Golconda, AURENGZEBE now found a very favourable opportunity of invading his dominions.

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Treachery of MIRZA MULA.

MIRZA MULA, a Persian, who came into India in the service of a merchant, entering afterwards into the Mogul's service, was advanced by degrees to the most considerable commands in the army; but finding himself slighted by Sultan DARA, he went over to the King of Golconda, who gave him a post in the treasury, and the direction of the trade of his country; in which employment MIRZA MULA having amassed together considerable sums, he endeavoured to distinguish himself at court, by a magnificent equipage, and the curiosities he purchased and presented to his Majesty, and the Royal Family: and amongst the rest, the King's mother, the dowager Queen, was so smitten with the gallantry of the Persian that she denied him no favours, which the King having an intimation of, without taking any farther notice of her Majesty's irregular passion, sent MIRZA MULA out of her way, to the Government of Carnate, in which were the famous diamond mines. Here he took care to lay by the most valuable stones for his own use, and one amongst the rest he happened on which was not to be matched in the Indies, either for its bigness or lustre, which he afterwards presented to AURENGZEBE. MIRZA MULA was not contented with what he found in the mines, but he forced the people under his power to bring in their gold and jewels, under pretence of the necessities of the government: he plundered the very temples, and pulled off the precious stones with which their images were adorned; of which the King of Golconda being informed, determined to call MIRZA MULA to a severe account for his rapine and extortions. But the good old Queen let her favourite know the danger that threatned him; whereupon MIRZA MULA immediately dispatched a courier to AURENGZEBE, whose government lay contiguous to Golconda, to let him know, that if he would march with his army into that kingdom, he would join him with a body of troops from Carnate; and that his interest was so considerable in the palace itself, that he might depend upon an easy conquest; and to convince him of the advantage of the enterprize, made him a present of the large diamond abovementioned. This was the most agreeable message that AURENGZEBE could have received, for he did not doubt that, if he was once possessed of the riches of Golconda, he should bid fair for

AURENGZEBE invades Golconda.

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the empire of Indoſtan. He marched therefore without delay, and joined the treacherous MIRZA MULA. The King of Golconda hereupon retired, in the utmoſt conſternation, from his capital of Bagnagar, and ſhut himſelf up in the fortreſs of Golconda, which ſtands about three miles from it. The confederates plundered Bagnagar, and afterwards inveſted the fortreſs; of which AURENGZEBE ſent advice to the Emperor.

Sultan DARA was alarmed at the progreſs of AURENGZEBE's arms; and repreſented to CHA JEHAN, that if his brother was once maſter of the diamond mines, his next attempt would infallibly be againſt the crown: whereupon orders were immediately diſpatched to AURENGZEBE to deſiſt from the enterprize, and retire to his government of Decan.

AURENGZEBE obeyed the orders of the court, and concluded a treaty with the King of Golconda, the principal articles whereof were, that the Mogul ſhould be reimburſed the charges of the war; that the King's daughter ſhould be given in marriage to Prince MAHUMED, AURENGZEBE's eldeſt ſon, who ſhould ſucceed to the crown of Golconda, after the demiſe of his Majeſty; and that MIRZA MULA and his family ſhould be at liberty to retire, with their effects, out of the kingdom. Thus was Golconda delivered from the danger that threatned it at this time; but AURENGZEBE had ſuch a taſte of the riches that country afforded, that he fully determined to make it a province of the empire, if ever he ſucceeded to the crown.

AURENGZEBE finding his friend MIRZA wanted neither courage nor conduct, and that he had a confirmed averſion to his brother the Sultan DARA; and above all, that he was villain enough to execute whatever he ſhould command, without remorſe, looked upon him as a proper inſtrument to promote the ambitious deſigns he had in view. He took him therefore into his moſt intimate confidence, and made him General of the forces againſt the kingdom of Viſiapour; while he himſelf ſpent his time in amuſing the people with extraordinary ſhews of devotion, his exact juſtice, and an uncommon benevolence to the poor, which rendred him exceeding popular.

CHA JEHAN reported to be dead.

In the mean time the Emperor CHA JEHAN was taken dangerouſly ill; and it was reported in Delly, and even in the remoteſt provinces of the empire, that he was dead; whereupon the three youngeſt Sultans, his ſons, began to make preparations, in their reſpective provinces, to puſh for the empire. Sultan SUJAH or CHUIA, Viceroy of Bengal, was the firſt that appeared in arms, bending his march towards Delly, with an army of forty thouſand horſe. When he firſt ſet forward, it is ſaid, he laid his hand on his ſcymetar, crying out, 'Now for a throne or a grave.'

He gave out upon the march, that Sultan DARA had poiſoned the Emperor, and that he was going to revenge his father's death; but CHA JEHAN recovering from his indiſpoſition, wrote his ſon word, with his own hand, that he was now perfectly in health; and that his brother DARA had not at all contributed to his late illneſs; and therefore he would do well to return to his government of Bengal, and repair the overſights his exceſs of zeal had induced him to commit, by a more exact obedience for the future. But Sultan SUJAH receiving other letters from his friends at the ſame time, aſſuring him that it was not likely his father would recover; and that his fortune depended on his appearing immediately before Delly, the Sultan thought fit to continue his march. CHA JEHAN hereupon removed with his court to Agra, being a place of much greater ſtrength. DARA followed his father's court, but detached his ſon SOLIMAN CHACU, and with him Raja JASING and DALIL CHAM, two experienced Generals, and a gallant army, to oppoſe Sultan SUJAH, whoſe forces being much inferior in all reſpects, were eaſily defeated; and the Sultan himſelf with ſome difficulty eſcaped to Bengal.

SUJA defeated.

In the mean time the Mogul's two youngeſt ſons had aſſembled their troops, in order to diſpute the crown with DARA. AURENGZEBE indeed practiſed his uſual arts of diſſimulation, pretending he had no manner of thoughts of ſetting up himſelf; and wrote to his brother MORADBACK, Viceroy of Guzarate, to acquaint him that all his ambition was to ſee the worſhip of God, and the Law of his holy Prophet, eſtabliſhed in its primitive purity; that he was ſorry to obſerve that their brother DARA was become a proſelyte to Chriſtianity, and Sultan SUJAH followed the Perſian hereſy; but he ſhould endeavour, by the help of God, and his holy Prophet, to prevent either the apoſtate or the heretick's mounting the throne of their father. And ſince MORAD alone retained a true zeal for the Alcoran, he would aſſiſt him with all his power and intereſt to oppoſe them both, deſiring no other return for his ſervices, but that he might ſpend the remainder of his life near the tomb of MAHOMET, in acts of mortification and devotion. Sultan MORAD was infinitely pleaſed with his brother's pious intentions; and invited him to come and join forces with him, that they might march in a body to Delly. AURENGZEBE hereupon, with his friend MIRZA MULA, ſet forward towards Delly, with an army of veteran troops, who had ſerved in the wars of Viſapour and Golconda, well provided with all neceſſaries, and a prodigious bank of money, which he had been

MORADBACK AURENGZEBE againſt DARA.

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been heaping up for ſeveral years. When the armies came in ſight, AURENGZEBE diſmounted and ran to meet his brother, proſtrating himſelf before him as his Sovereign. MORAD immediately took his brother up and embraced him, and the higheſt profeſſions of mutual friendſhip paſſed between them; MORAD was prevailed upon by this maſter of diſſimulation to take upon him the imperial ſtyle and ſtate, and his brother was pleaſed to receive thoſe orders from him which he firſt adviſed.

So ſoon as Sultan DARA underſtood the two brothers were joined, he diſpatched a trumpet with a letter from the Emperor to each of them, aſſuring them that he was in health, and that they ſhould retire and diſband their troops on pain of his reſentment. MORAD, 'tis ſaid, was ſhocked to find his father was alive, and was inclined to obey his orders: but AURENGZEBE ſhewing him that it was too late to repent, and that there was now no medium between death and conqueſt; and that if ever the armies ſeparated they were infallibly ruined: That though their father might be yet alive, he was ſuperannuated and incapable of regal cares; and in effect, that the prophane DARA had already poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereign power, and would infallibly extirpate their holy religion if he was not timely prevented. By theſe ſpecious reaſons he prevailed upon the honeſt MORAD to continue his march.

DARA was not idle in the mean time, but ordered his Generals JACONTSING and CASSAM CHAM to take a paſs upon the river Ugen, which might eaſily have been maintained againſt all the forces of the two brothers; but CASSAM CHAM, one of thoſe whom DARA had formerly diſobliged, being in the intereſt of AURENGZEBE, withdrew upon the approach of his army, and left the RAJA JACONTSING to fight it out by himſelf; whereupon the two brothers gained an eaſy victory, making themſelves maſters of all the enemies artillery and baggage: and ſo did the partiſans of AURENGZEBE manage this matter, that all the glory of the victory was aſcribed to him, which gave a great diſguſt to the miniſters and Generals of MORAD's army, knowing that their maſter's troops had born all the burden of the day, while AURENGZEBE ſeemed to reſerve his own forces for another occaſion. They begun now to be convinced of the ambitious deſigns of the diſſembler; and had, it is ſaid, without their maſter's knowledge, formed a deſign to cut him off next time he came to MORAD's quarters; which AURENGZEBE, who had his ſpies in every place, had ſome intelligence of, and came no more to his brother's tent as uſual, but ſent his ſon MAHOMED to pay his compliments, without diſcovering that he was apprized of the conſpiracy againſt him.

While the two brothers continued their march the malecontents at court came over to them every day; and many of thoſe who ſtaid behind remained there but for an opportunity of giving intelligence to the enemy. CHA JEHAN finding himſelf betrayed on every ſide, and reflecting on his former conduct, 'tis ſaid, in reſpect to the Omrah's, thought this univerſal defection might proceed from a particular prejudice to his own perſon, he made a ceſſion therefore of the crown, and devolved all his authority on his ſon DARA; who thereupon immediately raiſed a prodigious army, and marched to meet the enemy upon the 14th of May 1656. To ſee this mighty army, ſays the hiſtorian, extend itſelf on the vaſt plains of Agra, it would have inclined one to believe that DARA muſt have commanded victory wherever he went: but DARA's haughty carriage, it ſeems, had raiſed him as many enemies as the vices of CHA JEHAN the father; inſomuch that there was hardly a conſiderable officer in the army but had their particular prejudices. DARA continued his march for four days, till he came to the river Chambal, where he intrenched himſelf, and determined to wait the motions of the two brothers; for here his army could be ſupplied with all proviſions from Agra, and the enemy he knew could not poſſibly ſubſiſt long in that barren country which lay to the ſouthward, eſpecially at this ſeaſon of the year when the heats are intolerable.

CHA JEHAN reſigns his crown to DARA.

AURENZGZEBE obſerving the diſpoſition of the imperial army, and that all the avenues to DARA's camp were fortified with intrenchments and batteries of cannon, concluded it was impoſſible to force the enemy in that poſt. On the other hand, he was ſenſible that the leaſt delay would infallibly be their ruin; DARA would be joined in a little time by his victorious ſon, who was returning from the purſuit of Sultan SUJAH; and their own troops would be diſheartned and diſperſe if their firſt heat was a little cooled, as is uſual in all inſurrections, where rebels meet with unforeſeen difficulties. In this diſtreſs the Raja CAMPET, a confirmed enemy to the court, offered the two brothers a paſſage through his country, which lay about thirty miles higher up the river, where it was probable they would meet with no oppoſition; for the Raja's territories being woody and mountainous, and the Raja himſelf a General in the imperial army, DARA looked upon himſelf as ſecure on that ſide; when to his ſurprize, intelligence was brought him that a body of the enemy had actually paſſed the river, and was preparing to attack his rear. DARA immediately diſpatched the treacherous CALIM CHAM to oppoſe them, but he having a correſpondence with AURENGZEBE, ſuffered his whole army to paſs the river, and form themſelves in order of battle without giving them any diſturbance;

DARA betrayed.

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bance; ſo that now both armies came to a battle on equal terms, which was fought with very great bravery on that ſide where DARA himſelf commanded; but the other Generals not doing their duty, and ſome of them with their whole bodies going over to the enemy, the two brothers at length obtained an entire victory. DARA retired with a ſmall body of troops which remained faithful to him to AGRA, where he ſtaid but a few hours to refreſh himſelf, and continued his march to Delly; but the Governor having heard of the loſs of the battle refuſed him admittance, whereupon he was compelled to retire to Lahor.

DARA defeated.

In the mean time AURENGZEBE and MORAD advanced with their victorious army to the gates of Agra, and inveſted the place, which was betrayed to them in a few days, and the old Emperor CHA JEHAN made priſoner. The two brothers poſſeſſed themſelves of his prodigious treaſures, which they found abundantly ſufficient to reward their adherents and ſupport their uſurpation; and having refreſhed their troops, and put the government into ſuch hands as they could depend on, they left a garriſon in Agra, and continued their march towards Delly, MORAD being treated by AURENGZEBE and the whole army as their Emperor. They were encamped in the fertile plains of Matura, where ſtands a noble moſque or temple, erected by ſome of the Mogul Emperors, where AURENGZEBE propoſed this as a proper place for the inauguration of his brother; whereupon great preparations were made to perform the ſolemnity on the 15th of June, 1656.

The evening before the ceremony, AURENGZEBE pretending ſome indiſpoſition which prevented his attendance at the court of the new Emperor, invited his Majeſty to his quarters to regulate ſome matters in relation to the intended proceſſion, and to conſult the aſtrologers upon the lucky moment for his inauguration. MORAD, it is ſaid, was ſo blinded by his ambition, or naturally brave and undeſigning in his temper, and not eaſily induced to ſuſpect others would not liſten to the repeated repreſentations of his miniſters againſt his putting himſelf into the power of his brother; but attended only by an ordinary guard and ſome few officers of his army, came to AURENGZEBE's tent according to the invitation made him, where he was received in a manner ſuitable to the imperial dignity, and with ſuch artful tenderneſs and ſeeming affection by his crafty brother, as perfectly diſpelled all ſuſpicion of treachery.

A noble entertainment was ſoon after ſerved up, and wine brought in, which was the firſt time AURENGZEBE had ſuffered wine to be drunk at his table. The royal brothers ate together, while the officers which came with MORAD were entertained in a diſtant tent, and only that Prince's eunuch, CHA ABBAS, remained with his maſter.

MORAD indulged himſelf in drinking wine after his uſual cuſtom, while that ſaint AURENGZEBE would touch nothing but water; at length the new Emperor fell aſleep, and was removed into a pavilion prepared for him, attended only by his faithful eunuch, who laid himſelf down at his maſter's feet. Towards morning AURENGZEBE, attended by half a dozen of his guards, came into the tent where MORAD was ſleeping, and ordering his brother and the eunuch to be bound; before they were well awake they were ſhut up in ſeveral litters, and the one ſent under a guard to Delly and the other to Agra: and all this was ſo well concerted, that neither camp had notice of it except thoſe that were in the ſecret. The muſick play'd on, and the ſervants attended round the pavilion of AURENGZEBE till morning, as if the two brothers were ſtill rejoicing there; and it was given out that the Emperor MORAD would proceed from his brother's tent to his intended inauguration; and orders were given out that none ſhould appear armed at the ſolemnity except the guards appointed on this occaſion.

MORAD ſurprized, and made priſoner by AURENGZEBE.

Moſt of the ſoldiers of both armies were now aſſembled in the plain abovementioned, expecting the approach of the Emperor MORAD; when a body of troops, the moſt devoted to AURENGZEBE, ſurrounded the place, and poſſeſſed all the avenues to the camp; and the mortified AURENGZEBE, to the ſurprize of all that were not in the deſign, ſoon after appeared in his royal robes, and placed himſelf upon the throne erected for his brother; whereupon his partiſans, as they were inſtructed, cried out, long live the Emperor AURENGZEBE, which was echoed from one ſide of the plain to the other; and the bulk of both armies, influenced by their hopes or fears, joined in the general acclamation, the hiſtorian obſerving that the temper of the Indians is ſuch that they are eaſily reconciled to any alterations of ſtate, and ſeldom make any ſcruple of obeying the Prince upon the throne; but AURENGZEBE having corrupted the very Generals in MORAD's army, and taken care to diſarm all thoſe that were not in his own intereſt, he had very little to apprehend from any oppoſition that could be made to his aſſuming the throne.

AURENGZEBE proclaimed Emperor.

AURENGZEBE having new modelled both armies according to his heart's deſire, prepar'd to purſue DARA into the kingdom of Lahor, who had aſſembled a new army there of thirty thouſand men. But AURENGZEBE, who ever effected his greateſt deſigns by raiſing miſunderſtandings among his enemies, rather than by downright force, found means to create ſuch jealouſies among DARA's officers, that his troops diſperſed upon the approach of AURENGZEBE's army, and DARA fled with a very ſmall retinue, tranſporting

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transporting himself along the Indus into the province of Guzarate, in hopes of escaping afterwards into Persia.

The new Emperor hereupon turned his forces against Sultan SUJAH or CHUIA, the second of CHA JEHAN's sons, who understanding that AURENGZEBE was marched northward, had left his government of Bengal a second time and advanced towards Agra, but AURENGZEBE returning with a surprising celerity, prevented that capital from falling into his hands. However, Sultan SUJAH had posted his troops so advantageously that he was not to be forced in his camp; and kept a communication open with several towns, from whence he was well supplied with provisions, while his enemies wanted all necessaries, and even water, which they were forced to bring to their camp upon the backs of camels from the Ganges, which lay at twenty miles distance. In this distress AURENGZEBE ordered it to be given out that he would decamp the next morning, and accordingly the tents were struck and the troops actually in motion; which Sultan SUJAH observing, prepared to fall upon their rear. The troops of AURENGZEBE were ordered to give way upon the first charge, until they had drawn the advanced guards of Sultan SUJAH some distance from their camp, and then to make a stand, which orders were punctually executed; and Sultan SUJAH observing his men were over-powered, detached still other troops to support them, and the enemy doing the like on the other side, it came at length to a general battle.

The Generals mounted on their respective elephants, advanced with the bodies under their immediate commands to engage each other; and the battle was fought with great obstinacy, till AURENGZEBE artfully drew his enemy into a field where he had ordered pits to be made the night before and covered over with turf, so that they lay unperceived. Here the brave Sultan SUJAH was advancing to engage his brother, and personally decide the fortune of the day, when his elephant flounced into one of these pits prepared for him, from whence the Sultan found it impossible to disengage himself suddenly; whereupon the army, not seeing their General, imagined he was killed, and thought of nothing but making their retreat. Sultan SUJAH afterwards mounted a horse that was brought him, and endeavoured to rally his flying troops, but it was too late, the rout was total; a panick fear had seized his forces, and they could never be brought to make a stand again; and SUJAH, with great difficulty, made his escape into the province of Bengal. Here he recruited his shattered troops, and having posted himself in an advantageous camp, waited the approach of the enemy; when he understood that MAHOMET, the eldest son of AURENGZEBE, was in some disgrace, and secretly invited him to come over to his party; which negotiation was so well managed, that he did not only desert his father's court himself, but brought over with him several of his best officers.

The politick AURENGZEBE nevertheless found means to create a jealousy between the uncle and the nephew, and at the same time gave his son all imaginable encouragement to return to his duty; and by these means he prevailed with the young Prince to quit the service of Sultan SUJAH; but the father had no sooner got him into his power but he clapped him up in the castle of Guallior, that he might have no opportunity of playing the same game that he himself had against his father CHA JEHAN.

AURENGZEBE triumphs.

And now AURENZEBE having no enemy able to keep the field against him, and his father as well as his brother MORAD his prisoners; he made his triumphant entry into the city of Delly, and caused money to be coined with this inscription, 'I the King AURENGZEBE, conquered of the 'world, have caused this money to be coined 'bright as the sun itself.'

Sultan DARA still found means to draw together another army in Guzarate. His title to the crown, and that tenderness the people generally entertain for the unfortunate, with the detested hypocrisy of his brother AURENGZEBE, procured him a considerable party in the empire; but the Generals of the new Emperor were so vigilant that they soon put a stop to his levies; and dispersed the troops he had raised. Such was the consternation of DARA's troops upon the approach of the enemy, that this unfortunate Prince was again abandoned by all his adherents, except two thousand horse: accompanied with these in the midst of summer, without tents or any accommodations, he was compelled to traverse a vast sandy desart, in order, if possible, to get into the city of Amadabat, which was in the possession of his troops. But when he had with incredible fatigue marched within a few miles of that city, and given the Governor notice of his approach, AURENGZEBE had so prevailed with the Commander by threats or promises, that he would not suffer DARA to enter the gates. The night before he received this news from the Governor of Amadabat, says father BERNIER, (who attended him as his physician at this time) 'Sultan DARA did me the honour to make me 'come into the * caravansera where he lay, for 'fear I should be cut off by the peasants, who had 'taken arms to plunder our baggage; and I was 'so near this Prince's consort (a thing incredible 'in Indostan, where the great men are so jealous) that the cords of the canate, or little 'booth she lay in was fastned to the wheels of 'my chariot, for they had not so much as one poor

DARA's troops again dispersed.

Amadabat shuts its gates against him.

* A house for entertainment of travellers.

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'poor tent amongſt them. I relate this circumſtance by the by (ſays BERNIER) only to ſhew 'the extremity Sultan DARA was reduced to. 'When the women heard the fatal news that 'they could not get into the city (which was 'about the break of day) they broke out into 'the moſt diſmal cries and lamentations, and all 'things were in an inexpreſſible confuſion, none 'knowing what to do, or what would become of 'them. Soon after DARA coming out in the ut-'moſt conſternation, firſt ſpoke to one and then 'to another, even to the meaneſt ſoldier, but he 'found them all ready to abandon him. Of the 'three great oxen that drew my chariot (ſays 'BERNIER) one died the day before, another in 'the night, and the third was not able to go; 'for we had marched night and day, the heat 'and duſt all the while intolerable, ſo that to 'my good fortune he left me behind: I ſaw him 'march away with tears in his eyes, accom-'panied with four or five hundred horſe at the 'moſt, and two elephants which were ſaid to be 'laden with treaſure. In the vaſt ſandy deſarts, 'which he was obliged to croſs in the heat of 'ſummer, he loſt many of thoſe that followed him, 'eſpecially ſeveral of his women, who periſhed 'either of drought, the unwholeſomneſs of the 'waters, by pure fatigue, or the peaſants before-'mentioned.

DARA's diſt. is.

The Sultan, now deſpairing to reſtore his affairs, determined to fly for refuge into Perſia, to which he was the rather induced, becauſe GIVEN CHAM, the Commander of a fort upon the frontiers was his friend, and might favour his retreat. This man had received the higheſt favours from the Sultan; and particularly once he ſaved his life, when the Emperor CHA JEHAN had commanded him to be trod to death by elephants for ſome miſdemeanour he had committed. This traytor received the Sultan with the greateſt profeſſions of gratitude, but immediately gave intelligence to the General who commanded the forces of AURENZEBE on that ſide, that he had DARA in his power, and would deliver him up. The Sultan ſuſpected the treachery, and was meditating how he might make his eſcape from thence, when a detachment of AURENGZEBE's forces ſurrounded the place, and carried DARA priſoner with them to Bakar, which was beſieged by his brother's troops, being the only fortreſs which ſtill held out for DARA. They compelled the unfortunate Sultan to ſend orders to the Governor to ſurrender the fortreſs, who obeyed, on condition he might be at liberty to retire into the kingdom of Cachemire.

DARA betrayed to AURENGZEBE.

When the captive Prince was brought to Delly, he was ſet in an open chair on the back of an elephant with his feet chained, and his youngeſt children about him, which moved the compaſſion of the people. His brother AURENGZEBE would not ſee his face, but ordered him to be ſecured in a caſtle without the town; and having aſſembled a council of the principal Omrahs, he propoſed it as a matter indifferent to him, whether it were moſt adviſable to condemn DARA to perpetual impriſonment, or deprive him of his life; by which means he did not doubt but he ſhould diſcover which of them were in DARA's intereſt, determining with himſelf not to ſpare one of them; but theſe gentlemen were all ſo wiſe as to ſave their own lives by voting away their maſter's, except one who had been his declared enemy, which, 'tis ſaid, gave AURENGZEBE ſuch an opinion of the man, that he afterwards took him into the number of his friends. DARA in the mean time remained in priſon, in hourly expectation of his fate: and our European Miſſionaries ſeem inclined to think that he died a Chriſtian, though they confeſs no Chriſtian was ſuffered to come near him; and if it had been ſo, the Mahometans would hardly have divulged it. The Miſſionaries, indeed, recite the minuteſt circumſtances that occurred during this Prince's impriſonment; and tell us, that when the executioner approached, he cried out, 'MAHOMET has given 'me death, but the Son of God will reſtore me to 'life.' Which words were hardly ſpoken, 'tis ſaid, when the executioner flung him on the ground and cut off his head. The perſonal hatred of AURENGZEBE to his brother, 'tis reported, was ſuch, that he ordered DARA's head to be brought him, and viewed it with great ſatisfaction; and inſulting over it, ſaid, 'behold 'the remains of a weak man, who would have 'wreſted a crown from me he was not able to 'ſuſtain.' He afterwards order'd the head to be carried to his father CHA JEHAN, and his ſiſter BEGUM SAEB, who were impriſoned in the caſtle of Agra; at which melancholly ſpectacle, the old Emperor fell into a ſwoon; but it did not break his heart, as his pious ſon AURENGZEBE expected. Nor was the ſight leſs afflicting to the ſiſter, who had always eſpouſed the intereſt of Sultan DARA; and whom he had promiſed to marry, 'tis ſaid, if ever he poſſeſſed the throne.

Expoſed in the ſtreets of Delly.

Sultan SUJAH, the ſecond ſon of CHA JEHAN, ſtill remained in Bengal; but upon the approach of AURENGZEBE's army, finding himſelf in no condition to oppoſe ſo great a force, he propoſed to retire to the kingdom of Arracan, which lyes to the ſouth eaſt of Bengal, but ſeparated from it by impaſſable mountains and foreſts. The Portugueſe, who were then poſſeſſed of Chatigan, a port near the mouth of the river Ganges, took upon them to tranſport the Sultan with his treaſure and family thither; but it is ſaid, they ſunk the veſſel in which the money and jewels were, and afterwards converted them to their own uſe. How-

ever



Cha. Aurengzebe ijd Great Mogul.

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ever that be, Sultan SUJAH arrived safe at Arracan, though it might have been as happy for him if he had perished at sea with his treasure; for he had not been long in that Prince's court before there happened some misunderstanding between him and the Prince he fled to for refuge; and not only himself, but his wives and children were all cut in pieces in the year 1658. Thus miserably died the second son of CHA JEHAN, who first begun the rebellion against his father.

Sultan CHACU, the eldest son of DARA, a Prince of great expectations, still remained secure from his uncle's cruelty, in the territories of the Raja SIRINAGAR, whom neither threats nor promises could move to deliver him up: but AURENGZEBE so insinuated himself into the son of SIRINAGAR, that he prevailed with him to betray Sultan CHACU into his hands; to which end a hunting match was appointed, and intelligence given in what part of the country they would hunt; whereupon a detachment of the Mogul's troops formed an ambuscade, and carried off the young Prince, who was imprisoned in the castle of Gallior with his uncle MORAD.

AURENGZEBE did not yet think himself secure upon the throne till his brother MORAD was taken off, but chose to destroy him under a colour of justice, as it is said: accordingly witnesses were produced to prove, that when this Prince was Viceroy of Guzarate, and the Emperor CHA JEHAN sent an Omrah to inspect his conduct, Sultan MORAD procured him to be assassinated; but why AURENGZEBE should set up a court of justice to take off this Prince, when he had arbitrarily destroyed so many others, I cannot conceive. However, certain it is, Sultan MORAD was murdered by one means or other in order to secure the possession of the throne to AURENGZEBE. His father he permitted to enjoy all the pleasures which were to be found within the walls of the palace. It could be of no service to AURENGZEBE to deprive a feeble old man of his life, and his name might be of use to him if any other pretenders should oppose his usurpation.

AURENGZEBE now looking upon himself to be established, demanded the investiture of the government; and required the oaths and homage of the Omrahs, as is usual upon the accession of an Emperor: but in this, it seems, he was opposed by the Cadi, or High Priest, who declared, that by the laws of MAHOMET, as well as nature, he could not be recognized as Emperor while his father was living; especially having taken such methods to attain the crown as by cutting off an elder brother, and all that stood in his way.

To obviate this difficulty, AURENGZEBE summoned an assembly of the doctors of the Mahometan law, and shewed that his father was superannuated; that his brother had been a contemner of the law, and a favourer of infidels; that he had violated their holy religion by drinking wine, and had a design entirely to subvert the constitution, and introduce unbelievers into the administration; and that it was only his zeal to see the precepts of their great Prophet maintained, which could have induced him to take the government upon him. But the Cadi still opposing his inauguration, he procured him to be deposed, and a more complying High Priest substituted in his room; who being convinced by his arguments, or terrified by his troops, made no opposition to his mounting the throne. Whereupon AURENGZEBE was inaugurated on the 20th of October, 1660. receiving the accustomed homage of the Omrahs, and rejoicings were made suitable to the occasion. Several foreign Princes also sent their Ambassadors, and congratulated the accession of AURENGZEBE: but the Great CHA ABBAS, Sophi of Persia, still reproached him with his usurpation, and repeated murders, and the imprisonment of his father. And when AURENGZEBE some time after dispatched an Envoy to Persia to negotiate some particular affair, the Sophi detesting that hypocrisy and perfidiousness by which he raised himself to the throne, and resenting his styling himself King of the world, ordered the Envoy's beard to be pulled off, and the presents he brought to be burnt: and had not fortune, always propitious to this usurper, taken off the great CHA ABBAS when he was upon the point of invading the Mogul's dominions, and the people in general ready for a revolt, he would have found some difficulty in maintaining himself upon the throne.

AURENGZEBE soon after his accession had a fit of sickness, which gave his enemies an opportunity of reporting he was dead, and all things were running into confusion; which he was no sooner apprized of, but he caused himself to be brought into council, and there transacted business as in the time of his health. Whereupon one of his Omrah's represented to him the ill consequence this might be to his health; desiring he would take care to preserve that precious life, according to the modern phrase, on which the well-being of so vast an empire depended: for every usurper, whose title is apparently defective, to supply that misfortune must insinuate the necessity the nation is under of changing hands; and if he can make the people believe that their lawful Governors would infallibly cut all their throats, and burn or broil their wives and children (which how incredible soever, has been practised with success) when he has worked them up to entertain such apprehensions as these, and shewn that he is the only hero that can deliver them from these calamities, or defend their religion and liberties, he needs no title to support him, self-preservation unites the people

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people to his intereſt, and the hand of heaven viſible in his ſucceſs, takes off all manner of ſcruple to obey him.

But to return to AURENGZEBE, when the great men addreſſed themſelves to him to take care of his health, he anſwered, in his uſual hypocritical ſtrain, 'that the ſame good providence 'which had raiſed him to the crown, required 'he ſhould ſpend his time in hearing and redreſſing 'the grievances of his ſubjects; and that Kings 'ceaſed to be Kings when they did not govern 'their kingdoms themſelves, but left their people 'to be devoured by rapacious Miniſters.'

This Emperor took great care of the education of the Princes his children, and much regretted the want of it himſelf. He obſerved that the eaſtern Princes are uſually brought up in the Haram among the women, where they are ſeldom inſtructed in the principles of government, unleſs it be to make themſelves dreaded by acts of tyranny and oppreſſion; and to ſatiate their revenge on all that oppoſe them.

AURENGZEBE ſtill kept the palace of his father CHA JEHAN ſurrounded by his guards, but treated him with all manner of reſpect; nor was he deprived of any pleaſures that were to be found within thoſe walls. And becauſe the old Emperor was become very devout, during his confinement, he ſent him ſeveral Mollahs to read the Alcoran to him; and theſe being his ſon's creatures, ſo prevailed upon CHA JEHAN, that, 'tis ſaid, he perfectly forgave AURENGZEBE all the injuries he had done him; and frequently aſſiſted him with his advice in the government of the Empire. He alſo voluntarily ſent him thoſe jewels he had threatned to break to pieces, and conſented to AURENGZEBE's marrying the daughter of DARA the eldeſt brother; by which match he propoſed to ſtrengthen his title to the crown, CHA JEHAN having made a ceſſion of the empire to DARA when his two youngeſt ſons advanced againſt him. But ſtill AURENGZEBE was under great apprehenſions of his Generals, who were conſcious to thoſe wicked arts by which he had raiſed himſelf to the throne, and particularly of EMIR JEMLA, whom he advanced indeed to the higheſt poſts, but employed in a diſtant war; commanding him to invade the territories of the Raja of Acham, which lye to the eaſtward of Bengal. EMIR JEMLA, being a man of an ambitious ſpirit, joyfully accepted the command, propoſing to extend his conqueſts as far as China; or however being at the head of ſo powerful an army, hoped to be in a condition to give laws to his Sovereign. This General met with great ſucceſs in the beginning of the enterprize. The Raja of Acham was defeated, his capital, Chamdara, plundered, and that Prince forced to retire into the mountains; but the rainy ſeaſon coming on ſooner than was expected, the country was immediately overflowed: the army of EMIR JEMLA found it very difficult to ſubſiſt in their new conqueſts, and not leſs difficult to retreat. However, EMIR JEMLA did at length find means to return into Bengal, of which province he was governor; propoſing the next year to complete his conqueſt of the kingdom of Acham: but his army, having contracted the bloody flux in that wet ſeaſon, were moſt of them ſwept away; and among the reſt EMIR JEMLA himſelf, to the great ſatisfaction of AURENGZEBE, who hardly looked upon himſelf to be Emperor while he lived. As this General was the principal inſtrument to raiſe this Prince to the throne, and had run the greateſt lengths to advance him; being as wicked as his heart could wiſh, an accompliſhed, but an aſpiring General; and one, whom his maſter, that knew him thoroughly, was convinced nothing would content but a ſhare in the ſovereign power, he found it neceſſary to deſtroy him, and therefore put him upon the moſt hazardous enterprize he could think of; feeding his vanity and ambition with the probability of the conqueſt, even of the empire of China; though he was ſenſible that the countries which lay between him and that kingdom where impaſſable for great armies; and therefore when EMIR JEMLA was dead, he made no farther attempts on that ſide, but to encourage others to ſerve him, he gave MAHOMET, the Son of EMIR JEMLA, all his father's eſtate, which by the laws of the empire devolved to the crown.

AURENGZEBE reconciled to his father.

Jealous of his own Generals.

Acham invaded.

The next conſiderable expedition in this reign was againſt the pirates who infeſted the bay of Bengal, and had fortified themſelves at Chatigan and other places, on the mouths of the Ganges, and in the kingdom of Arracan, which lyes contiguous to Bengal. Theſe pirates conſiſted of Europeans, or franks of all nations, but chiefly of Portugueſe; who frequently made ſlaves of the Mogul's ſubjects, burnt and plundered the frontier towns, and rendered both the ſeas and ſhores very unſafe. Againſt theſe AURENGZEBE ſent another of his Generals, who ſuppreſſed the pirates, and brought that part of India under as peaceable and regular a government as any other part of the empire.

Expedition of the Mogul at the mouths of the Ganges.

While theſe things were tranſacting in Bengal, that bold RAJA SEVAGI, who had poſſeſſed himſelf of ſome inacceſſible mountains in the kingdom of Viſiapour, ventured to attack the Mogul's frontiers on that ſide. His father, it ſeems, was an officer in the King of Viſiapour's ſervice when the ſon aſſembled a body of looſe fellows and banditti, and broke out into rebellion againſt that Prince. The King of Viſiapour ſuſpecting that the father held a correſpondence with the ſon, clapped the old man up in priſon, where he died.

RAJA SEVAGI

towns, and princip. Surat.

SEVAGI

SEVAGI, under pretence of revenging his father's death, plundered Viſiapour, the capital of the kingdom; and with the treaſure he found there, raiſed ſuch a force as to form a new ſtate in the heart of the country; and the King dying about that time, and leaving the adminiſtration of the government to his Queen, SEVAGI eſtabliſhed his little principality without any conſiderable oppoſition. The Queen was contented to make peace, and confirmed to him the poſſeſſion of the territories he had uſurped: but SEVAGI being of a reſtleſs ambitious temper, had no ſooner brought his own Sovereign to a compliance, but he plundered ſeveral towns under the dominion of AURENGZEBE, who commanded his uncle CHASTA CHAN to march with an army againſt him; whereupon SEVAGI retired to his mountains, where he bid defiance to the whole forces of the Mogul, and was very near ſurprizing CHASTA CHAN one night in his tent, having killed his ſon and wounded the General himſelf; and in ſhort, he ſo haraſſed the Mogul's troops, that CHASTA CHAN was glad to quit the enterprize, and return to his government of Aurengabad.

SEVAGI ſoon after formed a project of ſurprizing Surat, a port of the greateſt trade in the Mogul's dominions. To cover his deſign, he marched with the greateſt part of his forces the direct contrary way; and while AURENGZEBE's Generals were preparing to oppoſe him, he diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a Faquir, and travelled to Surat on foot, in order to view the avenues to that city; and finding it a place not capable of making any great defence, at his return to the camp, he took with him no more than four thouſand men, with whom he marched with the utmoſt ſecreſy and expedition, inſomuch that the Governor had no notice of his approach till he came within ſight of the town, and then thought fit to retire into the caſtle with the garriſon and the effects of the greateſt value. The inhabitants alſo forſook their houſes and fled into the country, ſo that SEVAGI had the plundering of one of the richeſt towns in the world four days together, without any manner of oppoſition, except what he met with from the Engliſh and Dutch factories; who having time to erect a battery or two of great guns before their houſes, ſaved all their effects: nor was he prepared to attack the caſtle, and therefore thought fit to march off with the plunder he had got, which was computed to amount, only in gold, ſilver, and jewels, to the value of three millions ſterling at leaſt; for in the houſe of one Banian merchant, it is ſaid, he found two and twenty pound weight of ſtrung pearl, beſides a great quantity of others unpierced. Except the Engliſh and Dutch ſettlements, none eſcaped his ravages; unleſs it was a convent of Capuchins, on whom he had compaſſion on the application of Father AMBROSE their ſuperior.

This enterprize of SEVAGI's was undertaken in January 1664, and though AURENGZEBE was piqued to the heart to ſee a little Pagan Prince contemn his power, and plunder his beſt towns at pleaſure, he was not then, it ſeems, in a condition to call him to an account, and therefore thought fit to ſtifle his reſentment. Nay, he extolled the ſurpriſing of Surat as one of the greateſt actions that ever was performed; and inſinuated into the Raja's who attended the court, that he was ambitious of ſeeing ſo great a hero; deſiring they would uſe their intereſt to invite him into his ſervice, and gave them his word he would protect him from all violence. SEVAGI hereupon ventured himſelf and his ſon in the Mogul's camp, where they were received at firſt with all imaginary careſſes; but after ſome months, obſerving a more than ordinary coldneſs in the Mogul's behaviour to him, and having ſome intimations that there was a deſign to diſpatch him, he made his eſcape with his ſon into Viſiapour, where he and his deſcendants maintained long wars with AURENGZEBE.

CHA JEHAN's death.

The Emperor CHA JEHAN died in the year 1666, at which his ſon AURENGZEBE, either was, or pretended to be, exceedingly afflicted; and by way of compenſation for all the crimes he had been guilty of to obtain the crown, enjoined himſelf a perpetual penance; and whether out of pure bigotry or policy, this Prince laboured for nothing more than the reputation of being a ſtrict obſerver of the Mahometan law, and a lover of juſtice; nor was there any part of his time which he did not aſſign to ſome uſeful purpoſe. Early in the morning, before break of day, he bathed, and ſpent ſome hours in his devotions; then having eaten a little rice or ſweetmeats, ſhut himſelf up with his ſecretaries, and before noon he gave publick audience to his ſubjects; after which he prayed again, and then went to dinner; his table being furniſhed only with rice, herbs, fruits, or ſweetmeats, for neither fleſh or fiſh, nor any ſtrong liquors were ever brought before him. In the afternoon he gave audience again, which being over, he prayed a third and fourth time. The remainder of the day, till two hours after it was dark, he ſpent in the private concerns of his family, then he ſupped, and ſlept afterwards only two hours; after which, it is ſaid, he read the Alcoran, and prayed almoſt all the remaining part of the night. And here we have a remarkable inſtance of what vaſt advantage an abſtemious regular courſe of life is towards the procuring health and long life, and rendring a Prince always fit for the moſt important and intricate affairs: for this Emperor, notwithſtanding he was an unwearied hearer of cauſes, and conſtantly directed the affairs of ſo vaſt an empire, and conquered ſeveral large kingdoms, lived without contracting any diſtemper; and neither

AURENGZEBE's regimen.

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ther his judgment or memory were at all impaired when he was ninety years of age.

AURENGZEBE, it is true, had ſeveral hundreds of fine blooming girls in his Haram, as all other eaſtern Princes have; but theſe ſeem to have been kept only for ſtate, or in conformity with the cuſtom of the country; for it is related of him, that even in his youth, having ſingled out a young Lady in the Haram to lye with him one night; and ſhe had dreſſed and prepared her ſelf to receive her royal lover, the King coming into the apartment at the appointed hour, inſtead of going to bed fell to reading, and between his books and his devotions paſſed the whole night without ever taking notice of the expecting Lady. When the eunuch came the next morning to acquaint the Emperor his bath was ready, which is ever uſed by the Mahometans after they have been with their women, the Lady anſwered, there was no need of a bath, for the Sultan had not broke wind: intimating, that he had been at his prayers; for if a Mahometan has the misfortune to break wind at his prayers, he immediately bathes, looking upon himſelf to be too polluted to go on with his devotions till he has waſhed off the impurity contracted by ſuch an accident.

He lived for the moſt part in the field.

Great part of this Prince's life being ſpent in the conqueſt of the kingdoms of Decan, Viſiapour, Golconda, and other territories which lye towards cape Comorin, he uſually lived in the field. When he decamped at any time, no leſs than one hundred and twenty elephants, one thouſand four hundred camels, and four hundred carts were employed in carrying the royal tents, baggage, and furniture; and theſe were always ſent away the night before; the Emperor and every Omrah in the army having a double ſuit of tents and field equipage, ſo that when they came to their ground the camp was always ready pitched, and proviſions of all kinds to be had as ſoon as the march was over.

The conſpiracies of AURENGZEBE's ſons againſt their father.

AURENGZEBE, beſides his Son MAHOMET who died a natural death in the royal priſon of Guallior (or as ſome relate, was poiſoned there by the command of his father) had four other ſons, viz. CHA ALEM his ſecond ſon, AZEM DARA his third ſon, AKBAR the fourth, and CHAN BUX his fifth and youngeſt ſon. CHA ALEM becoming the eldeſt on the death of MAHOMET, entertained the ſame aſpiring thoughts, and once proceeded ſo far, 'tis ſaid, as to cauſe a pit to be dug near his father's tent, which the old Emperor narrowly eſcaped falling into, whereupon CHA ALEM was ſhut up in a dark priſon for ſeveral years. AZEM DARA, his third ſon, having conſpired alſo againſt his life, and fearing to be detected, deſerted over to the King of Viſiapour; and AKBAR, the fourth ſon, being ſent with a great army to reduce the Raja LISONTE, whoſe territories lie contiguous to Aſemire, joined with the Raja againſt his father; and with their united forces, making together a body of ſeventy thouſand horſe and a proportionable number of foot, they marched to attack the old Mogul in his camp, whoſe forces at that time were very much inferior to the enemy: whereupon AURENGZEBE, 'tis ſaid, had recourſe to this ſtratagem, he ſent a letter to his ſon which he contrived the Raja ſhould intercept, wherein he commended his ſon's conduct in drawing the army of the idolaters to that place, aſſuring him he would advance the next day to ſuch a poſt, where having the Raja's forces between them they might charge them on all ſides, and that it was not poſſible any of them ſhould eſcape.

The eunuch, by whom this letter was ſent, being brought priſoner to the camp by the Raja's out-guards, and the letter read among the officers of the Raſhboots, occaſioned a terrible conſternation in the Raja's army: and notwithſtanding Sultan AKBAR ſwore by the Alcoran it was a contrivance of his father's, he found it impoſſible to remove thoſe jealouſies the letter had created, which gave the Mogul time to re-inforce his troops. The Raja was afterwards defeated, and AKBAR fled with a body of four thouſand horſe to another Pagan Prince, but being cloſely purſued by his father's troops, was forced to fly to the Portugueſe at Goa for protection, who tranſported him to Perſia, where he was kindly entertained by the Sophi, and afterwards married his daughter, 'tis ſaid; nor could the Mogul, either by threats or promiſes, ever procure him to be delivered up. AURENGZEBE however fell upon the Raja SEVAGI, who had aſſiſted AKBAR in his rebellion; and having taken ſeveral of his towns, beſieged him in his capital city of Gingy; but the town held out a ſiege of many years, nor was it taken while SEVAGI lived, though the Mogul in the mean time ſubdued both the kingdoms of Viſiapour and Golconda.

The youngeſt ſon of AURENGZEBE, named CHAN BUX, diſcovered a diſpoſition as ambitious as the reſt, though he did not break out into actual rebellion; and the old Mogul, though there was no enemy able to appear in the field againſt him after the conqueſt of Golconda, yet thought fit to remain at the head of his army, that he might be in a condition to defeat the repeated conſpiracies of his children; particularly he continued four years in one camp near Galgala, after the defeat of AKBAR; and uſed to ſay, he wondered that his father CHA JEHAN, who knew by experience that an Emperor of Indoſtan has no way to defend himſelf againſt the cabals of his children but by keeping at the head of a numerous army, ſhould ſhut himſelf up in his palace, and truſt the command of his forces to his ſons.

To

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Viſiapour and Golconda conquered.

To proceed, AURENGZEBE, after a long and bloody war, having compelled the Kings of Viſiapour and Golconda to become tributary to him, in the years 1685 and 1686, deprived them even of that appearance of ſovereignty he had left them, and brought them priſoners to his camp; and their kingdoms being made provinces of the Empire, have ever ſince been governed by an officer of the Mogul's. Theſe conqueſts gave AURENGZEBE the ſovereignty of moſt of the other petty ſtates in the ſouth of the peninſula, as far as cape Comorin, for theſe were ſubject or tributary to one or other of thoſe Kings before the great Mogul ſubdued them. There are, indeed, ſome Raja's or Pagan Princes in the mountains who ſtill govern their own people, but theſe ſeldom think fit to attack the Mogul, and are very well ſatisfied if he will let them remain at quiet in their little principalities. Some of them alſo are his allies, and aſſiſted him in the conqueſt of Viſiapour and Golconda; and theſe are ſuffered to retain their ancient juriſdiction: however, it may properly enough be ſaid that the empire of the Great Mogul has now no other boundaries than the ocean towards the ſouth, for the ſea coaſts are generally in his power: nor is there any Raja in being able to meet him in the field, though ſome few of them may skulk in inacceſſible mountains, and boaſt to this day that they have not yet ſubmitted to his arms.

And thus having ſhewn by what degrees the empire of the Mogul arrived to that vaſt extent we find it at preſent, it may be proper to give a ſhort hiſtorical relation of the inhabitants of this peninſula, which was laſt conquered by them. And it ſeems this, as well as the reſt of India, which was originally under the government of ſeveral Raja's, or Pagan Princes; at length, either by compact, marriages or conqueſt, became united under one Sovereign. The laſt, or rather the laſt but one of theſe, called TCHER CAN, extended his dominion over Bengal and Indoſtan itſelf, compelling the Mogul HOMAYON to fly into Perſia; and the kingdoms of Decan, Viſiapour, Biſnagar or Carnates, Golconda, and all the petty ſtates, as far ſouth as cape Comorin, fell under his power; whereupon he took upon himſelf the title of King of Decan, and afterwards of CHA ALUM, or King of the world. When he was arrived at this height of grandeur, to the ſurprize of all the neighbouring Princes, he reſigned his dominions to one of his family, and retired into Bengal, to lead a private life. At this time the Arabians and Moors of Africk were ſettled in moſt of the port towns in India, by whoſe aſſiſtance it was that TCHER CAN gained moſt of his victories, and therefore in gratitude to their principal officers, after the war was ended, he made them Governors of moſt of the great towns and provinces of his dominions, who behaved themſelves very dutifully while TCHER CAN lived; but he was no ſooner dead than they entered into a conſpiracy to depoſe his ſucceſſor and ſhare his dominions amongſt them; which they found no great difficulty in effecting; for the Moors were now very numerous in this part of India, having been upwards of two hundred years tranſplanting colonies thither, and were much ſuperior to the native Indians both in courage and diſcipline. However the Mooriſh Generals had no ſooner carried their point but they fell out amongſt themſelves, and made war upon one another, till they were at length reduced to three, viz. NIZIM CHA who poſſeſſed himſelf of Viſiapour, COBT CHA who ſeized on the kingdom of Golconda, and ADIL CHA who poſſeſſed himſelf of Carnates or Biſnagar, the moſt ſouthern part of the Indian peninſula. As to Indoſtan, that was recovered by the Mogul HOMAYON again, who taking advantage of theſe diſtractions in India, remounted his throne by the aſſiſtance of the King of Perſia. His ſucceſſors, the Moguls, were perpetually at war with the three Kings above-mentioned, but could never make any conſiderable impreſſion on them ſo long as they remained united: but the King of Biſnagar, who lay moſt remote from the Mogul's territories, refuſing to furniſh his quota of troops for the war, AURENGZEBE took ſeveral towns from the Kings of Viſiapour and Golconda, and compelled them to make a diſadvantageous peace about the year 1650. Sometime after, the two Kings entered into a confederacy againſt their treacherous ally the King of Biſnagar, and took from him the beſt part of his dominions; the King of Golconda ſeized upon thoſe which lay on the coaſt of Chormandel, and the King of Viſiapour upon the inland country of Carnates, with the principalities of Tanjour and Madura, which reach to cape Comorin.

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Theſe Princes did not many years enjoy what they had taken from the King of Biſnagar, but loſt their new acquiſitions, together with their own dominions, and were made priſoners by AURENGZEBE, as has been already related; who ſome time before his death reigned ſole monarch of India, from Tartary to cape Comorin; except, as has been obſerved, there were ſome Raja's in the mountainous and inacceſſible parts of the country who never ſubmitted to the Mogul, though they are very cautious how they provoke him: owing their ſecurity principally to their being ſo very inconſiderable, and ſo little worth his notice: there is little more to be gained by reducing them than the honour of the conqueſt, for their countries have nothing very inviting, and are of a very difficult acceſs. They have the ſame advantages as Wales and the Highlands, who poſſibly might have remained unſubdued to this day if they had

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had not been ſo troubleſome to the neighbouring ſtates.

But to return to AURENGZEBE, ſome time before his death he releaſed his ſecond ſon CHA ALEM out of priſon, and gave him the government of the province of Indoſtan; to his ſon AZEM DARA he gave the government of Decan, and to his youngeſt ſon CHAN BUX the government of Viſiapour, Golconda, and Biſnagar or Carnate. AURENGZEBE lying dangerouſly ill in his camp near Amadanagar, the three ſurviving brothers (for AKEBAR was dead in Perſia) began to draw forces together in their reſpective provinces to puſh for the crown. The great AURENGZEBE died on the fourth of March, 1708. Some of the friends of CHA ALEM deſired his Majeſty, a little before his death, to declare that Prince his ſucceſſor, he anſwered, he had made him King of Indoſtan, but it belonged to God alone to ſecure his reign.

AURENGZEBE's death.

Prince AZEM DARA arrived in the camp the next day, the fifth of March, and immediately went to the royal tents, where the chief Vizier, the great officers of the court, and all the Generals attended him. Some days after he ſeated himſelf upon the throne at the Sabet, or fortunate minute predicted by the Aſtrologers, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed King by the name of MAHOMET AZEM CHA: he alſo gave new and honourable names to his two ſons, cauſed new money to be coined, and the next day ordered the body of AURENZEBE to be carried on a bier on men's ſhoulders, attended by a guard of 4000 horſe, to be interred at Aurengabad in a magnificent tomb which he had cauſed to be built ſome years before his death. Then AZEM DARA detached ſome troops towards the frontiers of Indoſtan, with orders not to let any perſon paſs, and to ſtop all couriers and letters: he made great preſents to the Governors of provinces, the Generals, officers and ſoldiers, even to thoſe abſent, among others to DAOUD CHAN, to whoſe government of Carnate he added that of Viſiapour, and augmented his pay 1000 roupies a day. He writ in a haughty ſtyle to the Princes of Indoſtan, declaring that the crown belonged to him; and tho' he deſired no aſſiſtance from them, he ſhould revenge himſelf on thoſe who ſhould act againſt him. General CHERILIQUIS CHAN, ſon-in-law of Prince CHAN BUX, repreſented to him that he ought not to treat his ſubjects ſo haughtily, to which AZEM DARA returning a ſevere anſwer, that General withdrew his troops. AZEM DARA, too late reflecting on the conſequence of loſing him, cauſed him to be followed by General DELFICAR CHAN with a body of forces, ordering him to bring him back by fair means or force; who not being able to perſuade him to return, gave him battle, in which DELFICAR CHAN was defeated.

AZEM DARA aſſumes the government.

CHA ALEM, a Prince of great prudence and moderation, carried himſelf in a manner quite different from his brother AZEM DARA, who gave out that his age had impaired his underſtanding; notwithſtanding which report, ſeveral Princes of the Raſhboots ſent to offer CHA ALEM their aſſiſtance without inſiſting on terms; but he remitted the tribute they paid to AURENGZEBE, and made great preſents to them. He alſo wrote very civil letters to ſeveral Generals, which obliged them to remain neuters. He wrote to AZEM DARA, acquainting him that he was aſtoniſhed at his conduct, that being both of them old, they ought to ſeek quiet, promiſing him to let him peaceably enjoy what his father had given him. At the ſame time he marched towards Delli, drawing together troops from all parts, particularly Raſhboots, Patans, and other nations, who are eſteemed better ſoldiers than the reſt of the Indians. He was received at Delli, and ſeated himſelf on a magnificent throne, which his grandfather CHA JEHAN had cauſed to be made. CHA ALEM has four ſons who are well advanced in years, and who have ſons and grandſons: his ſecond ſon named HASSAMEDDIN, marched from the kingdom of Bengal with conſiderable forces to aſſiſt his father, and poſſeſſed himſelf of Agra; putting the Governor to death for having ſtopped letters which had been written from court to CHA ALEM. Prince CHAN BUX was preparing likewiſe for war when he received a letter from CHA ALEM, in which he aſſured him that he would carry himſelf as a father towards him, and that he would protect and maintain him in the poſſeſſion of what AURENGZEBE had left him. Upon theſe aſſurances Prince CHAN BUX cauſed himſelf to be crowned King of Viſiapour, and immediately ſent his ſon with 18000 horſe, to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Golconda, which the Governor ROUSTAN DELI CHAN yielded into his hands, with a ſum of roupies to the value of one million two hundred and fifty thouſand crowns of the revenues of that country. Prince CHAN BUX reſtored the fortreſs of Pampanacia, with all its dependencies to Prince JEHAN GHIR; which obliged him ſo much, that he ſent him ten thouſand auxiliary ſoldiers; and ſeveral heads of the nation called Marats imitated his example. In the mean while AZEM DARA marched againſt CHA ALEM with 150000 men, all Veteran troops: in the month of April he arrived at Aurengabad, where he halted 8 days, and then purſued his march; leaving behind him his women and baggage, and the chief Vizier becauſe of his age: CHA ALEM would have marched to meet him, but the Princes of the Raſhboots and his Generals repreſented to him that nothing was of more importance than the preſervation of his perſon; and that he might place at

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CHA ALEM oppoſes him

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at the head of his army the Princes HASSAMEDDIN and MASHOUDI, his ſons, who on ſeveral occaſions had given proofs of their valour and conduct; whereupon he ſtaid at Agra and committed the management of the war to them. They advanced towards the river Naandaba, where they covered their army with an intrenchment of ſix leagues in extent. AZEM DARA lay but twelve leagues from thence; but having obſerved how they were intrenched, and the ſuperiority of their forces, he durſt not attempt to paſs the river, and wrote to the Vizier and other friends to ſend him reinforcements. The two Princes, who were deſirous to bring the war to a ſpeedy iſſue, repreſented to the Generals, that it was ſhameful to keep within their intrenchments, and perſuaded them to abandon them, and retire into the plain to draw thither AZEM DARA, who being brave, would not fail to imagine that they had made that motion out of fear: this ſucceeded accordingly, AZEM DARA paſſed that river without any oppoſition, and advanced into the plain, obſerving that the army of the two Princes ſtill retired in ſome ſeeming diſorder. The 19th of June the two armies faced each other, drawn up in battalia; but there were only skirmiſhes that day. The 20th, the two armies fought a long time, but without coming to a cloſe engagement, and with little loſs. Toward the evening, Sultan BEDARBECK, eldeſt ſon of AZEM DARA, attacked a body of horſe commanded by Sultan MAHMEDGUERY, ſon of Prince HASSAMEDDIN, who after a long diſpute made the troops of BEDARBECK give ground. That Prince, urged by deſpair, puſhed his elephant againſt MAHMEDGUERY, and thruſt him through with his lance: MAHMEDGUERY, though mortally wounded, puſhed his elephant likewiſe againſt Prince BEDARBECK, and thruſt him through the body with his lance, and they both fell dead at once. Sultan VALATABAR, ſecond ſon of AZEM DARA, attacked likewiſe Sultan ISKANDER, ſon of Prince MASHOUDY, but he was wounded in the throat with a lance and died in the evening. AZEM DARA, inraged at the loſs of his two ſons whom he paſſionately loved, animated his Generals to revenge; and they promiſed not to abandon him. The next day, as ſoon as it was light, he found himſelf ſurrounded by his enemy's army; however he did not loſe courage, but charged with ſuch vigour that he would have won the victory had his troops obſerved any order: the fight laſted almoſt eight hours, tho' in a little time he loſt 60000 men. While he endeavoured to rally his troops, Sultan RAZIN SEKADER, one of the ſons of CHA ALEM, fell upon him with 150000 horſe, and 1000 camels, carrying each a falconet, and after the firſt fire charged him ſcymitar in hand, and made a great ſlaughter: Sultan MASHOUDY attacked him in another part, ſo that there were left about AZEM DARA no more than 6000 horſe of 150000 men, of which his army conſiſted; then he quitted his elephant and mounted his horſe to make his eſcape, but his horſe was killed; he ſtill defended himſelf with his ſcymitar in one hand and his cangiar or poniard in the other, and killed above 20 men who would have ſeized him; at laſt ſeeing Sultan MASHOUDY come up and call out to his men to take him alive, he killed himſelf with his poniard, that he might not fall into the hands of his enemies. Thus periſhed AZEM DARA with all his party, and Sultan CHA ALEM remained maſter of the field.

AZEM DARA defeated and killed.

The year after theſe advices came to Europe, we received a farther account from Surat, dated the 23d of February 1708-9, the tenour whereof follows:

'It was hoped after the great battle fought between CHA ALEM, the eldeſt ſurviving ſon of AURENGZEBE, and AZEM DARA, wherein the latter was defeated, that this country would have enjoyed a perfect tranquillity; but the four ſons of CHA ALEM, who now ſtyles himſelf BADOUR CHA, incited their father to make war againſt his brother Sultan CHAN BUX, and deprive him of the kingdoms of Viſiapour and Golconda, notwithſtanding BADOUR CHA had promiſed to let him enjoy them quietly if he would not join their brother AZEM DARA when he was marching againſt him to poſſeſs himſelf of the empire. Sultan CHAN BUX relying on his promiſe, did not meddle in that war; yet the ſons and miniſters of BADOUR CHA perſuaded him to have no regard to that promiſe, repreſenting to him that he would never be ſecure ſo long as his brother was in a condition to moleſt him; and that he would not fail to attack or ſurprize him when he ſhould find a favourable opportunity. Whereupon a war was reſolved, and BADOUR CHA marched with a great army towards the kingdom of Viſiapour. He was prevailed on alſo to break through the agreements which he had made with the Raja's, by whoſe aſſiſtance he obtained the crown. In the battle between BADOUR CHA and his brother AZEM DARA, the latter charged the troops, who made the firſt onſet with ſo much vigour, that he entirely defeated them, inſomuch that BADOUR CHA looked upon himſelf as certainly loſt: but the Raja's, of whom the greateſt part had ſided with him, encouraged him, promiſing they would procure him victory if he would let them charge; they fought accordingly with ſuch courage that they carried the day. BADOUR CHA ſeeing himſelf maſter of the empire, in the tranſport of his joy, cauſed the Raja's to be called before him, told them

'he

CHAP. I.

'he would give them proofs of his gratitude, 'and bid them ask what they would. After they 'had deliberated among themſelves, they deſired 'him to grant them the free exerciſe of their 'religion, with leave to rebuild their pagods or 'temples, to exempt them from the capitation 'or poll-tax which AURENGZEBE had impoſed 'upon them, to admit them to offices and em-'ployments, and that with reſpect to cuſtoms, 'tolls, and generally in all other points, they 'might be treated in the ſame manner as Ma-'hometans; which privileges were all granted 'them by BADOUR CHA, but they did not 'enjoy them long. His ſons and miniſters repre-'ſented to him with ſo much earneſtneſs, that he 'would thereby deprive himſelf of his principal 'revenues, that his finances were exhauſted, that 'he had occaſion for money to maintain the war 'againſt his brother; that he would make the 'Raja's and idolaters too powerful, and they might 'turn their arms againſt him; they added ſo many 'other reaſons, that they obliged him to revoke 'all the grants he had made to the Raja's. Thoſe 'Princes reſenting his violation of his word, took 'arms, not to make war upon him with their 'joint forces, but to plunder and ravage the coun-'try, as they do ſtill without any oppoſition a-'bout their own territories, which are ſituate in 'the mountains: mean while BADOUR CHA, 'who could not then remedy it becauſe of the 'war he was engaged in, advanced into the do-'minions of his brother, with an army of fifty 'thouſand horſe and thirty thouſand foot. Sultan 'CHAN BUX, who was not able to draw to-'gether more than 8000 horſe and 22000 foot, 'finding himſelf too weak, lay with his army 'entrenched near Golconda. The two armies 'faced each other near ſix weeks, and at length, 'on the 16th of January laſt, BADOUR CHA 'cauſed the intrenchments to be attacked, which 'were ſoon forced. Sultan CHAN BUX ſeeing 'himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of overcoming 'or periſhing, put himſelf at the head of his 'troops with two of his three ſons. They fought 'deſperately, but in the end were over powered, 'and BADOUR CHA gained a compleat victory; 'by which ſucceſs BADOUR CHA is now in the 'quiet poſſeſſion of the whole empire.

AZEM DARA deprives Sultan CHAN BUX of his dominions.

CHA ALEM or BADOUR CHA upon the throne in 1708.

CHAP. II.

Contains an account of the firſt attempts of the Engliſh, to ſettle a trade in the Mogul's dominions, and of ſeveral embaſſies that were ſent thither for that purpoſe.

I Proceed now to give an account of the firſt attempts of the Engliſh to ſettle a commerce with the continent of India. The Portugueſe, as has been obſerved already, firſt ſailed round the cape of Good Hope to the Eaſt-Indies, in the year 1498. And the firſt ſettlement they made on the continent of India was at Cochin, on the Malabar coaſt, in the year 1502. The Engliſh and Dutch did not attempt to trade to India till about the year 1600, and then only to the iſlands at firſt, though, it is true, ſeveral of their Commanders had before that time been ſent out upon diſcoveries, and ſailed round the globe, through the ſtreights of Magellan; particularly Sir FRANCIS DRAKE, in the year 1577, Mr. CANDISH in the year 1587, and OLIVER NOORT in the year 1598; and in the year 1595, the province of Holland fitted out four ſhips for diſcovery, which ſailed to Bantam, in the iſland of Java, and brought back with them ſuch ſamples of the good things of the Eaſt, as induced the United Provinces to erect one general company for that trade, in the year 1600; but the Portugueſe had for a hundred years engroſſed all the rich trade of India to themſelves, except that the Spaniards had a little interrupted their commerce in the Molucca's and the Philippines, on their diſcovering a paſſage to the Indies through the South-Sea, in the year 1520.

CHAP. II.

First ſettlement of the Portugueſe upon the continent of India.

The firſt agent the Engliſh Eaſt-India company employed to procure a trade on the continent of India, was Mr. JOHN MILDENHAL, who carried a letter from Queen ELIZABETH to the Great Mogul, in behalf of her ſubjects; he gives the following account of his ſucceſs in that court, in a letter to England directed to Mr. RICHARD STAPER, a Member of the company, and dated from Casbin, in Perſia, the third of October, 1606.

First embaſſy of the Engliſh to the Mogul to eſtabliſh a trade on the continent.

He ſays, that on his arrival at Lahor, in the year 1603, he diſpatched an expreſs to the Mogul's court at Agra, being about one and twenty days journey to the ſouthward of that place, deſiring his Majeſty's permiſſion to come to court, and treat of the buſineſs he was intruſted with by the Queen of England, [the Queen was dead at this time, but the news of it had not then reached the Indies] whereupon an order came to the Governor of Lahor, to treat Mr. MILDENHAL with the honour due to his character, and provide a guard of horſe and foot to attend him to Agra; being come near the city, he was met by ſeveral officers of the court, and conducted to a houſe aſſigned for his reſidence, furniſhed with all neceſſaries, where having repoſed himſelf two days, the third he was admitted to his audience; then he preſented his Majeſty with nine and twenty fine horſes, bought in Perſia, which coſt fifty and ſixty pounds a horſe, and with ſeveral jewels, rings, and earrings, with which the Mogul was infinitely pleaſed. Three days after, Mr. MILDENHAL was ordered to attend the council, and his Majeſty

jesty demanded what it was he desired. To which that Gentleman answered, that the fame of his Majesty's kindness to Christians having reached the western parts of the world, the Queen of England was desirous of his friendship, and that as the Portuguese, and other Christians, were permitted to trade in his dominions, her subjects might enjoy the like privileges; and there having been long wars between her Majesty and the King of Portugal, if any of their ships or towns happened to be taken by her Majesty's subjects, that he would suffer the English to enjoy them for her Majesty's use.

About ten days after, the Mogul sent Mr. MILDENHAL to his house, the value of five hundred pounds sterling in money, and abundance of engaging compliments; but Mr. MILDENHAL understood a little after, that the Mogul had acquainted the Portuguese Jesuits, who resided in Lahor and Agra, with his demands, who were all on fire when they understood the contents of them, and from friends became his mortal enemies. When the King demanded their opinion of the matter, they assured him, that the English were a nation of thieves; that MILDENHAL was sent to his court as a spy, and under a colour of courting an alliance, the English would infallibly seize on some of his port towns, and give his Majesty much trouble in the end: adding, that they had served his Majesty eleven years, and were bound by his bread they had eaten, to speak the truth, although it were against Christians. Whereupon the Mogul, and his council, determined not to favour the English, though they shewed Mr. MILDENHAL great respect outwardly.

This Gentleman still pressed the court to grant his demands, and on their putting him off from time to time, he forbore to attend that Prince as he used to do; whereupon the Mogul sent for him, to know the reason of his absence. Mr. MILDENHAL answered, he was come from a distant nation, to settle a commerce with his Majesty's subjects, which would be very advantageous to his dominions, but had yet found no fruit of his negotiations. The Emperor immediately ordered a rich habit to be presented him, made after the European fashion, and assured him that every thing he had desired should be granted. Still he waited six months at the Mogul's court to no purpose, the Jesuits having bribed all the chief ministers, to prevent any alliance being made with the English; they also wheedled his interpreter to desert him, so that he was forced to apply himself to the learning the Persian tongue, (of which he had some little knowledge before, by travelling through that kingdom) which took him up another six months, before he could renew his addresses to the Mogul; but then having an opportunity of speaking to the Mogul without a linguist, he so effectually managed his business, that he obtained a grant for the English to trade in the Mogul's dominions, with all the privileges and advantages they could desire. But he died in Persia, on his return home, suspected to be poisoned by some Priests, of whom, by his letter, he appears to have had great apprehensions.

Second embassy of the English to India.

Captain WILLIAM HAWKINS was the second Englishman sent out by our East-India company, to settle a trade on the continent of India; who acquaints us, that he arrived at the bar of Surat, on the 24th of August, 1608, in the quality of Ambassador from the King of England to the Great Mogul, as well as Commander of a company's ship. The Governor of Surat being acquainted with his arrival, sent to invite him on shore, and to let him know that whatever the country afforded was at his service. Whereupon the Captain went in his barge to Surat. He observes, that at this time there were two considerable Noblemen, who governed the affairs of Surat for the Mogul, the one Viceroy of Decan, called CHAN-CANNA, and the other the Viceroy of Cambaya, named MOCREB CHAN, who had the management of the customs at Surat. The day after his arrival he waited on the Governor, and acquainted him that he was come to establish a factory at Surat; and that he had a letter from the King of England to the Mogul, upon that subject; who was desirous of entering into a league with that Prince, and to settle articles of commerce between the two nations; and that his ship was loaded with such merchandise from England, as they understood by travellers was most acceptable here. To which the Governor replied, that these affairs concerning traffick by sea belonged to MOCREB CHAN, the Viceroy of Cambaya, to whom he would immediately send an express, and acquaint him with the subject of his negotiation; and in the mean time appointed him to lodge in a merchant's house, whom the Captain had pitched upon for his truckman or broker. He remained at Surat twenty days before the messenger returned, it being then the time of the rains, and the country flooded; in the mean while he was handsomely entertained by the merchants of Surat, when the weather would suffer him to stir out, for it rained almost the whole twenty Days without intermission. When the express returned he brought a permission from MOCREB CHAN for landing the goods, and for buying and selling, and taking in a freight for the present voyage; but as for the establishing a factory, and a future trade, he acquainted him, that application must be made to the Great Mogul himself, which might be brought about, if the Ambassador would undertake a journey of two months to court. He wrote also to the principal

officer of the cuſtoms, that whatever Captain HAWKINS brought aſhore ſhould be kept in the cuſtom-houſe, till his brother SHECK ABDER came to make choice of ſuch things as were fit for the Mogul's uſe: which the Captain obſerves, was only a trick of the great officers, to furniſh themſelves with what they liked beſt.

The Captain waiting a conſiderable time for this great officer, who was to have the refuſal of the beſt merchandiſe he brought over, he employed his time in buying up ſuch goods as were proper to be exported to Priaman and Bantam, whither his ſhip was bound; whereupon the merchants of Surat complained to the Governor, that this was an encroachment on their trade; however, CHECK ABDER gave Captain HAWKINS permiſſion to ſhip the goods, which being put on board two little barks, were taken by a Portugueſe frigate in the road, and ſeveral Engliſhmen who were with them made priſoners. Mr. HAWKINS hereupon ſent a letter to the Portugueſe Captain, demanding that the men and goods ſhould be releaſed, the Kings of England and Portugal being at this time at peace; declaring that the King of England had ſent his ſubjects to India, to eſtabliſh a trade, and they had alſo his Majeſty's commiſſion; therefore if the Portugueſe refuſed to return the men and effects, it might probably occaſion a war between the two kingdoms. But the little inſolent Portugueſe Commander, inſtead of returning either men or goods, abuſed his Britiſh Majeſty in the vileſt terms, ſtyling him the King of fiſhermen, and of an inconſiderable iſland; that he did not care a fart for his commiſſion, nor ſhould vouchſafe HAWKINS an anſwer. The next day Mr. HAWKINS meeting one of the Portugueſe Captains aſhore, and telling him of the abuſes he had met with from one of his countrymen, the Portugueſe anſwered, that 'The Indian ſeas be-'longed to the King of Portugal, and none ought 'to come there without his licenſe.' To which Captain HAWKINS anſwered, that 'The King 'of England's licenſe was as good as the King 'of Spain's, [Spain and Portugal were at this 'time under one Sovereign] and whoever main-'tained the contrary was a villain,' and challenged the Portugueſe Captain who ſeized the barques to fight him; but the Captain did not care to hazard his perſon. Thus we ſee the Portugueſe, as well as the Dutch, then the moſt contemptible people in Europe, preſuming on the indolence of his Britiſh Majeſty, or their intereſt in his mercenary court, offering the vileſt affronts and indignities to the ſubjects of England, and openly robbing and making prize of our merchants in the Indian ſeas, in the time of full peace. But to proceed, no redreſs, it ſeems, was to be had, the Engliſh priſoners, inſtead of being releaſed, were ſent priſoners to Goa. Captain HAWKINS underſtood afterwards, that the goods and men were ſeized by the Portugueſe, by the contrivance of the Viceroy MOCREB CHAN, and a Jeſuit, who was very intimate with him. They protracted the time for the delivery of the goods out of the cuſtom-houſe, while they ſent advice to ſome Portugueſe frigates to come and lye before the bar of Surat: however the Engliſh ſhip being a ſhip of force, was not attacked by them, but ſuffered to purſue her voyage; and Captain HAWKINS prepared for his embaſſy to the Mogul's court.

Portugueſe ſeize the Engliſh goods, and make their men priſoners.

During his ſtay at Surat he met with frequent affronts from MOCREB CHAN, and his officers, who took his moſt valuable goods from him by force, giving him ſuch prices as they ſaw fit; and the Portugueſe made ſeveral attempts to aſſaſſinate him. However, having procured a party of forty Patan horſe of CHAN-CANNA, the Viceroy of Decan, and ſome foot ſoldiers, Captain HAWKINS ſet out for Agra, on the firſt of February, 1608; nor was the guard he had procured unneceſſary, for the Portugueſe had prevailed with ſome Rajas, whoſe territories lye between Surat and Agra, to cut him off in his journey; and if he eſcaped their hands, his Indian ſervants were bribed by the Portugueſe Jeſuits, to poiſon or aſſaſſinate him before he reached the court of Agra. So extremely jealous were the Portugueſe of the Indian trade, that even their Prieſts did not ſtick at the moſt treacherous and barbarous methods to exclude all other nations from it, which muſt, no doubt, give the Indians a very great opinion of the Chriſtian religion they pretended to propagate; nor need we look for any other reaſon why Chriſtianity does not gain ground in the Eaſt, though the Indian Princes have given the greateſt encouragement to the Miſſionaries themſelves, upon account of their skill in the mathematicks. However, Captain HAWKINS eſcaped all their plots, and on the eighteenth of February arrived at Brampour, the reſidence of CHAN-CANNA, Viceroy of Decan; to whom having made a handſome preſent, the Viceroy invited him to an entertainment, and gave him two habits made after the Indian faſhion, one of them cloth of gold, as he calls it. The Viceroy alſo gave him a letter of recommendation to the Mogul; and on the ſecond of March, the Captain continued his journey towards Agra, where he arrived the ſixteenth of April, 1609.

Capt. HAWKINS ſets out for the Mogul's court.

Claim the property of the Indian ſeas.

The Great Mogul having intimation that an Ambaſſador from the King of England was arrived at Agra, ordered his officers to attend him to court, in the ſame ſtate that other Ambaſſadors uſed to be conducted thither; but the Captain having been plundered of the preſent deſigned for the Mogul, by MOCREB CHAN, and having

Capt. HAWKINS's reception at Agra.

only a piece of Engliſh cloth to preſent to that Prince, gave ſome colour to the calumnies the Jeſuits had thrown upon the Britiſh nation, and made the King of England be thought as inconſiderable as they had repreſented him; for the eaſtern Princes uſually take their eſtimate of a Prince from the figure his people make, and the richneſs of the preſents he ſends, in both which particulars the Engliſh were ſo much out-done by the Portugueſe at that time, that our people came thither to very great diſadvantage. However the Mogul received him very graciouſly, according to the modern phraſe, and bid him welcome into his dominions. The Captain thereupon delivered his Majeſty's letter, and it was given to an old Jeſuit to interpret, which he did to all the diſadvantage imaginable; telling the Mogul that the terms uſed in it were not ſo reſpectful as they ought to have been to ſo great a Prince; but the Captain ſpeaking the Turkiſh language, which the Mogul underſtood, had an opportunity of undeceiving his Majeſty in that particular. He was ordered alſo to follow the Mogul from the common place of audience to the preſence chamber, where he let the Captain know he had heard of all the ill uſage he had received ſince his landing, from MOCREB CHAN, and ſaid he would take care ſatisfaction ſhould be made him, and immediately diſpatched an expreſs to Surat, that the Engliſh factors who arrived in his dominions ſhould be well uſed. He ordered alſo one of his Captains, HOUSHABDER CHAN to provide Mr. HAWKINS a houſe, and to introduce him to his Majeſty whenever he deſired it; and accordingly the Captain attended the Mogul every day, who took abundance of pleaſure in diſcourſing of the affairs of Europe, but particularly deſired to be informed concerning America; much ſuſpecting the accounts the Portugueſe had brought him of this new world; and this the Captain was able to give him great ſatisfaction in, having been in the Weſt-Indies himſelf.

He is in great favour with the Mogul for ſome time.

The Captain being at this time in full favour with the Mogul, propoſed the ſettling articles of commerce between the two nations; whereupon his Majeſty demanded if he deſigned to remain in the court of Agra, and uſed ſome arguments to convince him how neceſſary it was the Engliſh ſhould have an agent there, to ſolicit their affairs; and ſwore by his father's ſoul, that if the Captain would continue at Agra, he would grant the Engliſh factors all the privileges they could deſire. He aſſured the Captain alſo, that he would beſtow upon him the command of four hundred horſe, the ſalary of ſuch officers amounting to three thouſand two hundred pounds ſterling, per annum; and that he would advance him every year till he came to be commander of a thouſand horſe; for as Mr. HAWKINS obſerves, the Indian noblemen have their titles and revenues according to the number of horſe they command, from forty horſe to twelve thouſand, which is a command for a Prince, or one of the Mogul's ſons; and an extent of country is aſſigned to every Commander, proportionable to the number of horſe he commands, which he maintains out of the profits of the lands granted him; which kind of military tenures prevailed antiently in moſt parts of the world, and have not long been aboliſhed among us. All the difference between the Indian tenure and our Knights ſervice ſeems to be, that they enjoy their eſtates for life only, and then they revert to the crown; whereas our Knights had the inheritance of their lands, and the heir held by the ſame tenure his anceſtors had done. But to proceed, Captain HAWKINS, it ſeems, accepted of the Mogul's offer, to whom that Prince gave the title of the Engliſh Chan, or Nobleman. The Portugueſe were alarmed to ſee an Engliſh agent ſo careſſed at court, and ſpared no bribes among the miniſtry, to remove him. They alſo procured letters from MOCREB CHAN, and the merchants of Surat, acquainting the Emperor that the entertaining the Engliſh would be the ruin of their trade; and particularly of the port towns, ſuch as Surat was; for the Portugueſe, if they were provoked, would block up their harbours, take their ſhipping, and deſtroy all commerce. It was inſinuated alſo, that the Engliſh were a poor inconſiderable people, not able to protect their trade at ſea; inſomuch that the Mogul, notwithſtanding he had ſealed a grant for the free trade of the Engliſh to his dominions, ordered it to be revoked, and diſmiſſed Captain HAWKINS from his court, giving him leave to return home. Whereupon he ſet out from Agra the ſecond of November, 1611, having remained in the Mogul's court about two years and a half: and Sir HENRY MIDDLETON coming upon the coaſt of Cambaya about that time, with three Engliſh ſhips, he ſailed with them to the Red ſea, and afterwards to Bantam; ſo that he did not arrive in England till the latter end of the year 1613.

The Portugueſe procure him to be diſmiſſed the court.

Sir HENRY MIDDLETON relates, that when he came into the road of Surat, in September, 1611, he found ſeven Portugal frigats there, and that thirteen more lay in the river, being ſent on purpoſe to hinder his trading on that coaſt; that the Captain Major of theſe ſhips, as he was ſtyled, made great advantage by granting paſſports for all ſhips which ſailed thoſe ſeas, and ſuch ſhips which had not his paſſes, the Portugueſe made no ſcruple to ſeize as lawful prize. The Admiral of this armada, as it was called, ſent a letter to Captain MIDDLETON, to let him know, that as he was the ſubject of a King in amity with their country, he ſhould be ready to do him any ſervice, if he brought any letter or order from the King of Spain, for trading in thoſe parts; otherwiſe he muſt guard the port where the King his maſter's

The Portugueſe oppoſe our trade to India.

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master's factory was. To which Sir HARRY answered, he had no letter from the King of Spain, neither did he think he needed any; for he was sent by his Majesty of England with letters and rich presents to the Great Mogul to establish a trade begun in those parts. As to the factory, he should not disturb them; but saw no reason the Portugueſe had to oppose the English in settling a factory there, since the country was free for all nations; and neither the Great Mogul or his people at all subject to the Protugueſe. And Sir HARRY, imagining we had a factory at Surat, bid the messenger tell the admiral, that if he hindred the English who were there coming on board him, he should be compelled to use force; upon which the Portugueſe became very peaceable, and Sir HARRY went ashore and disposed of some effects, being entertained by the Viceroy MOCREB CHAN. But the Portugueſe influence was such at this time, that the Viceroy would not suffer Sir HARRY to leave a factory in the place. Nor were the Portugueſe the only nation that insulted the English upon the coast of India. The Dutch began about this time to claim the sovereignty of the seas which surrounded the continent of India, as well as those where the Oriental and Sunda islands lye; insomuch, that when the English came to settle a factory on the coast of Chormandel in the year 1711, the Dutch, who were then at Palicate, acquainted our commanders that they had a coul or grant from the King of Narsinga (who was then Sovereign of that coast) for the sole trade thither; and none who had not Prince MAURICE's pass should come into those seas; and thereupon required the English to be gone. Thus were the subjects of Britain, the greatest maritime power then in being, insulted and interrupted in the most valuable part of their commerce, by two the most despicable nations in Europe. Heavens! what a soul must that Prince be endued with who then sat upon the British throne: or, how exceeding mercenary must his ministers be? Those who pretend to account for this stupid conduct say, that the Dutch actually purchased our leading men, who sold the nation, and voluntarily suffered the Dutch to run away with all the valuable branches of our trade. When they could not effect their ends this way, their good friends, the presbyterians, were incited to create a civil war amongst us, and take off our attention to trade by pretences of farther reformation. And though they failed in their design of engaging us in a second civil war, in the reign of King CHARLES II. yet they raised such a clamour at home as put that Prince under a necessity of clapping up a peace when he was upon the point of making them give satisfaction for all their robberies and depredations on our merchants.

The Dutch prohibit the English trading to the coast of Chormandel.

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To proceed, notwithstanding all the opposition of the Portugueſe, the English East-India Company sent two Ships to Surat in the year 1712, commanded by Captain THOMAS BEST, and articles of commerce were settled between England and the Mogul's dominions; wherein it was agreed, that upon the arrival of any English shipping, proclamation should be made three several days, that it should be free for all people to come down to the water-side and trade openly with the English: that the English should pay three and a half per cent. custom: that the goods of those that died should be enjoyed by the survivors, and not seized by the government: that their men and goods put on shore should be secured from the Portugueſe: that the English should not be answerable for any robberies committed by European pirates; and that provision for the shipping while they lay at Surat should be free from custom: and lastly, that speedy justice should be done the English for any wrongs they might receive.

Articles of trade settled with the Mogul.

These articles were signed on the part of the Mogul by the Governor of Amadabat, the Governor of Surat, and four great Indian merchants, on the 21st of October 1612, and returned to Captain BEST ratified by the Mogul himself on the 6th of February following. The King of Narsinga, or Bisnagar, also granted the English a free trade on the coast of Chormandel, notwithstanding the opposition of the Dutch, who pretended to ingross that trade to themselves; and in the year 1613, the English settled a factory at Pettipoly upon that coast.

and with the coast of Chormandel.

In the year 1614, the East-India Company prevailed upon King James I. to permit them to send Sir THOMAS ROE on a solemn Embassy to the Great Mogul in his Majesty's name, with letters and credentials as usual from one Prince to another; but they did not support him with an equipage suitable to the character he bore; nor were the presents they furnished him with to that court suitable to the dignity of the Prince he came from, or the Mogul to whom he was sent, as the Indian court themselves observed; and occasioned his voyage to be less advantageous to the company than otherwise it might have been; for Sir THOMAS seems to have been a gentleman every way qualified for the employment he undertook, and in the circumstances he was, maintained his character to admiration. We have hardly read of an Ambassador who shew'd more zeal and courage in the behalf of his country, or was master of a better address than we find Sir THOMAS ROE: but that objection which was made to him, that his presents and equipage became rather a private merchant than the great Prince he pretended to represent, he could never perfectly get over; so that he had very little pleasure, as he himself tells us, in his parsimonious negotiation.

Sir THOMAS Roe's Embassy to the Mogul.

Sir

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He arrives at Surat.

Sir THOMAS landed at Surat on the 26th of September 1615. and as became his character, insisted that his servant should not be searched or molested, which with great difficulty he maintained; and a house was provided for him in the city, where he continued till the 30th of October. But the Governor, notwithstanding all his representations to the contrary, searched his chests, and took out whatever he saw fit. On the 30th he set out from Surat, and arrived at Brampour the 14th of November following, which he computed to be about two hundred and twenty miles to the eastward of Surat. Here the Ambassador says he had four rooms assigned him in the side of the wall, almost in the form of ovens, and not much bigger, which the officer excused, there being no better accommodations in the place, except the Prince's palace, and those of some great men: all the rest appeared to be low thatched houses, with mud walls; whereupon Sir THOMAS took up his lodging in his tent, wherein he usually lay upon this journey.

At Brampour.

In the morning he was conducted by an officer, whom he styles the Cutwall, to the palace of Sultan PERVIS, second son of the Mogul. In the outward court he saw a hundred gentlemen mounted on horseback, waiting to pay their compliments on his coming out. Sir THOMAS found him sitting after the manner of the Mogul Princes, in a high gallery with a canopy over his head, and a kind of stage covered with carpet beneath him, where the great Men attended. An officer directed the Ambassador to bow his head three times to the ground when he approached, which he refused, but went forward to the place underneath the Prince, which was railed in, having an ascent of three steps, where he bowed to his Highness after the European manner; and the Prince returned the compliment. Sir THOMAS stood directly before the Prince, but was not permitted to come up the steps, or allowed a chair here: however, the Prince having received his present, offered to remove into another room, where the Ambassador was allowed to sit; and he observes his Highness made himself pretty drunk with a case of bottles Sir THOMAS gave him, which put an end to the visit. In this city resided also CHAN-CANNA, the greatest subject the Mogul had, and General of his armies: He had forty thousand horse with him at this time, and governed the province, the Prince having only the name and State of the matter, and very little power lodged in him.

On the 27th of November the Ambassador set out from Brampour, and the 18th of December arrived at Chitor. This he found to be an ancient ruined city: but there was still the footsteps of wonderful magnificence: there were above 100 temples of carved stone all standing, several fair towers and pillars, and innumerable houses; but not one inhabitant. This city is situate on a high hill, to which there is but one steep ascent cut through a rock, and four gates in the passage before you come to the city gate, which is magnificent. The hill is enclosed at the top, and is about twelve miles in circumference. This was lately the seat of Rana, lineally descended, as 'tis said, from the famous PORUS who engaged ALEXANDER the Great, though the chief city of Porus is generally held to be Delly. On the 23d of December the Ambassador arrived at Azimer, being about four hundred and twenty miles north and by east from Brampour. He was so very ill at this time that he was forced to keep his bed, and therefore did not go to court till the 10th of January following; it was in the evening, when the Mogul was at the Durbar, where he sits daily to receive strangers, hear petitions, and to issue his orders; and here he receives presents from the grandees, and those who approach him with any business.

Azimer.

Before Sir THOMAS came to this audience, he had obtained permission to pay his compliments after the European manner; and being come to the Durbar, at the entrance of the outward rail, he was met by two noble slaves, and conducted nearer to the Mogul. When he entred the first rail he made a low bow, at the second another, and at the inward rail when he came under the Mogul a third. The place was a great court whither all sorts of people resorted. The Mogul sat in a gallery pretty high, Ambassadors, great men, and foreigners of quality within the innermost rail under him, being raised a little like a stage, and covered with carpets; it was shaded also with canopies of silk or velvet. The gentry sat within the second rail, and the inferior people farther off in the base court: the whole rising gradually, it appeared much like a theatre: and all were entirely within the Mogul's view at once.

His first audience.

Upon the Ambassador's approach, the Mogul bid him welcome as from a sovereign Prince his brother; whereupon he delivered the King of England's letters translated, and afterwards his commission, on which the Mogul looked with great curiosity. Afterwards the presents were produced, which seemed to be well received; and the Ambassador having been sick, his Majesty enquired kindly after his health, offered him his own physicians, and advised him not to stir abroad till his health was established; and if he wanted any thing he should be furnished with it.

He waited on Sultan CHORROM the 22d. This was the third son of the Mogul, and in the highest favour, being supported by NOUR MAHAL, who at that time governed the empire as she pleased. This Prince gave audience in the same

Audience of Prince CHORROM.

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ſtate his father did, and the people made their court to him in much the ſame manner. He was at this time Viceroy of the country about Surat; to whom therefore Sir THOMAS complained of the abuſes he had met with there, and was aſſured that all grievances ſhould be redreſſed.

Second audience of the Mogul.

When Sir THOMAS went to his ſecond audience of the Mogul, his Majeſty ſeeing him at a diſtance, beckoned to him, and directed him to be admitted without any ceremony; whereupon the Ambaſſador offered a ſmall preſent according to cuſtom; for whoever has any buſineſs with that Prince muſt preſent him with ſomething every time he makes his addreſſes. Whoever cannot come near holds up his preſent, and it is accepted if it be but a rupee (2 s. 3 d.) and his buſineſs is immediately enquired into. In like manner, when the Mogul had taken the Ambaſſador's preſent, and examined it very narrowly, he demanded his buſineſs, to which he anſwered, That he deſired juſtice, that the King of England's ſubjects relying on his Majeſty's grant for a free trade, had undertaken a dangerous voyage to his dominions; but had their goods violently taken from them by his governors, and their perſons ſometimes impriſoned, contrary to the articles of trade ſign'd by his Majeſty; whereupon Sir THOMAS obtained an order for releaſing them, with aſſurances that they ſhould not ſuffer ſuch inconveniencies for the future. But Sir THOMAS propoſing the entring into a formal treaty of peace and alliance with the King of Great Britain, could never bring it to effect; being conſtantly oppoſed by Sultan CHORROM, who ſeems to have had a confirmed antipathy to the Chriſtians in general, as well as to Sir THOMAS in particular, for the complaints he frequently made of his officers; but the principal reaſon of his not ſucceeding, as has been hinted already, was, that the preſents Sir THOMAS carried with him were not ſo valuable as were expected on ſo important a negotiation.

However, Sir THOMAS, notwithſtanding his want of rich preſents, and the oppoſition of the miniſtry who were bribed much higher by the Portugueſe, did not fail conſtantly to attend the court, and make his complaints to the Mogul in perſon. ASAPH CHAN the Prime Miniſter, and the Prince, once forcibly kept his intrepeter out of court, he tells us, and ſo ſurrounded the throne with their creatures that Sir THOMAS could not be ſeen; whereupon, to the ſurpriſe of the miniſtry, he called out aloud for audience; and the Emperor ordering him to be admitted immediately with his interpreter, he complained of the abuſes that were put upon him in ſuch a manner that both the Prince and the miniſtry were in the utmoſt conſternation, the Emperor expreſſing a more than ordinary reſentment at the abuſes put upon the Ambaſſador: but when he propoſed the concluding the treaty of alliance with England again, of ſo mercenary a ſpirit was the Mogul himſelf, that he immediately demanded 'what preſents the Engliſh would make him?' Whether jewels, precious ſtones, or what? To which the Ambaſſador anſwered, He could not think thoſe proper preſents for the Engliſh to make his Majeſty, becauſe they were firſt bought in the Mogul's Dominions, and were common here; but they would collect the fineſt paintings, carving, enamelling, and curious figures cut in braſs or ſtone, embroideries, and ſuch other curious European works as were not to be found in the Eaſt. Theſe the Emperor ſaid would be acceptable to him; but what he deſired moſt to ſee was, ſome of our Engliſh horſes, which the Ambaſſador aſſured him was impracticable, for they would not out-live ſo long and troubleſome a voyage. He afterwards deſired maſtiffs, Iriſh greyhounds, ſpaniels, and dogs for the game; which being ſent for, the Emperor continued to ſhew the greateſt reſpect to the Ambaſſador, perſonally preſenting him with his picture, and ſeveral things of value; he would alſo make any occaſional temporary orders he deſired in favour of the merchants; but I don't find any ſolemn treaty was ever ſigned during the negotiation of this Gentleman.

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Treats of the climate, the monſoons and ſeaſons; the tides, rivers, and port towns upon the coaſt of India.

Climate.

THIS country extended from 7 degrees, 45 minutes to 40 degrees N. latitude. The longeſt day in the ſouth is 12 hours and half, and in the north about 15 hours. The northern part of India is temperate, and the winds variable, as in other countries without the tropicks; but towards the ſouth the country is ſubject to exceſſive heats, which proceed not only from the ſun which is vertical ſome part of the year, but from the winds themſelves, as will be obſerved hereafter. The winds alſo are periodical, and return to certain points at ſtated times, as in moſt countries within the tropicks.

Monſoons and periodical winds.

And firſt of the monſoons which out at ſea blow ſix months one way and ſix months another: namely, from April to October, or thereabouts, they blow from the ſouth-weſt, and from October to April from the north-eaſt, not exactly from thoſe points, but varying ſometimes a point or two on either ſide. At the breaking up of either of theſe monſoons (a little before they ſhift) there are uſually prodigious ſtorms of wind, ſuch as we do

Storms.

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do not experience in this part of the world once in a great many years. The ſhifting of the monſoons, and conſequently this ſtormy weather, does not come exactly at the ſame time every year, but ſometimes a fortnight or three weeks ſooner, and at others a fortnight or three weeks later than the uſual time, which frequently occaſions the loſs of ſhipping; for the Merchants, for the ſake of a trifling gain, will remain upon the coaſts in hopes that the ſtorms will keep off a little longer, till the wind grows too ſtrong for them, and they find it impoſſible to bear up againſt it. I have ſeen every ſhip in the road of Maderas (no leſs than thirteen) all driven aſhore one morning; and it blew with ſo much fury on ſhore at the ſame time, that it was impoſſible to croſs a ſtreet in a direct line, but in going from one ſide to the other a man would be blown down by the wind in the ſame manner a boat is carried down a river by the ſtream; and there being very few harbours on the coaſt of India, commanders, who have any foreſight, get as far from the coaſts as they can at the time theſe ſtorms are expected. About the time the ſtormy weather uſually ceaſes, the Banians and Bramin Prieſts pretend to appeaſe the angry winds and ſeas by offerings of gilded coco-nuts, and other trifles which they throw into the ocean; and after this ceremony pronounce it ſafe for merchants to venture out again: thus they make the ſtated revolutions of the ſeaſons to be the effect of their prayers and oblations, which the populace give into, notwithſtanding theſe ſeaſons are as conſtant almoſt as any thing in nature can be.

But beſides theſe winds we call monſoons, we have our land and ſea breezes, which ſhift once in twelve hours, when the monſoons are not violent, for then the breezes give place to the hurricane. Theſe land and ſea breezes are of great uſe to the ſhipping to carry them one way or the other along the coaſt; and the people on ſhore are very ſenſible of the effects of them too, for the land winds are hot, and the ſea breezes cool and refreſhing; and without the latter, the ſouthern part of India would be intolerable in the heat of ſummer, which I reckon to be in May or the beginning of June; for the latter end of June the rains begin to fall, the country is overflowed, the heavens are thick with clouds, which obſcure and cover us from the ſcorching ſun; if the rains fail, the hot winds continue much longer, and we are almoſt ſtifled with them. Theſe come from the north-weſt, over a vaſt tract of parch'd ſandy ground, which the ſun ſhining perpendicularly upon, caſts a heat upwards like the floor of a furnace, inſomuch that the winds that blow from that quarter are exceeding hot. But as providence is pleaſed to order it, theſe land winds blow but from midnight till noon, nor do they begin to be very troubleſome till nine o' clock in the morning, when the ſun begins to be three hours high; for as the days are never much more than 12 hours long, and the breezes blow from the ſea from midday to midnight, the earth has time to cool, and the mornings and evenings are extremely pleaſant. Theſe indeed are the only times for buſineſs or diverſion: the heat of the day the Indians endeavour to ſleep away; and as they ſay at Madrid, none but Frenchmen or dogs are to be found in the ſtreets at noon.

During the time of theſe heats, people throw water upon their pavements, and hang up wet ſheets againſt the wind, which will much abate the heats; but the rains beginning to fall in June, we are very little troubled with the heats afterwards, though the ſun be directly over our heads. If the rains fail indeed, which is not often, famine as well as malignant fevers muſt be expected.

Rainy ſeaſons.

The uſual time of the continuance of the wet ſeaſon is about four months; namely, from the latter end of June to the latter end of October, though they frequently begin ſooner and end later. The ſhowers that fall in thoſe months are very weighty, inſomuch that the flat country will be overflowed in a night or two's time; but in the beginning and latter end of the rainy ſeaſon there are conſiderable intervals of fair weather. We have at firſt only a rainy evening now and then; the reſt of the four and twenty hours are fair, and ſo at the latter end; but in Auguſt or September we have rains for ſeveral days together without intermiſſion. Some days before the rains begin, we obſerve it to be thick dark weather to the windward, and hear the thunder rumbling at a diſtance; and when they are ſet in, a day ſeldom paſſes without terrible thunder and lightning, but the people are ſo uſed to it that it is very little minded: and in the fair ſeaſon we have lightning without thunder for ſeveral weeks together every night; but this kind of lightning does no manner of harm. There are alſo earthquakes ſometimes in India, but I never heard of any conſiderable damage done by them: and except in the rainy ſeaſon, and about the vernal equinox, when the caſtern monſoon ſhifts, we have a clear ſerene heaven. All the reſt of the year is exempt from ſtorms and hurricanes, and we have only ſuch moderate breezes as the heat of the climate requires. The pleaſure to be found in the mornings and evenings is not to be conceived, for not only the heavens ſeem to enjoy a more than ordinary purity and brightneſs, and ſuch as we never experience in theſe northern latitudes; but all trees and plants retain a perpetual verdure; and you ſee bloſſoms and ripe fruits on ſome tree or other all the year round. The ſight, the taſte, the ſmell, are

Fair ſeaſons.

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are all regaled in thoſe delicious gardens, which come upto the fineſt ideas we can form of a terreſtrial paradiſe.

Healthful country.

The uninterrupted health and long life of the natives of India is another great addition to their happineſs, which is to be aſcribed partly to the innocent food and liquors they uſe; namely rice, herbs and fair water, and partly to the benignity of the climate. There are indeed ſome low grounds near the ſea, as in all countries, which the vapours ariſing from the ouze and ſalt marſhes render very unhealthful, as particularly the Engliſh ſettlement of Bombay, and the country of Bengal, through which the Ganges by ſeveral mouths empties itſelf into the ſea, and the whole province is annually flooded like Egypt: theſe parts indeed are very unhealthful; but I may affirm notwithſtanding, that nine parts in ten of the continent of India is as healthful as any part of the world, and as agreeable to European conſtitutions after the illneſs is over, which they generally contract the firſt months they arrive there, which proceeds as much from the alteration of their diet and a different regimen as from any other cauſe. Our travellers are not always the moſt abſtemious people of the world, and ſeldom mind how they live till ſome ſevere fit of ſickneſs has taught them moderation: thoſe who can afford themſelves ſtrong liquors uſually are carried off by fevers; others indulge in fruits and ſherbet, which throws them into the bloody flux; and ſome will eat a belly full, as they call it in England, of fleſh and fiſh, or a mixture of other meats which are not eaſy of digeſtion, and throws them into a mortudchin, or a vomiting and purging, which ſometimes carries them off in 24 hours. When our people have ſuffered by any of theſe diſtempers and been brought to death's door, they uſually grow more prudent, and from their own experience and the advice of their friends, come to underſtand that a moderate uſe of meat and ſtrong liquors is the beſt regimen they can uſe. It is almoſt as prejudicial to abſtain totally from ſtrong liquors (to European conſtitutions) as it is to drink to exceſs in this country, and ſo as people avoid dramming it too much, thoſe who drink wine and punch freely, often do better than thoſe who forbear them altogether, particularly in contagious diſtempers.

The reaſon the Europeans are unhealthful at firſt.

Bombay and Bengal ſickly.

Travellers, it is true, who have viſited Bengal and Bombay, entertain us with diſmal accounts of the unhealthfulneſs of thoſe places: Mr. OVINGTON particularly tells us, that arriving at Bombay in the beginning of the rainy ſeaſon, twenty paſſengers out of four and twenty died before the rains were over, and that had they ſtaid another month the whole ſhip's company would have run a great hazard of their lives; for neither the exacteſt temperance or the moſt ſovereign medicines would avail them; that the Captain and himſelf were in ſuch a languiſhing condition they could not have ſurvived many days; but they no ſooner ſailed towards Surat, which lyes a little to the northward upon the ſame coaſt, than they were ſenſible of a conſiderable alteration in their health, and could diſcern the difference of the air as eaſily as the palate can diſtinguiſh between wine and water: Mr. OVINGTON had abundance of kind invitations to remain in the iſland; but having the fate of the laſt miniſter of the place before his eyes, who died but a fortnight before, and three or four more of his order who died the preceding years, he was glad to make his eſcape from thence; and he obſerves that it is become a proverb amongſt the Engliſh there, that two monſoons are the age of a man. Several natural reaſons this gentleman gives for the unhealthfulneſs of the place, ſuch as the low ſituation and the noiſomneſs of the vapours ariſing from the ſtinking mud, and the manuring their gardens with corrupted fiſh; the frogs and inſects alſo that die and are ſwept together in heaps after the rains ſo corrupt the air, that we cannot much admire at the unhealthfulneſs of this iſland. However, this reverend gentleman will have it in ſome meaſure owing to the immoral lives of the inhabitants, and to be a juſt judgment of heaven upon their impieties; and we muſt give all people leave to talk in their own way; but our other ſettlements, where the morals of our people are not a whit better, being compoſed of the very ſame kind of men, enjoy a much better health; and this learned gentleman acknowledges, there is a great deal to be aſcribed to the ſituation and climate in theſe caſes, and that providence does not ſeem to diſtinguiſh between the good and the bad; but if any thing is ſeverer upon the clergy than the laity. And poſſibly we may with as much reaſon reflect upon the morals of the inhabitants of Feverſham and the hundreds of Eſſex, who ſeldom paſs a year without a fever, as upon thoſe of Bombay. Nor would the caſe be much altered, perhaps, if the Eaſt-India company ſhould extirpate the rakes in that iſland and people it with an army of Puritans: it appears alſo, that there is a great deal more in the natural than in the moral reaſons aſſigned by that divine for the unhealthfulneſs of Bombay, in that the freſh men who are newly come over ſuffer much more than thoſe who are ſeaſoned to the country, and a man that has lived there one year, may live ſeven without running the hazards he does the firſt; nor do the natives of the place find thoſe inconveniences which foreigners do; they may perhaps have a ſlight fever or indiſpoſition in autumn, as the natives of Romney marſh, and the hundreds of Eſſex feel almoſt every year, but many of them live notwithſtanding to a good old age.

Principal rivers, Ganges.

I come now to ſpeak of the principal rivers in this empire, of which the Ganges is in greateſt eſteem,

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eſteem, not only on account of the long courſe it runs, the depth of the ſeveral channels through which it empties itſelf into the bay of Bengal, and the pureneſs of its ſtreams; but from the imaginary ſanctity which the natives believe to be in its waters, upon which account this river is worſhipped by the idolaters of India as a god, and happy is the man who breathes out his ſoul upon its banks. The courſe of this river is from north to ſouth, or rather from the north-weſt to the ſouth-eaſt, the ſource for ought I perceive is ſtill uncertain. The Emperor AKEBAR, who began his reign about the year 1552, employed his officers in ſearching for its fountain; theſe gentlemen arriving at a mountain to the north of India, which ſeemed to be ſhaped by art into the form of a cow's head, and from whence there iſſued a great ſtream of water fatigued with traverſing untrodden paths, were willing to believe this to be the ſource of the Ganges, and made their report to the Emperor, accordingly, whereupon this account was recorded in the royal archives, from whence MANOUCHI relates he took it; but the head of this river notwithſtanding, has been ſince found to riſe much higher in Tartary, and only forms a caſcade in the mountain where the Mogul officers related that it firſt aroſe.

This river diſembogues into the ſea of Bengal in about 22 degrees of northern latitude, by ſo many mouths that travellers are not agreed in the number of them; there appear in our charts a dozen at leaſt. In April it is loweſt, and almoſt dry in ſome places; but in September, after the rains, it is ſeveral miles broad and very deep; and when it returns to the uſual channels leaves a prolifick mud behind, which renders Bengal one of the moſt fruitful countries in the world. The water is clear and well taſted, and mariners obſerve, keeps better at ſea than any water whatever, except that of the Thames. The tides riſe at the entrance of this river ſix foot perpendicular about the niep, and ten foot about the ſpring tides. The firſt quarter's flood from Balaſore road as high as Redgaree, ſits with great force directly towards the ſhore, that is north, and the half floods north-eaſt; and the beginning of the laſt quarter, when the little rivers and creeks along the ſhore are filled ſits eaſt-north-eaſt. The common paſſage for European ſhipping is up that branch called Hugeley river, one of the moſt weſtern branches.

River Indus.

The river Indus waters the weſtern ſide of India, as the Ganges does the eaſt runing a courſe, as that is ſaid to do, of about three thouſand miles; but the entrance of it is ſo choaked up with ſand that it is not at all navigated by great ſhips. It runs from the north-eaſt to the ſouth-weſt, and empties itſelf into the Indian ocean by three mouths, in about 24 degrees of northern latitude. The ſource of this river does not riſe far from that of the Ganges, and the heads of both of them are held to be in the kingdom of Thibet, the moſt ſouthern part of Tartary, and contiguous to India on the north-eaſt.

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Jemma.

The river Jemma is famous for watering thoſe two capital cities of Delly and Agra. It riſes a little to the northward of the province of Delly, running almoſt directly ſouth till it comes to Agra, and then its courſe is eaſtward till it falls into the Ganges, in about the latitude of 27 north.

Guenga.

The river Guenga riſes in the province of Decan; and having run ſome hundreds of miles to the north-eaſt, turns directly eaſt, waſhing the northern ſide of the province of Orixa, and falls into the bay of Bengal near the weſtern mouth of the Ganges, where the town of Balliſore ſtands, which road is much viſited by European ſhipping.

Chriſtena.

The river Chriſtena riſes alſo in the province of Decan, and having run ſouthward ſome hundred miles, turns to the eaſtward near the city of Golconda, and falls into the bay of Bengal, in the latitude of 16 north, a little to the ſouthward of Maſſulapatan.

Tapte.

The river Tapte riſes near the city of Brampour, and running directly weſt, falls into the gulph of Cambaya at Surat.

Paddar.

The river Paddar riſes not far from the city of Aſimer, and running weſtward falls into the ſea, a little to the northward of Guzarat or Cambaya.

Chaoul.

The river Chaoul riſes in the province of Penchbab, one of the moſt northern provinces of India, and running to the ſouth-weſt a courſe of ſeveral hundred miles, falls into the river Indus.

Negapatan.

I might have mentioned the river Negapatan, and ſeveral others; but theſe I have recited are the chief. There are indeed almoſt innumerable rivers, or rather torrents, after the rains, many of them at that time equal to the Thames, and yet are generally dry before the rains fall again. As for the currents near theſe coaſts they ſit as the monſoon does, and change with that. It is very difficult going on ſhore in India, the ſurf of the ſea runs ſo high and breaks ſo far from the land, and particularly at Fort St. George, on the coaſt of Chormandel, no European boat ever attempts to go on ſhore, but the natives come off in their Muſſoola's, a boat almoſt as deep as a man is high, the planks whereof are not much above half an inch thick, and ſewed together with coco-nut cordage. Theſe if they ſtrike, as they muſt three times at leaſt before they get on ſhore, yield and are as pliant almoſt as paſteboard: and being exceeding light when they are on ground, the ſurf gently heaves them forward; and when they ſtrike again another ſurf ſucceeds the

Dangerous landing on the coaſt of India.

CHAP. III.

the former, till at length you are gently heaved aſhore upon the beach.

The twelve ſouthern provinces of India.

I come now to ſpeak of the ſeveral provinces of this vaſt empire, which I ſhall divide into north and ſouth, one part of it lying ſouth of the tropick of Cancer, and the other north. And firſt of the ſouthern provinces, which are 1. Biſnagar or Carnate, ſometimes alſo called Narſinga. 2. Golconda. 3. Orixa, and 4. Bengal on the eaſtern ſide of the peninſula, and 5. Malabar. 6. Viſiapour. 7. Decan. 8. Guzarat or Cambaya on the weſt ſide of the peninſula; and between theſe, towards the north, lye the provinces of 9. Candich. 10. Berar. 11. Chitor, and 12. Malva. Theſe twelve provinces I take the liberty of calling South India, and ſhall deſcribe them before I proceed to thoſe of the north; but I muſt premiſe, that the eaſtern ſide of this peninſula is uſually called the coaſt of Chormandel, and the weſt the Malabar coaſt, though neither the diſtrict of Chormandel on the one ſide, or Malabar, properly ſo called, on the other, extend farther than one third of the reſpective coaſts.

Biſnagar or Carnate.

And firſt of Biſnagar or Carnate, this country when it was under the dominion of its own King, comprehended not only proper Biſnagar, but the diſtricts of Chormandel, Tanjour, and Madura down to cape Comorin, and was bounded towards the eaſt, by the bay of Bengal, on the ſouth by the Indian ocean, on the weſt by the country of Malabar, and on the north by the provinces of Viſiapour and Golconda.

I have already obſerved that the whole peninſula, and ſeveral provinces to the north of it, between two and three hundred years ago, were under the dominion of one Prince, who ſtyled himſelf King of Decan. That the ſouthern part was afterwards ſplit into three kingdoms, namely, Viſiapour, Golconda and Biſnagar, and the north part of it was gradually ſeized on by the Mogul Emperors, though for ſome time there remained a King to the northward who ſtyled himſelf King of Decan. The three Kings of Viſiapour, Golconda, and Biſnagar maintained their ground ſome time againſt the Mogul, till the King of Biſnagar obſerving that his territories were fartheſt removed from danger, refuſed to contribute his quota towards the war; whereupon the Kings of Viſiapour and Golconda loſt ſeveral frontier towns, and were compelled to make a diſadvantageous peace with the Mogul; but to revenge themſelves on their perfidious ally, they fell upon him as ſoon as the war with the Mogul was ended, and drove him up into the mountains, dividing his country between them. To the King of Viſiapour all the inland country was allotted, with the diſtricts of Tanjour and Madura, as far as cape Comorin, and to the King of Golconda the coaſt of Chormandel. But during theſe wars, the principalities of Tanjour and Madura were ſeized on by ſome of the King of Narſinga's Generals, and erected into kingdoms; who were, however, content to be tributary and dependent on the King of Viſiapour, to whom theſe diſtricts were allotted by the abovementioned partition; and ſince the conqueſt of Biſnagar by the Mogul, are in like manner dependent on him; though theſe, as well as many of the Raja's on the coaſt of Malabar and in the mountains, are ſtill governed by their own laws, and retain a kind of ſovereignty, as do ſeveral European nations upon each coaſt, in particular towns and diſtricts; but the Mogul's Generals frequently viſit thoſe places, and block them up with an army, refuſing to retire till they have obtained ſome valuable preſents or tribute, which is paid not ſo much out of fear of a ſiege as for the reſtoring of commerce, which cannot be carried on while the armies lye there, and prevent all communication with the neighbouring country.

Tanjour and Madura erected into kingdoms.

Madura.

The diſtrict of Madura lyes on the ſouth-eaſt part of the Indian peninſula, and is bounded by Tanjour on the north, and Malabar on the weſt, and by the ocean and the ſtraights of Manar or Ramanakoel (which lye between the continent and the iſland of Ceylon) towards the ſouth and eaſt. The chief towns are, 1. Madura, which lyes at the foot of the Malabar mountains in 10 degrees of north latitude, and is the reſidence of the Naique, or King of the country. 2. Periapatan upon the coaſt, in the latitude of 9 degrees north, and 3. Tutacoryn, another town upon the coaſt in the poſſeſſion of the Dutch, who took it from the Portugueſe about the year 1658, and lyes in the latitude of 9 degrees ſome odd min. The inland part of this country is inhabited by the native blacks, governed at preſent by their King or Naique; but the coaſt has been long poſſeſſed by ſtrangers, as Moors, Portugueſe and Dutch, and a mixt breed of theſe and ſeveral other nations. The country is but barren, and does not ſeem to be famous for any thing but a pearl fiſhery between that continent and Ceylon, in which it is ſaid there are ſome thouſand people employed every ſeaſon. This the Dutch reap the greateſt advantage from, being maſters of both coaſts; but the pearls are not large, and conſequently the fiſhery not ſo valuable as in ſome other ſeas. There is an iſland called Ramanakool, which lyes between Madura and Ceylon, which is reckoned to belong to Madura, in which ſtands a temple dedicated to Rama, in much eſteem among the idolatrous Indians; but the iſland is not above ſix miles long and three broad.

CHAP. IV.

Contains a farther deſcription of the provinces and chief towns in the hither peninſula of India.

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THE principality of Tanjour adjoins to Madura, and is bounded by Gingi on the north, the mountains of Gate on the weſt, Madura on the ſouth, and the bay of Bengal on the eaſt, making part of that coaſt which goes under the name of Cormandel. This, as has been already obſerved, was part of the kingdom of Biſnagar, or Carnate; and though it have a Naique or Sovereign of its own, is however dependent on the Mogul. The chief towns are Tanjour, Negapatan and Trincumbar.

The city of Tanjour lyes about the middle of the country, and is the ſeat of the Naique, or Prince. Negapatan lyes in 11 degrees north lat. near the mouth of a river which falls into the bay of Bengal at this town: it was but an inconſiderable place till the Portugueſe built and fortified it; but it is now ſurrounded with a wall and twelve baſtions, and defended by a numerous artillery. The Portugueſe however ſurrendred it to the Dutch in the year 1658, on their appearing before it with five hundred men, without ſtriking a ſtroke. Negapatan had then ſeveral fine churches, a monaſtery, and other publick buildings, which are ſince moſt of them run to ruin, being neglected by the Dutch as nurſeries of ſuperſtition.

Trincumbar, or Tranquebar, is the next great town upon the coaſt, and ſtands about fifteen miles to the northward of Negapatan. This place is in the poſſeſſion of the Danes, who have a regular fort here built with ſtone, and ſurrounded with a deep moat. The town alſo, which is about two miles in circumference, is ſurrounded with a noble wall faced with ſtone, having large baſtions at proper diſtances mounted with cannon. The houſes which the Danes and other Europeans inhabit are of brick or ſtone, built all upon a floor, but commodious enough. The ſtreets are wide and ſtrait, and paved on the ſides with brick, but the houſes of the Indians are very mean, having clay walls and thatched roofs, as in moſt other towns of India. The garriſon is not anſwerable to ſo large an extent of ground, conſiſting only of a hundred and fifty Europeans, or thereabouts; and ſome Indians, who are only fit to oppoſe ſoldiers like themſelves.

This town however held out a ſiege of ſix months in the year 1699, againſt the King of Tanjour's whole forces, aſſiſted underhand by the Dutch; though had not Mr. PITT, the Governor of fort St. George, ſent a reinforcement of Engliſh to their aſſiſtance, the place had run a great hazard of being taken: but I ſhall defer the relation of this ſiege till I come to ſpeak of the Indian troops, and their manner of engaging and carrying on a ſiege. CHAP. IV.

Adjoining to Madura is the principality of Gingy, which aroſe alſo out of the ruins of the kingdom of Biſnagar; and tho' it may ſtill enjoy its own Naique or Sovereign, is dependent on the Mogul, who might cruſh him when he pleaſed, and no doubt would if he ever refuſed the tribute his Generals demand in their circuits. His two chief towns are Gingy and Cidambaran, but being both inland places which Europeans ſeldom reſort to, we find no exact deſcription of them. Gingy.

I come now to that part of the kingdom of Narſinga, which is known by the name of Cormandel, and is bounded by Proper Narſinga on the weſt, Golconda on the north, the bay of Bengal on the eaſt, and Gingy on the ſouth, though Gingy, Tanjour, and Madura are properly enough by ſome reckoned part of the coaſt of Cormandel, theſe making formerly the eaſt part of the kingdom of Biſnagar, and going under the general name of Cormandel before theſe little principalities were erected; and according to this account, the coaſt of Cormandel reaches from cape Comorin, which lyes in ſeven degrees thirty minutes north latitude to Maſſulapatan, the firſt town in Golconda, in ſixteen degrees, thirty minutes, ſo that this coaſt takes up nine degrees of latitude, which allowing for the winding of the ſhores makes a ſea coaſt of at leaſt ſeven hundred miles: but having already taken notice of the towns which lye to the ſouthward in Tanjour and Madura, I now proceed northward, to that part of the coaſt, which in the ſtricteſt ſenſe is ſtyled the coaſt of Cormandel. The chief towns upon this coaſt are Porta Nova, fort St. Davids, or Tegapatan, Pullicherry, Conymere, Saderas-a-patan, Coblong, St. Thomas or Meliapour, Maderaſapatan, uſually called fort St. George from the Engliſh fort there, Policate and Petipoly. Cormandel coaſt.

Porta Nova lyes between twenty and thirty miles to the northward of Trincumbar, where the Dutch have a factory. Fort St. Davids or Tegapatan is about fifteen miles to the northward of Porta Nova, in the latitude of 11 degrees, 40 minutes. This place was purchaſed by the Engliſh Eaſt-India company about forty years ago. It has been ſince regularly fortified, and is, next to fort St. George, a place of the greateſt conſequence to the Engliſh of any upon this coaſt; for here they have a very great trade for calicoes and muſlins. Fourteen miles north of fort St. Davids ſtands Pullicherry or Pondicherry, as ſome call it. This is a French ſettlement, and one of the prettieſt fortifications in India. About thirty miles north of Pullicherry ſtands Conymere, where the Engliſh have a factory; and ſix miles farther Porta Nova. Fort St. Davids. Pullichery. Conymere.

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northward is Saderas-a-patan a Dutch ſettlement. Twenty miles northward of Saderas-a-patan ſtands Coblon, the only ſettlement the Oſtend Eaſt-India company have in India. From Coblon to St. Thomas or Meliapour is ten miles: this was once the moſt conſiderable place on the coaſt of Cormandel; but when the Portugueſe ſettled here it was in ruins, and was almoſt abandoned by the inhabitants. The Portugueſe rebuilt the city, and gave it the name of St. Thomas from the Apoſtle of that name, whom tradition ſays was martyr'd here, and that his ſepulchre was on a hill a little diſtance from hence. However, here the Portugueſe found ſome bones which they immediately enſhrined, and are now become the objects of adoration. Few people perhaps will ſubſcribe to all the traditions we meet with of this matter; but certain it is, there were Chriſtians in this part of India when the Portugueſe firſt arrived here, who had the memory of St. THOMAS in great veneration, but refuſed to ſubmit to the Pope of Rome; and though the Miſſionaries have ſince prevailed with them to acknowledge his authority, ſtill keep up ſome diſtinctions, and are not entirely united with them, but more of this under the head of religion. This town was erected into a Biſhop's ſee by the Portugueſe, having ſeveral villages under its juriſdiction. The churches, monaſteries, and private buildings were very magnificent for that part of the world: it was regularly fortified, and became the greateſt place of trade upon the coaſt, but they were beaten out of it by the Moors.

Saderas-a-patan. Coblon. St. Thomas.

About the year 1666, the French came before this place with ten ſail of ſhips, and took it, the King of Golconda being then Sovereign of the country, and conſequently of this place; but the Dutch being apprehenſive if the French got footing in India they might diſpute the empire of thoſe ſeas with them, about four years after the French had been in poſſeſſion of it, blocked up the town by ſea with fifteen ſail of ſhips, while the King of Golconda's forces beſieged it by land; and the town holding out beyond expectation, the Dutch landed ſeven hundred ſoldiers, who joined the beſiegers and took it; whereupon the fortifications were deſtroyed, and it is at this day a place of no ſtrength; nor do the Europeans think it worth their while to have factories there. It is inhabited indeed by the deſcendants of the Portugueſe, Moors, Jentoes, and a mixture of other nations, and ſtill a Biſhop's ſee; but the people are generally poor, the trade being removed to Madraſs, whither alſo many of the Portugueſe removed, and have a church allowed them there.

Madraſs or fort St. George, as it is generally called from the Engliſh fort there, ſtands about four miles to the northward of St. Thomas, in 13 degrees, ſome odd minutes latitude, and 80 degrees of longitude; being near 4800 miles to the eaſtward of London, ſo that the ſun viſits them about ſix hours before us, and ſets in that part of the world before we ſit down to dinner in this; for there is ſo little difference in the length of the days there all the year round, that we always reckon it to be ſix o'clock at ſun-riſe and ſun-ſet. As to clocks and watches, I never could meet with one would go tolerably true in theſe latitudes.

Fort St. George or Madraſs.

The fort is a regular ſquare, about a hundred yards on each ſide, with four baſtions, built with what they call iron ſtone, being of the colour of unwrought iron, and very rough on the outſide like honeycomb. There is no ditch about the fort, and the walls are arched and hollow within, ſo that I queſtion if they are cannon proof. It has two gates, one to the eaſt and the other to the weſt. The weſtern gate which looks towards the land is pretty large; and here the main guard is kept, the ſoldiers of the guard lying on the right and left of it, under the wall, which being hollow ſerves them inſtead of a guard houſe. The eaſt gate towards the ſea, is but ſmall, and guarded only with a file of muſqueteers. In the middle of the fort ſtands the Governor's houſe, in which alſo are apartments for the company's ſervants; it is a handſome, lofty, ſquare ſtone building; the firſt rooms are aſcended by ten or twelve ſteps, and from thence another pair of ſtairs leads to the council chamber and the Governor's lodgings. The fort ſtands pretty near the middle of the White Town where the Europeans inhabit. This is an oblong ſquare about a quarter of a mile in length, but not half ſo much in breadth. To the northward of the fort are three ſtrait handſome ſtreets, and as many to the ſouth. The buildings are of brick, ſeveral of the houſes two ſtories high, by which I mean they have one floor above the ground floor. Their roofs are flat, and covered with a plaiſter made of ſea ſhells, which no rain can penetrate; and being ſecured with battlements they take the freſh air upon them morning and evening. The walls of theſe houſes are very thick, and the rooms lofty; but what ſeems peculiar to this country is, the upper floors are laid with bricks inſtead of boards, but there are not many of theſe lofty houſes; and I queſtion whether there be more than a hundred and twenty houſes in the whole White Town. By the dimenſions I have given of this place, it may be very well concluded there are no gardens, or very large court yards before their houſes; and indeed they ſtand pretty cloſe to the ſtreet, but the Governor and people of condition have gardens at a little diſtance from the town. Over againſt the weſt gate of the fort is a barrack, or rather one long room where all the company's ſoldiers are obliged to lodge when they are off the guard; and adjoining

White Town.

A Plan of FORT S.T GEORGE and the City of MADRAS

100 200 300 400 500
A Scale of 500 Yards

R. Elambore

The Place where the Indians Burn their Dead

Lorraines Pagoda

Garden

Chardins Garden

Syrian Garden

Perieras Garden

Emp sons Gar

Allingalls Pagoda

Arabours Garden

Remarks in the Comer Pete Town.
a Pagans Burying Place
b. Jews Burying Place
c. Wathing Street
d. Buckleys Garden
e. Weavers Street
f. Elambore Street
g. Pete Naigues Street
h. Great Buzar
i. Buzar Street
k. River Street
l. Elephant Street

Remarks in ye Black Town & Mutial Peta
m. Armenian Church
n. Bridge Street
o. Clarks Gate
p. English Burying Place
q. Plate Street
r. Herb Market
s. Great Pagoda
t. Armenian Burying Place
u. Portugez Burying Place
w. Middle Gate St
x. Chitee Street
y. Moors Street
z. Comatee Street
1. Malbas Street
2. Chitee Street
3. Fisher Street
4. Moors Burying Place

COM ... ER PE ... TE ... or

PE ... D ... A NAIGUE

PETE

Tank

Plantine Gardens

Gardens

Gardens

Gardens

Channal of Padda

Green P.t

Bridge Gate

Cuculis P.t

Tanquebar Rd

Coco Gardens

Cornells Garden

Rodrigues Tomb

Four Brothers Garden

Companys Fruit Garden

MUTIAL PETA

Calderal

BLACK ... OWN

PART of the ISLAND

Powder House

Remarks in the White Town
a. Governors House b. Store House
c. Guard House d. New Hospital
e. Carpenters Yard f. The Mint
g. English Church h. Town Hall
i. Portugeze Church k. Choultry
l. Middle Gate Street
m. James Street n. Charles Street o. Church Street p. St. Thomas Street q. The Great Parade

Round P.t

Sally Port

Wind Mill

Fort

TE ... St. George

TOWN

St. Thomas P.t

Half Moon

Bastion

Ditch

Sea Gate

Fishing P.t

New P.t

THE ROAD OF MADRAS

CHAP. IV.

adjoining to it on the north is a very commodious hoſpital, where they are taken care of when they are ſick. At the other end of the ſoldiers barrack is a mint where the company coin gold and ſilver. On the north ſide of the fort ſtands the Portugueſe church, and to the ſouthward the Engliſh church, a pretty elegant building, and moderately large: it has a handſome altar-piece, a gallery of fine carved wood reſembling cedar, and an organ with which, as one obſerves, they ſalute God and the Governor; for when the Governor comes into church the organ always plays, which is a piece of complaiſance we are ſtrangers to in this part of the world. The church, as I remember, is floored with black and white marble, the ſeats regular and convenient, and all together it is the moſt airy lightſome temple that is to be found any where, for the windows are large and unglazed to admit the cooling breezes, and if it were otherwiſe, the people muſt ſweat intolerably at their devotions; for though in their own houſes they are as thinly clothed as poſſible, yet when they come to church it is always in the European dreſs; and when I was there, full wigs happening to be in faſhion, every time a man viſited the church he loſt ſome ounces by perſpiration: but to avoid theſe inconveniencies as much as poſſible, prayers are appointed at ſeven in the morning, and in the evening they are uſually comforted with a ſea breeze. There are no other publick buildings in the White Town but the town houſe, where the mayor and his brethren aſſemble; and a court of juſtice is held for civil cauſes.

On the weſt part of the town runs a river cloſe to the buildings; but on this ſide there is no wall, only one large battery of guns upon the river which commands the plain beyond it. On the eaſt there is a ſlight ſtone wall pretty high, and appears ſomething grand to the ſhipping in the road; but here is very little occaſion for any fortification, the ſea coming up cloſe to the town, and no large veſſels can ride within two miles of the place, the ſea is ſo very ſhallow; nor is there any landing but in the country boats, the ſurf runs ſo high and breaks ſo far from the ſhore. The north and ſouth ends of the town are each of them defended by a ſtone wall moderately thick; but then, like the fort walls, they are hollow within, and would hardly hold out one day's battery. There is a little ſuburb to the ſouthward of the White Town, inhabited only by the black watermen and fiſhermen, and conſiſts of little, low, thatched cottages, which hardly deſerve the name of buildings. Beyond this is an outguard of Blacks, who ſerve to give intelligence to the fort; but there is no other fortification on this ſide.

To the northward, adjoining to the White Town, ſtands a much larger, called the Black Town, where the Portugueſe, Indians, Armenians, and a great variety of other people inhabit. This is built in the form of a ſquare, and is better than a mile and half in circumference; being ſurrounded with a brick wall ſeventeen foot thick, with baſtions at proper diſtances, after the modern way of fortification: it has alſo a river on the weſt and the ſea on the eaſt; and to the northward a canal is cut from the river to the ſea, which ſerves for a moat on that ſide; ſo that Madraſs, conſidering where it ſtands, might now be reckoned a town of ſtrength if the garriſon was anſwerable to the fortifications; but it conſiſts of no more than three companies of fourſcore or a hundred men each, and one third of theſe Topazes or Portugueſe Indians. The company, indeed, entertain two or three hundred of native Blacks in their ſervice, and a body of men may be formed out of the inhabitants, who are very numerous; but theſe would be of little ſervice againſt an European enemy, or even againſt the Mogul's troops if there was occaſion for them beyond their own walls. The ſtreets of the Black Town are wide, and trees planted in ſome of them; and having the ſea on one ſide and a river on the other, there are few towns ſo pleaſantly ſituated or are better ſupplied; but except ſome few brick houſes the reſt are miſerable cottages, built with clay and thatched, and not ſo much as a window to be ſeen on the outſide, or any furniture within, except the mats and carpets they lye on. The houſes of the better ſort of Indians are of the ſame materials, and built uſually in one form, that is, with a little ſquare in the middle, from whence they receive all their light. A ſtranger ſeldom comes farther than the door, before which is erected a little ſhed ſupported by pillars (which ſome denominate piazza's, and give us very grand ideas of them) where they ſit croſs-legged morning and evening to receive their friends or tranſact their buſineſs. The great ſtreets and the bazar, or market place, we ſee thronged with people; for notwithſtanding the houſes are low and ſmall, they are very well filled, ſix or ſeven people ſleeping in one little room, without any other bed than a mat or cloth ſpread under them; but I muſt ſay, notwithſtanding all this appearance of poverty, I never was in a place where wealth abounded more, or where ready money was more plentiful about twenty years ago; and the people from the higheſt to the loweſt are extremely neat, waſhing themſelves ſeveral times a day. The reaſon the buildings in India are ſo mean will be obſerved under that head.

In this Black Town ſtands an Armenian Church, and ſeveral little Pagoda's or Indian temples: to the latter belong abundance of female choriſters, or ſinging women, as well as

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Prieſts. Theſe girls are very young devoted to the ſervice of the temple, and ſpend part of their time in ſinging anthems to their idols, and the reſt with their gallants of any nation or religion whatever. They ſeem alſo deſigned to ſerve the publick in another capacity, and make up part of the equipage of a great man when he goes abroad; for every man of figure in the country, I obſerved, had a number of theſe ſinging women run before him, even the Governor of fort St. George was attended by fifty of them, as well as by the country muſick, when he went out; but ſome of our late Governors, out of their exceſſive modeſty, have thought fit to diſpence with this piece of grandeur. But to proceed, beſides the town of Madras, the Eaſt-India company have ſeveral of the neighbouring villages under their government, which yield them a conſiderable annual revenue, the whole having been purchaſed of the King of Golconda when he was Sovereign of this coaſt. The company have alſo a houſe and garden at St. Thomas's mount, a hill ſeven or eight miles to the weſtward of fort St. George, where, according to the tradition of the country, St. THOMAS was buried.

Beyond the Black Town are gardens for half a mile together, planted with mangoes, coco-nuts, guavoes, orange trees, &c. where every body has the liberty of walking, and may purchaſe the moſt delicious fruits for a trifle: but I ſhall give a plan of the place, from whence the reader will have a juſter notion of this noble ſettlement than he can poſſibly receive from the beſt deſcriptions.

The Government of Madras.

The company's affairs are directed by the Governor and council, and they inflict any corporal puniſhments, ſhort of life and member, on ſuch Europeans as are in their ſervice, and diſpoſe of all places of profit or truſt. There is alſo a court of mayor and aldermen held twice a week at the town-hall, where the Aſiatick inhabitants ſue for their debts, and implead one another; but civil cauſes among the Europeans are uſually decided by a jury in the court of the Judge Advocate, to which belong two or three attornies, and as many ſerjeants or bailiffs who execute their proceſſes, and make arreſts for debt, &c. there are alſo juſtices of peace who hold their ſeſſions in the Black Town, and decide criminal matters among the Indian inhabitants; and though they do not give judgment in capital caſes, yet I have known them proceed againſt the natives ſo far as the cutting off their ears in the pillory, and as much as I remember, the offence was ſtealing people's children to make ſlaves of them. There is alſo a court of admiralty for maritime affairs, and the Governor ſometimes ſuffers the officers of the land forces to hold courts marſhal, and inflict puniſhments on the ſoldiers. As for capital offenders, they are impriſoned till they can be ſent to Europe in dark dungeons, hot as a bagnio, under the town wall, and kept with rice and water; and thus trivial offenders, and thoſe whom the government have any jealouſy of, are ſometimes puniſhed; but death itſelf would be more eligible to moſt men, for they neither ſuffer them to be relieved by their friends, or any to converſe with them, that there may be no complaints of hardſhips carried to Europe.

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Nor are the common ſoldiers at all well uſed; ſcarce a day paſſes but one or other of them are tyed to a poſt and whipped unmercifully, tho' their number is ſo ſmall. This makes them mortal enemies to the government they ſhould defend, and piques them more than any ſoldier-like puniſhment would, ſuch as riding the wooden horſe, running the gauntlet, or the like. As to their being cooped up like ſlaves, and never ſuffered to ſtir out of the place, the uſage already mentioned makes this piece of diſcipline neceſſary, for they would prefer any ſervice to that of the company where they are ſo uſed; and ſhould the town be ever reduced to extremity, their maſters could have but little dependance on them. Another hardſhip the ſoldiers complain of is, that though they have ſerved forty years they ſhall not be releaſed, or ſuffered to return to their native country; and if they are ſo hardy to petition for it, a dungeon probably will be their portion.

Com. 's officers ſer. as.

As to the trade of the place, I ſhall ſpeak of it when I come to give an account of the trade of India in general, and detain the reader no longer than to mention the officers and ſervants employed by the company here: and firſt the Governor, who is not only Governor of fort St. George, but of all the ſettlements on the coaſt of Cormandel and the weſt coaſt of Sumatra. The perſon who preſides at Marlborough fort or Bencoulen is but deputy Governor there: the Governor is alſo Captain of the firſt company of ſoldiers, as the ſecond in council is of the next; and thoſe who bore the name of captains had but lieutenants commiſſions and pay very lately: beſides the lieutenant there are two enſigns to each company. The pay of a lieutenant is 14 pagodas, or 6 l. 6 s. per month, the pay of an enſign 4 l. 19 s. per month, and of a private ſoldier 1 l. 2 s. 9 d. the ſerjeants have 2 l. 5 s. a month, the corporals and the gunners of the fort 1 l. 5 s. a month each, upon which they may live very well all manner of proviſions being extremely cheap; and linen is ſo reaſonable that a ſoldier may put on a clean ſhirt every day, as many of them do, or at leaſt every other day when they mount the guard; and not a common ſoldier in the place but has a boy to wait on him, the Indians

dians ſuffering their children to ſerve the Engliſh for very little upon account of their learning the language. People of condition have uſually ſeveral of theſe ſervants beſides their ſlaves, for as their wages are ſmall, they are in general very faithful; and will neither eat or drink any of their maſter's proviſion for the world, upon a religious account.

As to the Governor's ſalary, it is no more than 300 l. per ann. The great advantages they make is by their perquiſites, according to the modern phraſe, or by trading for themſelves. The other ſix of the council have ſalaries alſo from 100 to 400 l. per ann. according to their ſeniority, but they are uſually great merchants, and depend more on their trade than the company's allowance. There are alſo two ſenior merchants who have 40 l. per ann. each, and two junior merchants 30 l. per ann. Five factors 15 l. per ann. and ten writers 5 l. per ann. Theſe dine at the company's table, and have lodgings provided for them; but I believe no people in the world work ſo hard as the company writers do for 5 l. per ann. Indeed their friends do generally ſupply them with ſomething to trade with, or no man would undertake ſuch a hazardous and tedious voyage, in quality of a writer, who was apprized of the fatigue he muſt undergo. The company allow the two miniſters or chaplains of the fort 100 l. per ann. each, and a houſe; how they manage it is a myſtery to me, for they are not ſuffered to trade openly, and yet frequently lay up ſeveral thouſand pounds; one of them particularly I knew who hoarded up money enough to purchaſe a biſhoprick, and ſit in the Engliſh houſe of Lords at his return. But to proceed, the ſurgeon or doctor of the fort has about 40 l. per ann. ſalary, but he has ſo many ways and means beſides of repleniſhing his pockets, that he cannot well avoid acquiring a handſome fortune. The Judge Advocate has a ſalary of 100 l. per ann. but makes as good a figure with it as a Lord Chief Juſtice with 2000 l. per ann. in England. The Attorney General, as he is called, has no more than 23 l. per ann. but he muſt be a very dull fellow if he don't improve his fortune. The company have alſo two aſſay maſters in their mint, whoſe ſalaries are 120 l. per ann. each: As for other inferior officers it is not worth troubling the reader with them.

The Governor has as much reſpect paid him at his going abroad as a ſovereign Prince. The guards are drawn out, the drums beat as he paſſes by; and fifty or ſixty armed blacks run before him, and ſome of the likelieſt young fellows he can pick out of the European ſoldiers run by the ſide of the palaquin he is carried in armed with blunderbuſſes. A numerous train of ſervants alſo, and the country muſick attend him, and with their harſh untuneable trumpets give notice of his march: but it muſt be confeſſed, this is infinitely ſhort of the ſtate the Dutch Governor of Batavia appears in when he goes abroad, having both foot and horſe guards about him, much finer clothed than thoſe of any Prince in Europe.

I had forgot to acquaint the reader that there is a free ſchool at fort St. George, where children are taught to read and write, and a publick library which conſiſts chiefly in books of divinity; and the church has uſually a ſtock of three or four thouſand pounds, which is put out to intereſt, and the intereſt applied to the repairs of the church and relief of the poor; but theſe were ſo few about twenty years ago, that the greateſt part of the intereſt went to increaſe the principal: and there is an addition alſo of a hundred pounds and upwards collected every year, ſo that the buildings belonging to the the church are always kept in good repair, and beautified as they ought.

The church is provided with a ſtock againſt accidents, and able to make ſuch additions to the fabrick as may be thought neceſſary; but I don't hear they have yet built them a ſteeple, or got a ſet of bells, though it was a project much talked of, but content themſelves with one, as the new churches in London are contrived; and probably when they hear that bells are out of faſhion on this ſide the world, they will think no more of them there.

Orphans, the children of wealthy parents, are alſo frequently committed to the care of the truſtees for the church, being reckoned ſafer in their hands than in private perſons, who too often defraud their wards of what is left them. The fortunes of theſe orphans are put out to intereſt alſo, and yield ſeven per cent. out of which the children are maintained and educated; and the principal with the ſurplus of intereſt reſtored them when they come of age. Where there is no will made, the government takes care of the effects of the inteſtate, and ſees they are reſtored to the relations of the deceaſed who are intitled to them, whether reſiding there or in England. The college, as 'tis called, at fort St. George, I was about to paſs over without mentioning, the gentlemen who are permitted to live there ſtudying no art or ſcience, but are generally favourites of the government, who are allowed to live here and indulge their eaſe. It were to be wiſhed the company would encourage the ſtudy of the mathematicks in that part of the world; nothing could recommend their agents more to the Aſiatick Princes, as the Jeſuits have experienced, having obtained great privileges on account of their skill in this ſcience.

I proceed

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I proceed now to enquire into the ſituation of the other towns upon this coaſt, and the firſt we meet with of any note, to the northward of fort St. George, is Palicate, or Pullicat, at the mouth of a river of the ſame name, about three and twenty miles from Madraſs. This place the Dutch have been in poſſeſſion of a hundred years and upwards, and was one of the firſt ſettlements they had upon the continent of India. About a day's ſail north of Palicate lyes Caletore, where the Engliſh have a ſmall factory; and about one hundred miles farther north ſtands the town of Pettipolly, where the Engliſh alſo have a factory. This place is in the latitude of 16 degrees, ſome odd minutes north, and about thirty miles ſouthweſt of Maſulapatan, the firſt conſiderable port in the kingdom of Golconda. And thus I have finiſhed my account of the ſituation of the principal towns on the coaſt of Cormandel, I ſhall only obſerve farther, that there are a great many fine Pagoda's or Pagan temples upon this coaſt, which ſerve as ſea marks to the mariners; particularly there ſtands a Pagoda four miles to the northward of Negapatan; and a little to the northward of Trincumbar ſtand four Pagoda's; near Porta Nova four Pagoda's more. Between Conymere and Saderas-a-patan ſtand two Pagoda's, with a thick grove to the ſouthward of them. Between Saderas-a-patan and Coblon there are ſeen ſeven Pagoda's, five whereof are up in the country, and two near the ſea; and Coblon is known by a ſmall white Pagoda which ſtands on the beach cloſe to the village, for Coblon is no more, tho' upon account of the Oſtend company having a ſettlement there, it has been much talked of in Europe of late.

Palicate.

Pettipolly.

Biſnagar, properly ſo called, is the weſtern ſide of the kingdom of that name, and has Golconda and Viſiapour on the north, Cormandel on the eaſt, Gingy on the ſouth, and the mountains of Gate, which ſeparate it from Malabar, on the weſt. The chief towns are, 1. Biſnagar, or Chandegry, ſeated on a high hill in the latitude of 14 degrees, ſome odd minutes, near the river Nagundi, which falls into the Chriſtena. 2. Narſinga, another conſiderable town, which did alſo give name to the kingdom formerly, lyes about thirty miles farther to the northward, upon the ſame river Nagundi. Many incredible things are related by modern writers of theſe two cities, and particularly that Biſnagar alone is able to raiſe a hundred thouſand horſe, when there is hardly a horſe fit for ſervice in the country; and the kingdom has for a conſiderable time been a province of the Mogul's empire. They alſo tell us it is an excellent haven for ſhips, though it ſtands in the very heart of the country. [See Atlas Geogr. vol. 3. p. 588.]

Biſnagar.

Velour is another conſiderable city to the ſouthward of Biſnagar; but this as well as the reſt is in a decaying condition ſince the Mogul's conqueſt. Neither the fortifications or the forces of this country are very formidable, notwithſtanding the mighty things that are ſaid of them by ancient and modern authors: nor does the Mogul think it worth his while to keep numerous garriſons in their cities. But one of his Generals uſually viſits every part of the country once a year, and collects the tribute he is pleaſed to impoſe on the ſeveral provinces and great towns.

Before I proceed farther northward, it will be neceſſary to look back and take a view of the country of Malabar; and this I find to be divided among ſeveral petty Princes or Raja's at this day, except the ſea ports, which are moſt of them in the poſſeſſion of the Europeans. Malabar extends from cape Comorin, in the latitude of 7 degrees 40 minutes, to Mangalore, which lyes in 13 degrees odd minutes, north latitude; and according to the moſt exact calculation, has a ſea coaſt of 400 miles, but is not reckoned above 100 in breadth: it is bounded by Canara, or part of the kingdom of Viſiapour towards the north, by the mountains of Gate towards the eaſt, and the Indian Ocean on the weſt and ſouth. I ſhall not perplex the reader with the ſubdiviſions of Malabar, becauſe they are very uncertainly ſet out; and I omit them the rather becauſe there are not at this day to be found any of thoſe mighty Princes which make up ſo great a part of the hiſtory of this country, and it is highly probable they never were ſo conſiderable as they are repreſented: but I ſhall deſcribe the ſituation of the towns upon the coaſt, which are of more importance than the whole country beſides; and ſeveral of them once capitals of the Malabar kingdoms.

Malabar.

The moſt ſouthern part of Malabar is called the kingdom of Trevancour, the name of the chief town, and lyes along the ſea ſhore, inhabited by the Parva's, who became Chriſtians by the preaching of Xaverius, one of the firſt Portugueſe Miſſionaries; and you ſee the coaſt hereabouts full of little churches.

The next town we meet with upon the Malabar coaſt, to the northward of cape Comorin, is Tegapatan, being 30 miles northward of that cape: the Dutch have a fort and factory here. Seventy two miles farther north ſtands the town of Anjengo, being the moſt ſoutherly ſettlement the Engliſh have upon this coaſt. The latitude of this place is eight degrees 40 minutes: here the Engliſh Eaſt-India company have built a fort lately to ſecure their pepper trade.

Tegapatan.

Anjengo.

A little to the northward of Anjengo ſtands the city of Coulan, in nine degrees north latitude. This was rebuilt by the Portugueſe, who took it in the year 1505, they had no leſs than ſeven churches

Coulan.

churches in it, but it was taken from them by the Dutch about the year 1602, who piouſly deſtroyed moſt of the churches and publick buildings. It was antiently the capital of a ſmall kingdom of the ſame name. Calecoulan ſtands not far to the northward. This place was almoſt deſtroyed by the Portugueſe, anno 1523, but the Dutch have ſince ſettled here on account of the pepper trade.

Porca. Porca is the next great town upon the coaſt, and is reckoned the capital of a little kingdom of the ſame name.

Cochin. The city of Cochin lyes upon the ſame coaſt, in nine degrees fifty minutes north latitude, and is about eighty miles to the northward of Anjengo. This is a great town of trade, and the beſt ſettlement the Dutch have upon the Malabar coaſt: it was fortified by the Portugueſe in the year 1504, when the two Albuquerques commanded the Portugueſe forces. It is divided by ſome into Old and New Cochin; the Old Cochin lyes a league and half from the ſea, and is called by the Portugueſe Cochin Dacina, or the Higher Cochin, becauſe it lyes higher up the river, and by the Dutch Malabar Cochin, for here their King reſided. The other Cochin, commonly called New Cochin, is ſcarce a league diſtant from the ſea upon the ſame river. The Portugueſe built and beautified it with ſeveral fine edifices, churches and monaſteries, to which belonged pleaſant gardens and fine walks. The Jeſuits church and college faced the ſea ſhore, and had a lofty ſteeple. The cathedral was a noble piece of architecture, adorned with two rows of pillars, and had a lofty ſteeple. The church and convent of the Auſtin Friers ſtood upon the banks of the river; and the church of the Dominicans and their convents were two fine pieces of workmanſhip, beautified with a double row of pillars of excellent ſtone: but the Dutch having this city ſurrendred to them in the year 1662, immediately gave orders for demoliſhing great part of the houſes, and all the churches but one, in order to bring it into a narrower compaſs, and render the fortifications more regular; and they have made it almoſt impregnable, conſidering the part of the world it ſtands in, to which the ſtones of the churches they pulled down in a great meaſure contributed. The ſimple Portugueſe had converted them indeed to pious uſes; but the Dutch knew how to employ ſuch materials much better: and it is obſervable, that all over the Indies they think one church ſufficient for the largeſt cities, inſomuch, that in Batavia itſelf they had very lately but one Dutch church.

The city of Cranganor lyes fourteen or fifteen miles to the northward of Cochin, and was alſo the capital of a kingdom of the ſame name. This place was poſſeſſed and fortified by the Portugueſe ſoon after their arrival in India, but taken from them by the Dutch in January 1661-2. The Dutch found here a noble college of Jeſuits, with a ſtately library belonging to it, and it having once been the ſeat of a Biſhop, here was a cathedral, and ſix or ſeven other churches, which underwent the fate of thoſe of other places which the Dutch conquered, and have nothing of them remaining but their ruins. Without the walls was the college of Chanote, famous for the reſort of the Chriſtians of St. THOMAS hither, who exerciſed their religion here in the Syrian language. They had alſo a Syrian ſchool for the education of youth, and ſeveral maſters and prieſts of their own.

Panane, Tanor. Between Cranganor and Calicut lye the towns of Panane and Tanor; theſe were alſo once poſſeſſed by the Portugueſe. At Panane it was that VASCA DE GAMA treated with the Samorin, or King of Calicut, concerning their ſettlement on this coaſt; but being oppoſed by the Moors, they afterwards attacked the place in form and took it. The Dutch ſucceeded the Portugueſe, and have now a factory here. Tanor is a poor ſtraggling place, but the Europeans reſort hither ſometimes on account of the trade: both theſe towns are reckoned to be in the kingdom of Calicut.

Calicut. The city of Calicut lyes in eleven degrees, twenty minutes north latitude. It was, when the Portugueſe arrived here, the greateſt place of trade in India. The Moors did all that was in their power to prevent the Portugueſe ſettling here; whereupon they landed a body of troops, and built a ſtrong fort to defend their poſſeſſion, but were driven out of it again; though others ſay it was demoliſhed by the Portugueſe themſelves, as not thinking it worth maintaining: but however that matter be, the fort is now waſhed away by the ſea, of which part of the ruins may ſtill be ſeen at low water. Several European nations have their factories, and trade hither at this day without reſtraint; and particularly the Engliſh. It is a large ſtraggling town, and the Prince's palace, as it is called, is an old irregular building out of repair, which he ſeldom viſits. There are five white tombs a little to the northward of the town, which ſerve as a ſea mark to the ſailors. The Samorin or King of this country, entered into an alliance and confederacy with the Engliſh againſt the Portugueſe in the year 1615.

Panola. About five and thirty miles north of Calicut ſtands the town of Panola, where the French have a factory; this is reckoned to be in the territory of Cananor.

Telicherry Five miles farther northward lyes Telicherry; the Engliſh have built a ſmall fort here to protect their trade, which conſiſts chiefly in pepper. This place lyes in the latitude of 11 degrees 50 minutes.

Termapatan. Cananor. The town of Termapatan lyes a little farther north, and two leagues beyond the city of Cananor, which

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which is reckoned to be about forty leagues north of Cochin. ALMEYDA, the Portugueſe General, erected a fort here, with the conſent of the Prince of the country, which the Dutch took from them in the year 1663, and maintain it to this day.

Mangalore.

Mangalore, as has been already obſerved, is the northern boundary of the coaſt of Malabar, and lyes in the latitude of 13 degrees, ſome odd minutes, juſt oppoſite to fort St. George, on the Cormandel coaſt. This is the greateſt port for rice in India, ſupplying not only the European ſhips but the whole coaſt of Malabar. The town lyes a little up a river, which divides itſelf into ſeveral branches before it falls into the ſea, the entrance whereof is rendered very hazardous by a dangerous bar. The trade of this place is free for all nations, though the Portugueſe pretend to ſome dominion here; and hoiſting a flag upon their houſe, command all Europeans, as well as Indian ſhips, to give an account of their buſineſs, and not to purchaſe any rice till they have ſettled the price with the natives, for which they demand a præmium, but are not much regarded by the Europeans, who make their markets notwithſtanding, without their permiſſion.

Face of the Malabar coaſt.

The Malabar coaſt, as it is ever green and fruitful, and intermixed with a great number of towns and villages, appears extremely pleaſant to the mariners in the fair ſeaſon; but it is obſerved, that the rains begin here much ſooner than on the coaſt of Cormandel, though they lye in the ſame climate, and are ſcarce an hundred and fifty miles diſtance, which the learned aſcribe to the high mountains of Gate or Balligate, which divide the peninſula from north to ſouth, and check the weſterly wind, which brings the rains to both.

The reaſon the rains fall ſooner here than on the other coaſt.

And becauſe it is often very wet in May upon the Malabar coaſt, when the weather is very fair on the coaſt of Cormandel, and the reſt of India, we find every writer almoſt affirming that the ſeaſons are directly oppoſite, and that when it is ſummer upon one coaſt it is winter on the other; though the truth is, it being the weſterly wind which uſually brings the rains, the weſtern ſide of India have them a month or ſix weeks ſooner than the eaſtern parts; and I cannot but ſubſcribe to that opinion, that one great reaſon there is ſo much difference is, the repulſe the winds receive from the mountains of Gate, and nothing is more common in all parts of the world, than for thoſe countries to have the rain firſt that lye moſt to the windward: and as the rains hang longer upon this ſide of India than the other, ſo it is obſerved that there are more rivers here, but none of them very large; the mountains where they riſe not being more than three or fourſcore miles from the coaſt.

There were abundance of little pirates upon this coaſt formerly, who would venture to attack the country ſhips, but the European veſſels are of too great force for them to manage; and ſince there have been ſo many European factories upon the coaſt, Engliſh, Dutch, Danes, and Portugueſe, they do not ſwarm ſo much as they uſed to do.

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Province of Viſiapour.

I now proceed to the province or kingdom of Viſiapour, in which I ſhall include Canara, (tho' ſome writers make it part of the province of Biſnagar) for I find the King of Viſiapour to have been the moſt formidable enemy the city of Goa had to contend with; and Goa being ſituated in the diſtrict of Canara, I cannot ſee how the King of Viſiapour ſhould approach the territories of the Portugueſe at Goa, unleſs he was Sovereign of Canara: beſides, I do not apprehend that any ports upon the weſtern ocean were under the dominion of the King of Biſnagar; whereas it is certain, that the new ſtate Sevagi, formed out of Viſiapour, extended a conſiderable way along the weſtern coaſt of India, between Malabar and Decan; and this I take to be properly the country of Canara. The boundaries of Viſiapour ſeem to me to be Decan Proper towards the north, the mountains of Gate, which ſeparate it from Golconda on the eaſt, the country of Malabar and Biſnagar on the ſouth, and the Indian ocean on the weſt; and according to this deſcription, the ſea coaſt will extend from Mangalore, in the latitude of 13 degrees odd minutes, to Rajapore, in the latitude of 17 degrees, not much leſs than three hundred miles. I ſhall firſt deſcribe the ſituation of the principal towns upon the coaſt, and then proceed to the inland country.

Barc.

And the firſt town of any name we meet with to the northward of Mangalore is Barcelor, or Baquen, in the latitude of 13 degrees 45. minutes, where the Dutch have a factory.

Car.

A little farther to the northward ſtands the town of Carwar, in the latitude of 15 degrees. Here the Engliſh Eaſt-India company have a ſmall fort, and the country about it produces the beſt pepper in India. This is ſaid to be the pleaſanteſt and the moſt healthful ſettlement the Engliſh have upon the Malabar coaſt; and in the mouth of the river, in Batte Cove, ſhips ride ſecure from the ſouth-weſt monſoon; but notwithſtanding the river is deep enough for the largeſt ſhips, when they are in, it is not eaſy for a ſhip of burden to get over the bar.

Goa.

From Carwar to the city of Goa is about 30 miles. This city lyes in the latitude of 15 deg. 20 min. north, and was the metropolis of the Portugueſe dominions in India, but is now almoſt the only conſiderable ſettlement they have left. It lyes about eight miles up the river Mandoua, and is a moſt ſafe and commodious harbour, not unlike Portſmouth, a certain Captain obſerves; nor is it inferior to it in ſtrength, at leaſt it appeared

peared so to the Dutch, who blocked it up for several years, but could never take it, though they made themselves masters of most of the other Portuguese towns upon the coast. The island whereon it stands is about four and twenty miles in circumference: the place being encompassed with hills is excessive hot, and something unhealthful. The whole island is inclosed with a high wall, fortified with bastions and redoubts, at the windings of the river. The town itself stretches two miles in length, along the channel, upon uneven ground; and some will have it, that it stands upon just seven hills, like old Rome; but it is not more than half a mile in breadth: however the walls, that encompass the fields and gardens about Goa, are not less than twelve miles in circuit. The Portuguese have rendred the access to this place extremely difficult, by the castles and redoubts on each side the channel. At the entrance on the left, upon the point of the island of Bardes, is a fort called Aguda, with strong works, and the guns level with the water. On the top of the hill, near the channel, is a long wall planted with cannon; and opposite to it the castle called Nostra Signiora do cabo, or Our Lady of the cape, built in the island of Goa. Two miles within the channel is another castle, called do's Rey's, or the King's, well fortified, and cannon level with the water; and here the new Viceroys take possession on their arrival. Near this fort is a monastery of Franciscans; and opposite to it, and within cannon shot, the fort of Gaspar Dias. Beyond these castles the channel grows narrower, viz. from two miles to about a mile broad; and the banks, being planted with the finest fruit trees India affords, yield a most agreeable landskip; and what adds much to it, is the elegant country seats and little villages intermixed with them: this delightful scene continues for six or seven miles, till you come to Goa.

Half way up the river, on the right bank, is a place called Passo de Dungi, where the Viceroys formerly resided: and here begins a wall of considerable breadth, which runs two miles in length, and serves for a causey, or foot way, when the country is overflowed. At the end of this the city begins; and thus far ships may come up after they are unloaded.

The channel runs several miles farther up the country, dividing it into little fruitful islands and peninsulas, which supply the city with plenty of all manner of provisions: and here in an evening are to be seen, a multitude of boats of the better sort of people, who come out of town to take the fresh air, and divert themselves with those charming landskips which present themselves all the way up the river.

Adjoining to the port of Goa is that called Murmagon, made by another channel, which runs between the island of Goa and the peninsula of Salsette: these two channels meet at St. Lawrence, and form the island of Goa, which contains thirty villages. As you enter the port, on the right hand is the peninsula of Salsette, which is twenty miles in length, and about sixty in circumference; and in the fifty villages which are upon it does not contain less than fifty thousand souls. On the left is the other peninsula of Bardes, which is about 45 miles in compass, and contains 28 villages. Here stand the two forts of Aguda and Rey's, already mentioned. Salsette island.

The houses in Goa are built with stone, and very magnificent; but especially the Viceroy's palace. The cathedral is large, arched and divided into three isles, by twelve columns, which, as well as the chapels, are curiously adorned with a variety of figures. The Archbishop's palace is spacious and magnificent; there are in it several fine galleries and noble apartments; but he usually resides at a palace in the country, which stands upon a hill, on the side of the river, coming up from Goa, for the benefit of the cool air. The bare-footed Franciscans have one of the finest churches in Goa; it is small, but looks like one entire mass of gold, there is so much of it about the high altar, and in the eight chapels on the sides; and the roof is adorned with fret-work. There are many other fair churches and beautiful palaces in this city, with monasteries of Dominicans, Austin Friers, Franciscans, bare-footed Carmelites, Jesuits, and Capuchins, with nunneries for the other sex; and, in short, there is so numerous a clergy that some have affirmed they make one half of the inhabitants. The Portuguese have a Viceroy, who governs the laity here, and has the command of all the Portuguese settlements, from the cape of Good Hope to China; but the clergy are under the government of the Archbishop: here is also an Inquisitor General, whose court was the terror of these parts, when Goa was in a flourishing condition. There are six or eight judges which compose the sovereign court, or council, who administer justice in civil and criminal causes, and who determine all appeals from other settlements. And though the Portuguese dominions are now reduced to very narrow bounds, the King still appoints his several Generals and Commanders, as formerly, one is called General of Ormus, another of the North, &c. but they enjoy little more than the honour of those titles.

The inhabitants of Goa, and the villages under its jurisdiction, are not one tenth of them Portuguese, but chiefly the descendants of Portuguese fathers and Canarin mothers, who are as black as jet; their issue are of a deeper tawny than the Portuguese of Europe. The chief merchants and tradesmen of Goa are Pagans or Mahometans, and have a quarter of the town allotted them; but

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are not ſuffered the publick exerciſe of their religion.

The Raja, who is deſcended from SEVAGI, the Viſiapour rebel, is the next neighbour to the Portugueſe, with whom they are ſometimes at war; but moſt commonly have a pretty good correſpondence, there being nothing to be got but blows on either ſide. The Portugueſe are not in a condition to extend their dominions, or the Raja to make a conqueſt of Goa.

The Portugueſe have been in poſſeſſion of this city upwards of two hundred years: it was ſurprized by ALPHONSO DE ALBUQUERQUE, in the year 1508, and retaken by IDAL CHAN, who was then Sovereign of this part of India, but ALBUQUERQUE ſoon after recovered it again; and the Portugueſe having rebuilt and beautified the town, made it the capital of all their ſettlements to the eaſtward of the cape of Good Hope.

The only town of note upon the coaſt, to the northward of Goa, in the province of Viſiapour, is Rajapour, which lyes in 17 degrees of north latitude, but the reader muſt take care to diſtinguiſh it from Dunde-Rajapore, which lyes farther northward, in the kingdom of Decan.

Viſiapour. Viſiapour, the capital of this province, and the antient ſeat of their Kings, before the Mogul ſubdued them, is an inland town, lying in 17 degrees of north latitude, longitude 75. This city, antient writers tell us, was four or five leagues in circumference, ſtrongly fortified with a double wall, and adorned with many magnificent ſtructures; but whatever it was formerly, it is now fallen from its grandeur; and modern travellers find it to be a poor ſtraggling town, with an old caſtle of no great ſtrength. The Mogul in all his conqueſts ſeems to neglect the great towns, or rather chooſes to have them lye open and unfortified, that they may not be ſeized and maintained againſt him.

Soulapour. To the ſouth-weſt of Viſiapour lyes the town of Soulapour, near the banks of the river Chriſtena. Here was antiently one of the King of Viſiapour's palaces.

Raolconda. Raolconda, on the borders of Golconda, is famous for its diamond mines. We find the names of ſeveral other towns in writers; but as they do not give us their ſituation, or an account of any thing they are remarkable for, I proceed to the next province.

Decan. The kingdom of Decan, in which I ſhall include Balligate, is bounded by Cambay, or Guzarate towards the north, Golconda and Berar towards the eaſt, Viſiapour towards the ſouth, and the Indian ocean towards the weſt.

The chief towns upon the coaſt are Dabul, Dunde-Rajapore, Choul, and Bombay. Thoſe of the inland country are Aurengabad, Doltabad, Chitanagar, Beder, Amadanager, Condelon, and Indeloai.

Dabul lyes in the latitude of 17 degrees, 45 minutes, about ſix miles from the ſea, and is by ſome reckoned to be in the kingdom of Viſiapour. The Portugueſe poſſeſſed themſelves of it in the year 1508, but it was taken from them again, and is ſaid at preſent to be ſubject to Sevagi.

Dunde-Rajapore lyes above forty leagues to the northward of Dabul, in the latitude of 18 degrees 25 minutes, and four leagues farther north, ſtands the town of Choul, it is ſeated on a plain ſix miles from the ſea, on the bank of a river, which at flood will carry veſſels of burthen up to the city: it has a good wall, and other fortifications in the modern way; and the fort Elmoro ſecures the entrance of the harbour which was built by the Portugueſe in the year 1520, its territory extends ſix miles from the city, and borders on the country of Sevagi to the ſouth.

Bombay, or rather Boonbay fort and iſland, lye about forty miles to the northward of Dunde-Rajapore, in the latitude of 19 degrees. The Portugueſe, who poſſeſſed themſelves of it ſoon after their coming to India, gave it the name of Boonbay, from the goodneſs of the harbour, being capable, it is ſaid, of containing a thouſand veſſels. The King of Portugal, in the year 1663, transferred the property of it to King CHARLES II. on his marriage with the Princeſs KATHERINE, the Infanta of Portugal, as part of her fortune; and his Majeſty made a preſent of it ſome time after to the Engliſh Eaſt-India company.

The iſland of Bombay is about ſeven miles in length, and twenty in circumference. The chief town is a mile in length, but the houſes are low and mean, except ſome few belonging to the Engliſh and Portugueſe. The fort is ſtrong, and regularly fortified, having 120 pieces of cannon mounted, and ſtands at ſome diſtance from the town. They have no good water but what they preſerve in ciſterns, in the time of the rains; that which their wells afford has a brackiſh taſte: thoſe who can afford it ſend above a mile farther up the bay, where there is a good ſpring, for what they drink. There are three or four other little towns upon the iſland, where the Portugueſe have their churches; and both Pagans and Mahometans are allowed the free exerciſe of their religion.

The iſland is but barren, it ſeems, and does not produce half grain enough to ſubſiſt the inhabitants; but they are ſupplied very reaſonably from the neighbouring countries. What they abound in moſt, and what the eſtates of the iſland conſiſt in, is their groves of coco-nut trees. Their gardens alſo produce mangoes, jacks, and other Indian

Indian fruits; and they make pretty large quantities of ſalt, with very little trouble, from the ſea water, which being let into little pits, the ſun extracts the moiſture, and the ſalt is left behind.

The inhabitants are a mixture of ſeveral nations, Engliſh, Portugueſe, and Indians, amounting, as it is ſaid, to fifty or ſixty thouſand. The Preſident of Surat is uſually Governor of the place, who has a deputy here, and courts of juſtice after the model of England. And the Governor, when he is upon the iſland, appears in greater ſtate than the Governor of fort St. George, being attended, when he goes abroad, by two troops of Moors and Bandarins, with their ſtandards.

Bombay, as has been obſerved already, is not the moſt healthful place in the world, fevers, fluxes, ſcurvy, and a diſtemper called the barbiers, which enervates the whole body, ſo that a man can hardly ſtir hand or foot, are frequent among them; and the French diſeaſe is no where more common. The natives, and thoſe who are ſeaſoned to the country, enjoy a tolerable ſtate of health, and live to a good old age; and thoſe who go over young do pretty well.

Both the Dutch and the Mogul, in their turns, have endeavoured to make themſelves maſters of Bombay, but have been hitherto diſappointed. So lately as 1688, the Mogul General landed 25000 men upon the iſland, and attacked the fort; but not being able to carry it, came to a treaty with the Governor, and retired; but the villages and plantations in the iſland ſuffered very much by the enterprize, for which the Governor, Sir JOHN CHILD, was deſervedly blamed, having made no preparations to prevent a deſcent. It was obſerved in this ſiege, that the Indians made their trenches ſo thick and high, that they entirely covered themſelves from the ſhot of the fort; but had our people had a good ſtock of grenades and bombs, they could not have thus ſecured themſelves; the iſland would ſoon have been too hot for the Indians, who never uſe ſhells themſelves, nor is there any thing they dread more, as the Europeans have experienced. This iſland, at the time of the rains, produces a multitude of venomous creatures, which grow to an unreaſonable magnitude: the reverend Mr. OVINGTON, lately chaplain to King WILLIAM, who was upon the place, aſſures us, that their ſpiders grow to the bigneſs of a man's thumb, and that their toads are almoſt as big as ducks.

The iſland of Canorin (which ſome call Salſette) lyes a little to the north of Bombay, ſeparated from it only by a channel of half a mile wide, which is fordable at low water. This iſland is twenty miles in length, ſeventeen in breadth, and about ſeventy round: it belongs to the Portugueſe, and is parcelled out among ſuch gentlemen as have deſerved well of the crown, and live here like ſo many Princes, the common people being obliged to manure their grounds, and ſerve them as their vaſſals.

Bandora.

The chief town is Bandora, and there are ſeveral monaſteries upon it; the Jeſuits particularly have a noble college which is fortified and defended by ſeveral batteries of guns. The land near the ſea is low, and cut into ſeveral canals, and produces rice, ſugar-canes, and Indian fruits in abundance; but the middle of the iſland is mountainous. There are, beſides the gentlemen's ſeats, which are diſperſed over the iſland, ſeveral villages of Portugueſe, Moors, and Pagans, who live in wretched thatched cottages, and go perfectly naked, except a little cloth to conceal what every body hides; they wear bracelets upon their legs and arms made of glaſs, for want of better.

There is a pagoda, or Indian temple, in this iſland, which is looked upon to be one of the wonders of Aſia, and ſome will have it to be the work of ALEXANDER THE GREAT. I would have tranſcribed the deſcription Father GEMELLI gives of it; but the relation is ſo confuſed that it will give the reader but a very imperfect idea of it. This temple ſtands upon the declivity of an high hill, and is cut out of a ſolid rock: the aſcent to it is very grand, by a vaſt number of ſteps; the doors and columns are magnificent, the roof is arched, and the temple divided into three iſles by thirty noble columns, and at the end of it there is a kind of cupola; it is full of ſuch images as are found in other Indian temples; but as for the reſt of the deſcription, I confeſs I can make but very little of it, and therefore proceed to a neighbouring iſland, called Elephanta, from the ſtatue of an elephant cut in ſtone, as large as the life. This ſtatue ſtands in the middle of a field, and is ſeen as ſoon as you land upon the iſland. There is alſo the figure of a horſe, cut out in ſtone with great exactneſs. This iſland alſo is famous for an Indian temple, which, like the other, ſtands on a hill, and is cut out of a very hard rock, of about a hundred and twenty foot ſquare; ſixteen pillars cut out of the rock, being three foot and a half diameter each, ſeem deſigned to ſupport the weighty roof. On the ſides of the temple are the figures of forty or fifty men, twelve or fifteen foot high; ſome of theſe gigantick figures have three heads, others ſix arms; ſome of them wear ornamental crowns, others have ſcepters in their hands; ſome of them are repreſented leaning upon a woman, others on the head of a cow, the great object of the Indian worſhip. Here we ſee one taking a woman by the chin, while others are hewing children in pieces; and above the heads of moſt of them are abundance of little human figures, hovering in the air, repreſented with chearful aſpects. The images

Elephanta.

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of thoſe gigantick men, to which the Indians pay a profound veneration, and worſhip as ſo many Demi-gods, according to their own records, were the firſt race of mortals, whoſe deſcendants are dwindled into the preſent pigmy ſize: they tell us alſo, that this was occaſioned by an univerſal degeneracy of manners; and inſinuate that this firſt race of giants were only capable of completing theſe prodigious works, and conſequently that they are of great antiquity, and deſerve our admiration.

Aurengabad

I proceed now to enquire into the ſituation of the inland towns, and firſt of Aurengabad, which was built, or rather rebuilt, by the late Emperor AURENGZEBE, who reſided there while he was Viceroy of this province for his father CHA JEHAN. It is ſituate in 19 degrees of north latitude, and about the 76th degree of longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London, and ſtands about two hundred and twenty miles ſouth-eaſt of Surat; and though it be the capital of the province, has no walls. Here AURENGZEBE erected a fine moſque in honour of his beloved wife, who died in this town: it is covered with a noble dome, with four minarets or ſpires, and is built of white poliſhed ſtone, reſembling marble. There are ſeveral other fair moſques, bagnio's, and publick buildings in the place, built of free-ſtone, and pretty high. The ſtreets are wide and planted with trees; and it is a town of conſiderable trade.

Doltabad.

Doltabad is ſeven or eight miles to the northward of Aurengabad: this was a place of great trade till AURENGZEBE removed it to Aurengabad. This city is indifferently large, but much longer than broad, and it is ſurrounded with a wall of free-ſtone: it had a very ſtrong citadel, the wall being cut out of a rock. There were alſo three other forts in the time of the Decan war; but now the Mogul is maſter of all the country beyond, theſe are probably run to ruin, like the other fortified places.

Pagods of Elora.

Four or five miles from Doltabad are the famous pagods of Elora, ſo called from their ſtanding near that place: there are a prodigious number of them, inſomuch that they fill a plain of five or ſix miles, on the top of a high rock, and are moſt of them cut out of it: it would be endleſs to attempt to deſcribe them; and the figures and the architecture being much the ſame as in thoſe already mentioned, it is altogether unneceſſary. I ſhall only mention one of theſe buildings, if I may be permitted to uſe the term, which is three temples, one upon another, with their ſeveral doors, pillars, walls, and roofs, all hewn out of the ſolid rock; but theſe pagods are not very lofty, ſcarce any of them more than forty foot in heighth; nor have they any light but what they receive at the door. The common tradition runs here, as in other places, that they were made by a race of giants, but how long ſince none of their prieſts or bramins pretend to determine.

Chitinagar

Chitinagar ſtands about 63 leagues to the ſouthward of Aurengabad, and is remarkable only for a fine pagoda, and an unfiniſhed palace, which one of the Rajas of this country began, but did not live to ſee completed.

Beder

Beder ſtands about 22 leagues north-weſt from Bagnagar, in the kingdom of Golconda: it is a great town, and ſurrounded with a brick wall and towers. There is no part of India, where the Pagan natives are more bigotted to their ſuperſtitions than here: they have a multitude of pagodas with monſtrous figures, more likely, as a certain traveller obſerves, to create horror than devotion in the worſhippers.

Condelvai

Condelvai and Indelvai are both of them great towns, upon the borders of Golconda, where it is ſaid, the beſt ſword blades in India are made.

Amadanagar

Amadanagar lyes in the latitude of 18 degrees, ſome odd minutes, and is about a hundred miles to the eaſtward of Dabul; it was formerly the ſeat of an Indian Prince, but I do not obſerve it is remarkable for any thing at this day.

From Decan we travel eaſtward to the province or kingdom of Golconda: Golconda is bounded by Orixa on the north, the bay of Bengal on the eaſt, Biſnagar and Cormandel on the ſouth, and Decan on the weſt; and is ſituate between the 15th and 19th degrees of north latitude. This province is three hundred miles in length, and upwards, reckoning from the ſouth-weſt end of it to the north-eaſt; and is from one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles in breadth. The chief towns upon the coaſt are Maſulapatan, Madepollom, Naſſipore, Vizacapatan, and Bimlepatan: the inland towns are Bagnagar, Golconda, Tenara, and Gani or Coulour.

Maſulapatan

Maſulapatan lyes in the latitude of 16 degrees, 30 minutes north latitude, longitude 81 from the meridian of London. It is a town of good trade, pretty large and populous, and both the Engliſh and Dutch have factories here. The buildings are mean, after the Indian manner, nor is the ſituation to be admired, it ſtanding on a moraſs, at the mouth of a river, and conſequently not healthful. What rendered it famous, was the trade which was driven for diamonds and precious ſtones, as well as chints, calicoes, and muſlins, at this port.

Madepollom

Madepollom lyes a little to the northward of Maſulapatan; here the Engliſh have another ſmall factory. This is a much more healthful ſituation than Maſulapatan.

Naſſipore.

Forty four or fifty miles north-eaſt of Maſulapatan, ſtands the town of Naſſipore, where the Dutch

Dutch have a factory; and a hundred and fifty miles farther, north-east, is the town of Vizacapatan, where the English have a factory; and at Bimlepatan, fourteen miles farther northward is a Dutch factory. These are the principal towns upon the sea coast; Bagnagar, which is the metropolis of Golconda is an inland town, in the latitude of 17 degrees, and lyes about forty-five miles to the eastward of Visiapour, and an hundred and thirty to the westward of Masulapatan. This was a large flourishing city, when Golconda was under the dominion of its own Prince. The King's palace was three hundred and fourscore paces in length, and built of stone, as were the palaces of the great Omrahs. There were several noble squares also in the town, and their reservatories for water, or tanques as they are called, were much admired by foreigners. One of these was a square of two hundred paces on each side, lined with stone, and stone steps down to the bottom of it. In the middle stood an elegant building, being an Octagon, two stories high, with a door in every angle, surrounded with galleries and balconies, and fountains playing on every side, which fell into the tanque, and afforded a refreshing coolness in the hottest season. There are large tanques to be found at almost every great town, but not always so large or commodious as this, there being very little other water to be had from the time of the rains till they return again, which is seven or eight months. But though they are at so much labour and charge in making their tanques, their houses are for the most part of no better materials than thatch and clay, and most of them not more than eight or ten foot high: they serve for little else but to sleep in, no business is transacted within doors, even the great men have little sheds or piazzas before their doors, where they entertain strangers, and transact their affairs.

The town and castle of Golconda, where the King frequently keeps his court, is about four or five miles to the westward of Bagnagar; it stands upon a high hill and has a noble prospect, but there are few good buildings besides the palace. The sepulchres of the Kings of Golconda are about two musket shot from the castle, and take up a great deal of ground, every one of them being in a separate garden. You ascend the chapel which contains the tomb, by six or seven stone steps; it is square, and surrounded by a gallery with open arches about forty foot high, and covered with a carpet; over the tomb itself is a kind of pall of flowered sattin, which falls upon the ground; and several religious attend here to keep the lights and all things in order: at least thus it was till the late conquest of this country by the Mogul.

At Tenara, a town about five miles to the eastward of Bagnagar, the King of Golconda had another palace. But what has rendered this country famous, and in the end procured the destruction of it, are the diamond mines; for when AURENGZEBE once understood the riches of these mines, he never desisted till he had dethroned the Prince, and made himself master of them: his pretence indeed was, that the people were hereticks, of the Persian sect, and therefore he thought himself obliged in conscience to dispossess the graceless wretches of their treasure and their country, and accordingly, about the year 1686. he made the King of Golconda a prisoner, and his kingdom a province of the Mogul empire, as it is at this day.

At Gani or Coulour was a famous mine, discovered about 200 years since. This town lyes upwards of 100 miles east of Bagnagar: but of this and the other mines of Golconda the best account that we meet with was sent from India to the Royal Society, and is as follows.

[The reader will observe, that this account of the diamond mines in Golconda and Visiapour was written between thirty and forty years ago; before those kingdoms were absolutely conquered by the Mogul.]

An account of the diamond mines of Golconda and Visiapour.

THE diamond mines on the coast of Cormandel, of which I have visited several, are generally adjacent to rocky hills, or mountains, whereof begins a great ledge or range, near cape Comorin, extending in breadth about fifty English miles, some conjoining, others scattered; and running thence in length quite through Bengala. In, among, and near these hills, in several places, are known to be (as it is believed most of them have) mines.

The kingdoms of Golconda and Visiapour are known to have mines, sufficient to furnish all the world plentifully with diamonds; but their Kings permit digging only in some places appointed, lest, as it is imagined, they should become too common; and withal, for fear of tempting the threatning greatness of AURENGZEBE, forbidding also those places that afford the largest stones, or else keeping workmen in them for their own private uses.

1. In the kingdom of Golconda, as near as I can gather from the best acquainted, are twenty three mines now employed, or that have been so lately.

Quoture was the first mine made use of in this kingdom: the earth is somewhat yellowish, not unlike the colour of our gravel dried; but whiter in some places, where it abounds with smooth pebbles, much like those that come out of some of our gravel pits in England. They use to find great quantities in the vein, if it may

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properly be ſo called, the diamonds not lying in continued cluſters, as ſome imagine, but frequently ſo very ſcattering, that ſometimes in the ſpace of a quarter of an acre of ground, digged between two and three fathoms deep, there hath been nothing found; eſpecially in the mines that afford great ſtones lying near the ſuperficies of the earth, and about three fathoms deep. The diamonds found in theſe mines are generally well ſhaped, many of them pointed, and of a good lively white water; but it alſo produces ſome yellow ones, ſome brown, and of other colours. They are of ordinary ſizes, from about a ſixth of a mangelin, of which they find but few, to five or ſix mangelins each; ſome of ten, fifteen, twenty, they find, but rarely. They have frequently a bright and tranſparent skin, inclining to a greeniſh colour, though the heart of the ſtone be purely white; but the veins of theſe mines are almoſt worn out.

A mangelin is 11 grains in weight.

2. The mines of Codawillikul, Malabar, and Butepallem, conſiſt of a reddiſh earth, inclining to an orange colour, (with which it ſtains the clothes of the labourers that work in it) they dig about four fathoms deep. They afford ſtones generally of an excellent water, and cryſtalline skin: ſmaller ſizes than thoſe of Quolure, Ramiah, Gurem, and Mutampelle, have a yellowiſh earth like Quolure; their ſtones like thoſe of the two former mines, but mixed with many of blue water.

Currure the moſt famous of them all, and moſt antient, has been under the ſubjection of the King of Golconda; but about twenty five years ago was taken, with the country of Karnaticum, from the Hundue-Rajaes, by the Nabob-Emir-Jemla. In it have been found diamonds of a ſize weight, which is about nine ounces troy, or 81 pago's weight. It is only employed by the King for his own private uſe. The diamonds that are found in it are very well ſpread, large ſtones, it yields few or none ſmall; they have generally a bright skin, which inclines to a pale greeniſh colour, but within they are purely white. The ſoil is reddiſh, as many of the others.

About ſixty or ſeventy years ago, a Portugueſe went thither from Goa, and having ſpent in mining all that he had, even to what wearing clothes he could ſpare, while the miners were at work for the laſt day's expence, he had prepared a cup of poiſon, reſolving, if that night he found nothing, to drink his laſt, with the concluſion of his money; but in the evening, the workmen brought him a very fair, ſpread ſtone, of twenty pago's weight, in commemoration whereof, he cauſed a great ſtone to be erected in the place, with an inſcription engraven on it, in the Hundues, or Tellingda tongue, to the following effect, which remains to be ſeen till this day.

Your wife and children ſell, ſell what you have,
Spare not your clothes, nay make your ſelf a ſlave:
But money get; then to Currure make haſte,
There ſearch the mines, a prize you'll find at laſt.

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Not far from Currure are the mines of Lattawaar and Ganjeconta, which are in the ſame ſoil as Currure, and afford ſtones not unlike: but Lattawaar hath many repreſenting the great end of a razor blade, thin on one ſide, and thick on the other, very white, and of an excellent water; but the beſt of the mine is worn out, and Ganjeconta employed only to the King's private uſe.

Jonagerre, Pirai, Pugulle, Purwille, and Anuntapelle, conſiſting alſo of red earth, are now employed, and afford many large ſtones, part of them of a greeniſh water: but the moſt abſolute mines are of Wazzergerre and Munnemurg, the other rather repreſenting pits than mines, for there they ſink through high rocks, till they go ſo far below their baſis, that they can go no farther for water, in ſome places forty or fifty fathoms deep. The ſuperficies of the rocks conſiſts of hard, firm, white ſtone, into which they cut a pit like a well, of about four or five, in ſome places ſix foot deep, before they come to the cruſt of a mineral ſtone, like the mineral of iron; then they fill the hole with wood, and keep as hot a fire as they can there for two or three days, till they think it ſufficiently heated; then they pour in water till they have quenched it, which alſo ſhakes and mollifies both ſtone and mineral; both being cold, they dig again, take out all the crumbled ſtuff, and dig up what they can beſides, before they heat it anew. The cruſt ſeldom is thicker than three or four foot, which ceaſing, they come to a vein of earth, that uſually runs under the rock two or three furlongs, ſometimes much farther. This they dig all out and ſearch, and if the firſt attempt prove ſucceſsful, they go to work again, digging again after the ſame manner, as deep as they can, till they come to water; for the drawing whereof, wanting the help of engines known in Europe, they can go no deeper, although the vein lye lower: all lumps of the mineral they break in pieces, and frequently find diamonds incloſed in them. The earth is red, many large ſtones are found here, the ſmalleſt about ſix in a mangelin. They are mixed waters, but the greateſt part good, only of ill-favoured ſhapes; many cragged pieces of ſtones, ſome as if they had been parts of very great ones; others with pieces broken off them; yet I never heard of any that found two ſeeming fellows, although they do thoſe that look as if they had been newly broken.

In Langumboot they dig as they do at Wazzergerre and Munnemurg, the rock is not altogether ſo ſolid, but the earth and ſtones it produces much alike.

Wootoor

Wootoor lyes near Currure, and affords ſtones of a like magnitude, ſhape, and waters; it is employed only to the King's uſe; and ſingular, in that its diamonds are found in black earth.

Muddeburg far exceeds all the reſt for diamonds of a delicate ſhape, water, and bright tranſparent skin; yet it has ſtore of veiny ones, but thoſe likewiſe of ſo curious ſhape and water, that it is difficult to diſcover them from the good, eſpecially the ſmall ones. It produces ſtones of divers magnitudes, from ten and twelve in a mangelin, to ſix or ſeven mangelins each. The earth is red, but is ſeated in the woods, and the water ſo bad, that to all except the people bred there, it preſently occaſions fevers, and deſtroys abundance, inſomuch that moſt of the adventurers have forſaken it; notwithſtanding which, it had been more profitable than any of the reſt, the vein frequently lying near the ſuperficies of the earth, ſeldom running deep, and is better furniſhed than any one yet diſcovered. The river Kiſhma, of excellent water, is but nine miles diſtant, but the miners, or merchants, will not be at the charge of fetching their water from thence. Divers are of the opinion, that beſides the water, the town lying in a bottom, environed with hills, and a moraſs adjoining, the air may be infected, and contribute to its unhealthfulneſs.

Melwillee, or the new mine, ſo called, becauſe it was but lately found out, or at leaſt permitted to be made uſe of, in the year 1670. The earth they mine in is very red, and many of the ſtones found there, have of it ſticking to them, as if it had clung there while they were of a ſoft glutinous ſubſtance, and had not attained their hardneſs, maintaining its colour on its skin, ſeeming to be tonghned with it that it cannot be fetched out by grinding on a rough ſtone with ſand, which they make uſe of to clean them. The ſtones are generally well ſhaped, their ſize from five or ſix in a mangelin, to thoſe of fourteen or fifteen each, and of ſome bigger, but greateſt quantities of the middle ſorts: moſt of them have a thick dull skin, inclined to a yellowiſh water, not altogether ſo ſtrong and lively as of the other mines, very few of them of a cryſtalline water and skin. They are reported to be apt to flaw in ſplitting, which occaſions thoſe people to eſteem them ſomething lower than the product of many of the other mines; ſeveral that flatter by their ſeeming whiteneſs, when rough, diſcover their deceitfulneſs, having paſſed the mill, and too often a yellowiſh tincture, to the diſappointment and loſs of them that have cut them; but what they want in goodneſs is in part ſupplied by the plenty they find, which, together with their properties, makes them the cheaper.

2. Viſiapour is known to contain mines, enclosing ſtones as large and as good as thoſe of Golconda, but the King makes uſe but of the meaneſt. There are fifteen mines employed in this kingdom.

In Rumulconeta are mines, in red earth, about fifteen or ſixteen foot deep; they ſeldom find a diamond of a mangelin weight, but ſmall to twenty or thirty in a mangelin. They are generally of an excellent cryſtalline water, have a bright clear skin, inclining frequently to a pale greeniſh colour, are well ſhaped, but few of them pointed ones. There are alſo found amongſt them, ſeveral broken pieces of diamonds, by the country people called Shemboes.

The mines at Banugunnapelle, Pendekul, and Moodawarum; at Cumerville, Paulkul and Worku which are not far diſtant from Ramulconeta, afford ſtones much alike, and in the ſame kind of earth; but in the three laſt are very ſmall ones, even to 100 in a mangelin.

Lungepoleur mines are of yellowiſh earth, like thoſe of Quolure; its diamonds are generally well ſhaped, globular, few pointed, a very good cryſtalline water, and bright skins; many of them have a thick dark graſs-green skin, ſome ſpotted alſo with black, that they ſeem all foul, yet are not ſo, but within purely white and clean. Their ſizes are from two or three mangelins, downwards, but few very ſmall. Pootloor mines are of a rediſh earth, but afford ſtones much like thoſe of Lungepoleur, only ſmaller; under a mangelin, the general ſizes are of ½ ⅓ ¼ ⅛ of a mangelin.

Punchelingul, Shingarrampent, and Tondarpaar, are alſo of red earth, their diamonds not unlike thoſe of Quolure, only rarely or never any large ones are found there.

Gundepelle hath the ſame earth with the former, and produces ſtones of equal magnitude; but frequently of a pure cryſtalline water, wherein they exceed the former.

Donee and Gazerpellee dig both in red earth likewiſe, and afford ſtones alike, the greateſt part whereof are of good ſhapes and waters. They have alſo many ſhemboes, and ſome of bad waters, ſome brown, which theſe people call ſoft, or weak watered, being eſteemed of a ſofter and weaker body than others, by reaſon they have not ſo much life when cut, and are ſubject to flaw in ſplitting and on the mill. Their general product is in ſtones of middle ſizes: but Gazerpellee has beſides many large ones, and is the only mine noted in the kingdom of Viſiapour.

The diamonds in all the mines are ſo ſcattered and diſperſed in the earth, and lye ſo thin, that in the moſt plentiful mines it's rare to find one in digging, or till they have prepared the ſtuff, and do ſearch purpoſely for them. They are alſo frequently incloſed in clods; and ſome of thoſe of Melville have the earth ſo fixed about them, that till

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till they grind them on a rough ſtone with ſand, they cannot move it ſufficiently to diſcover they are tranſparent; or, were it not for their ſhapes, to know them from other ſtones. Sometimes the unskilful labourers, to try what they have found, lay them on a great ſtone, and ſtriking on them with another, to their coſtly experience, diſcover they have broken a diamond.

Near the place where they dig they make a ciſtern about two foot high, and ſix foot over, with a ſmall vent in one of the ſides, about two inches from the bottom, by which it empties itſelf into a little pit made in the earth to receive ſmall ſtones, if by chance any ſhould run through. The vent being ſtopped, they fill the ciſtern they have made with water, ſoaking therein as much of the earth they dig out of the mines, as it can conveniently receive at a time; breaking the clods, picking out the greateſt ſtones, and ſtirring it with ſhovels till the water is all muddy, the gravelly ſtuff falling to the bottom: then they open the vent, letting out the foul water, and ſupplying it with clean, till all the earthy ſubſtance be waſhed away, and none but a gravelly remains at the bottom. Thus they continue waſhing till about ten of the clock before noon, when they take the gravelly ſtuff they have waſhed, and ſpread it on a place made plain and ſmooth like a bowling-alley, for the purpoſe near the ciſtern; which being ſoon dried by the heat of the ſun, at that time of the day, they very curiouſly look it over, that the ſmalleſt bit of a ſtone can hardly eſcape them. If they find a large ſtone, they deliver it not till they have done work; and then very privately, leſt it ſhould come to the knowledge of the Governor of the place, and he require a ſhare, which in the kingdom of Golconda is uſually practiſed, without reſpect to any agreement made with them.

The miners, thoſe that employ them, and the merchants that buy the ſtones of them, are generally Ethnicks; not a Muſſulman that ever I heard of, followed the employment. Theſe labourers and their employers are Tellinga's, commonly natives of or near the place. The merchants are the Banians of Guzarate, who, for ſome generations, have forſaken their own country to take up the trade in which they have had ſuch ſucceſs, that it is now ſolely ingroſſed by them; who correſponding with their countrymen in Surat, Goa, Golconda, Viſiapour, Agra, Delly, and other places in India, furniſh them all with diamonds.

The Governors of the mines are alſo idolaters. In the King of Golconda's dominions, a Feulinga Bramme rents moſt of them, whoſe agreement with the adventurer is, that all the ſtones they find under a * Pagoda weight are to be their own, and all of that weight and above it to be his, for the King's uſe. Both merchant and miner go generally naked, only a poor clout about their middle, and a ſaſh on their heads; they dare not wear a coat, leſt the Governor ſay they are thriven much, are rich, and ſo enlarge his demands on them. The wiſeſt, when they find a great ſtone, conceal it till they have an opportunity, and then with wife and children run all away into the Viſiapour country, where they are ſecure and well uſed, by reaſon whereof their mines are much more populous, and better employed than thoſe of Golconda.

It is obſervable, that notwithſtanding the agreement with the adventurers of the mines, that all ſtones above a certain weight, ſhall be for the King's uſe; yet in the metropolis of either kingdom, as the cities of Golconda and Viſiapour are, there is no ſeizure, all ſtones are free: and the late deceaſed King, ABDUB CUTOPSHAW of the former, and EDELSHAW of the latter, would not only give very great prices for large ſtones, but richly veſt, and preſent the merchant that ſold them with horſes, or ſomething elſe of value, thereby encouraging others to bring the like.

Before I proceed farther north, it may be proper to take notice of the mountains of Gate or Baligate, which divide the hither peninſula of India from north to ſouth. And it is here that moſt of the Raja's or Naiques live that have not ſubmitted to the Mogul. Theſe people are looked upon to be the moſt barbarous in India, and by many travellers to be no better than ſo many neſts of robbers: whereas the truth is, they are the original inhabitants of the country, and have the beſt right to the plains as well as the hills, but were driven up into the mountains by the Moors, Arabians, and Egyptians, who planted themſelves upon their coaſts; but the Indians were never reduced into ſuch narrow bounds by any of thoſe nations as they are at preſent by the Moguls; who being driven out of Tartary themſelves about 300 years ſince, have over-run the whole continent of India, from Tartary to cape Comorin, diſpoſſeſſing the deſcendants of the Moors and Arabs of all the plain country, as they had before diſpoſſeſſed the Indians; and have alſo by force or fraud poſſeſſed themſelves of great part of the hilly country, which was formerly looked upon to be inacceſſible. However there are no leſs than ſeventeen of theſe Raja's, or ſovereign Princes, in the mountains, who are in a confederacy againſt the Mogul, and ſometimes come down from their hills and plunder the towns under his government; on which account they have been denominated barbarous, when this is only by way of retaliation for innumerable injuries received. The late AURENGZEBE did not only deſtroy all their towns and villages he

*A Pagoda's weight is 9 mangelins

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he could come at, but their temples, and every thing they held to be moſt ſacred among them. The Europeans who have been amongſt theſe mountaineers, actually find them more civilized and hoſpitable than the Mogul's people, who give us ſuch terrible repreſentations of them.

No country ſure ever ſo nearly reſembled a ſtate of innocency as this. Their defence againſt their potent enemy unites them in the ſtricteſt bonds of friendſhip. They ſeem to live as if they were of one family. Their Governors neither oppreſs or tyrannize over them, and yet the common people preſerve a due reſpect for them, and have nothing of ſlavery or inſolence in their looks. Religion creates no differences in the ſtate or private families. There are indeed ſeveral caſts or ſects amongſt them; but it is an unalterable maxim never to change their caſt; and if one would become a proſelyte to another ſect, he could not be received into a caſt which his anceſtors were not of, ſo that there is no contention on thoſe heads; neither in their buildings or their clothing do they affect any more than what nature requires to guard them from the weather. They uſe a very ſimple diet, ſuch as milk, rice, roots or herbs, very little meat, and always dreſſed the ſame way; they have no made diſhes, and very little variety in their way of eating. Water is their uſual drink; neither beer or wine is to be found in the country. The inferior people diſtill a ſmall ſort of arrack from rice, but I did not obſerve that their ſuperiors ever taſted it; and even among the common people drunkenneſs is never heard of, or that brawling and quarrelling, which is ſo common in other neighbourhoods, much leſs thoſe oaths and execrations ſo frequent amongſt us. They don't ſeem to have mixed with any other nation; and as they never travel out of their own country, can have imported no foreign vices: but they are even with the reſt of the world in one particular, namely, in believing all people but themſelves to be barbarous, which they are the more excuſable in, as they have received ſuch barbarous uſage from the Moors and Moguls, who have invaded and taken moſt of their country from them. But I ſhall ſpeak more largely of this people when I come to treat of the manners of the Indians in general, and proceed now to deſcribe the ſituation of the province of Guzurate or Cambaya.

Guzarate or Cambaya is bounded by the bay of Indus, and the province of Jeſſelmere towards the north, the provinces of Candiſh and Chitor towards the eaſt, the province of Decan towards the ſouth, and the Indian ocean towards the weſt. It extends from 19 deg. odd min. north latitude, to near 25 deg. ſo that it is upwards of three hundred miles from ſouth to north, and it is not leſs than four hundred miles from eaſt to weſt. The bay of Indus on the north-weſt, and the bay of Cambaya on the ſouth-eaſt form great part of it into a peninſula. As to the chief towns in this province, I ſhall firſt give an account of the ports and places upon the ſea coaſt, proceeding from ſouth to north: and firſt,

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Baſſaim. Baſſaim, or Baceim, which lyes in the latitude of 19 degrees and half: it is ſurrounded by a ſmall channel which makes it an iſland, and is defended by a pretty good wall. It is in poſſeſſion of the Portugueſe, who have built ſix churches and ſeveral convents in it, with a Jeſuits college; and 'tis ſaid, have ſeveral of the neighbouring villages under their juriſdiction. Here reſides the Portugueſe Captain General of the north, who has a ſovereign juriſdiction over the Governor of this and all their northern ſettlements.

Daman. About fifteen leagues to the northward of Baſſaim ſtands the town of Daman. The Portugueſe made themſelves maſters of this place in 1559, and have maintained their poſſeſſion ever ſince; though it was once beſieged by AURENGZEBE with a very great army. It ſeems the Portugueſe ſallied out in the night, upon that quarter of the beſiegers, where the elephants ſtood, and put them into ſuch a conſternation with their fireworks, that they broke from their keepers, trampled down their own people, and did more miſchief in the Mogul's army than it was poſſible for an enemy to have done in ſo ſhort a time; whereupon the Mogul thought fit to raiſe the ſiege, and was very cautious how he attacked any city in the poſſeſſion of the Chriſtians afterwards.

Daman is ſituated at the mouth of a river of the ſame name, in 20 deg. ſome odd minutes north lat. three broad ſtreets run the length of it, and four others croſs them, all regularly built; but few of them have more than one floor. Every houſe has its gardens and orchards adjoining to it, and the compaſs of the town is two miles round. It is indifferently fortified, and hath a harbour for ſmall veſſels in the mouth of the river, defended by a fort; but ſhips of burthen cannot enter it. The Portugueſe have ſeveral churches and convents here as in their other ſettlements; and it muſt be admitted, that the Portugueſe have endeavoured the propagating the Chriſtian Religion in India more zealouſly than any Proteſtant nation whatever. I am ſorry to obſerve it, but the Proteſtants do not ſeem to have any manner of concern to advance the Chriſtian religion among the Indians; and are ſo far from employing Miſſionaries for that purpoſe, that they have ſcarce clergymen ſufficient for their factories, and in very many of them not a clergyman to be found: while the Portugueſe have their churches and prieſts diſperſed throughout India, even at Agra, Delly, and Lahor, the capital cities of India, in the heart of the Mogul's dominions,

dominions, as well as in their own ſettlements. I do not ſay this to reproach our own people, but that they might emulate that laudable zeal they obſerve in the Roman Catholicks, who many of them certainly run great hazards, and undergo great hardſhips to make proſelytes to the Chriſtian Religion. It is a little ſtrange ſo many parties and ſects as we have amongſt us, who are zealouſly ſet upon reforming each other, that not one of theſe Fathers ſhould ever take it into his thoughts to preach the Goſpel to the ignorant Indians. If, as they apprehend, the Roman Catholicks have views to their temporal intereſts when they undertake theſe miſſions, and find their account in theſe voyages; if this be true, there is the greater encouragement to imitate them; but I doubt theſe inſinuations are often made to excuſe our own ſluggiſh inactivity, who have indulged in eaſe and luxury ſo long that we cannot diſpenſe with the want and hardſhips which muſt be expected in ſuch an undertaking.

Surat.

But to proceed, the next port to the northward of Daman is Surat, in the latitude of twenty one degrees thirty minutes north latitude, longitude ſeventy two, from the meridian of London. It ſtands on the river Tapte, about ten miles diſtant from the ſea; and the town winding with the river, is almoſt in the form of a creſcent. It is defended by a wall and towers, and has a ſquare caſtle, with a tower at each angle on the ſouth weſt part of it, which commands both the river and the avenues to the town by land. The river runs on one ſide of the caſtle, and there is a moat on the other. The city is between two and three Engliſh miles in circumference, and has ſix or ſeven gates, at which centinels are placed, who require a ſtrict account of ſuch people as paſs them, if they have any ſuſpicion of them. The ſtreets are moſt of them narrow, and the houſes generally low and mean, the ſides being ſplintered with ſplit cane, and the roofs thatched with cajan or palm leaves; but the Europeans, and ſome of the rich Moors have more lofty houſes, built with brick or ſtone, and covered with tiles. The floors, both of the upper and ground rooms, are of terras, which is looked upon to be cooler than boards; and they have no glazing to their windows that the air may have a free paſſage. The town is very populous, and the bazar or market-place thronged with Banians and other merchants, who ſtand with their ſilks or ſtuffs upon their heads, or in their hands, to expoſe them to ſale. In the middle of the city, before the caſtle, is a large open place called Caſtle-green, from the neighbourhood of the caſtle; where are laid all ſorts of goods in the open air, both day and night, except during the monſoons; and here the Europeans as well as natives place their bales, and prepare to load their ſhips.

The Governor of this caſtle is appointed by the Mogul every three years; but he has only the command of the garriſon, and ſcarce ever ſtirs out of it till he is ſucceeded by another. This being at preſent a port of the greateſt trade of India, the Mogul has ever a watchful eye over it, leſt it ſhould be again ſurprized, as it was once by the Raja Sevagi, and plundered: Sir GEORGE OXENDEN was then preſident, and made a noble defence, whereupon the Mogul preſented him with a robe of honour, and offered an abatement of the Engliſh cuſtoms to two and a half per cent. and the Eaſt-India company preſented Sir GEORGE with a gold medal with this inſcription, 'Non minor eſt virtus quam quærere parta tueri.' Mr. GERARD ANGIER, a ſucceeding preſident, gave SEVAGI another repulſe, when the Governor durſt not oppoſe him, and ſaved the caſtle as well as the Engliſh houſe.

There is alſo a Governor of the town, who is but deputy to the Nabob, or Viceroy of the province: to this gentleman foreigners apply on all occaſions: but he does not determine any thing of conſequence without the concurrence of the great officers of the city, who are the Cogy, the Vacanaviſh, and Catoual: the Cogy is verſed in the laws and cuſtoms of the empire, and is judge in civil caſes. The Vacanaviſh is deputed by the Emperor to ſend him a weekly account of all tranſactions of moment; and there is another officer ſubordinate to him, who ſends an account to court of almoſt every thing that is ſaid or done in the place, how trivial ſoever. The Catoual is a kind of peace officer, and rides three times through the town every night, viz. at 9, 12, and 3, and at 5 goes off his watch, when a drum beats, and a great brazen trumpet ſounds to give notice of the approach of day. He is always attended by a guard of ſoldiers; and if he meets with any diſorderly perſons, either confines them, or inflicts ſuch corporal puniſhment as he ſees fit; this is uſually done by the chaw buck, a moſt unmerciful whip as ever was contrived; and ſometimes the offender receives the baſtinado. But notwithſtanding this city is ſo exceeding populous, and compoſed of ſo many various nations, it is very ſeldom that any tumult or diſorder happens; and for capital offences, ſuch as murder or robbery, they are ſcarce ever heard of in a great many years, which in ſome meaſure may be aſcribed to the ſpeedy and impartial puniſhment of offenders, but more to the quiet diſpoſition of the Pagan inhabitants, who ſeldom give an affront, and as ſeldom reſent an injury.

The natives of Surat are either Moors, Mahometans, Banians, Parſies or Halichors. The Moors have the government entirely in their hands here as well as in all other towns of India, under the immediate dominion of the Mogul,

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which makes them treat the Pagan natives with some contempt; but the peaceful and submissive behaviour of the Pagans, who never contend for places, or a superiority to the Moors, abates much of their antipathy towards those idolaters.

The Banians of Surat, as in other parts of India, are of a mild insinuating address; and as they never contend with any other people, so they very seldom fall out among themselves: if they observe the Europeans they deal with to be in a passion, they withdraw as soon as they have an opportunity, and will not appear again till they have had time to cool, and then apply to them in the softest terms. But however obliging they may be in other respects, they are very careful of their money, and heap up treasure without end. A man worth forty thousand pounds will traverse the whole town to get the value of a half-peny.

The Persies who inhabit Surat, are sometimes called Gaures, or Worshippers of fire; and are said to have transplanted themselves from Persia to India when the Calif OMAN conquered the kingdom of Persia, and brought it under the dominion of the Mahometans; and they still profess the antient religion of the Persians, worshipping the sun, fire, &c. They are generally weavers, and make most of the silks and stuffs that are wrought in Surat. I shall enlarge farther on the manners and customs of this people when I come to treat of the several religions that are professed in India, and only take notice here of the burying place they have near Surat. The greatest honour these people think they can do to the remains of their deceased friends, is to expose the corps to be devoured by birds of prey: they look upon these living tombs to be preferable to any other kind of sepulchre.

The place whither they carry their dead stands in the fields, about a mile from the city, and is surrounded with a wall twelve foot high, and a hundred in circumference. The ground within is raised about four foot, and made sloping, that all the moisture may drain from the carcasses into a sink made for that purpose. Nothing can be more shocking than a view of this burying ground, as it is called: here you see a multitude of dead bodies, loathsom and discoloured; some green, others yellow; some bleeding fresh, with their eyes torn out by the vultures which resort thither; some with all the flesh of their cheeks pulled off: great holes eaten in several parts of their bodies, and the skin torn and mangled from one end to the other; some parts are hardned by the sun like a piece of tanned leather, while others are clean picked as a skeleton. The vultures, it is observed, regale their smell as well as their taste with these carcasses, and will place themselves down the wind on purpose to enjoy the admired perfume; and sometimes cram themselves with human flesh till they are hardly able to rise from the ground.

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There are still a fourth set of people who inhabit Surat, called Halachors, which in the Persian language signifies such persons as give themselve a liberty of eating or drinking any thing. These drink wine, and eat any kind of flesh or fish; and are so little troubled with a nice palate, that a piece of carrion goes down with them as well as the best meat that can be bought. These people are employed in all the vilest offices, such as sweeping the streets, carrying away the dung, and in washing and carrying out dead bodies to their proper burying place, which offices would defile a Moor or Banian. These are looked upon therefore by them as a most vile and contemptible generation; and you cannot affront a man more than in calling him Halachor: however these poor people are not at all concerned themselves at the appellation, but perform their drudgery quietly without any reluctance, cringing and fawning upon all they pass by, but industriously avoid the touching of any person who would look upon himself defiled by it.

The East-India company have a President at Surat who lives in great state. There is also an accomptant, store keeper and purser marine, which constitute the council: these have their secretary, who usually succeeds in the council on a vacancy. There are also factors, writers, and apprentices who serve three or five years, according to their agreement with the company, and then are gradually advanced. These have their diet and lodging in the factory as well as salaries, with a liberty of trading in India from port to port; and those of any credit, who have not money of their own to trade with, may have it on bottomree at 25 per cent. of the Banians, of which they often make cent. per cent. in some voyages. The company have a Chaplain who preaches once, and reads prayers three times every Sunday, and twice on other days. He takes place after the second in council, and is treated with great respect, having a fine horse or a coach at his command, and is handsomly attended; for the company entertain forty or fifty black pæons, who serve for soldiers or servants to the factory indifferently. The salary of the President is 300 l. per ann. The second 120 l. The chaplain 100 l. per ann. The senior factors who are of the council, 40 l. The junior factor, 15 l. the writers 7 l. per ann. the pæons have no more than four roupies a man, or 9 s. a month.

The house where the English factors reside belongs to the Mogul, and is rented of him for 60 l. per annum, it lyes on the north-west part of the town, having convenient lodgings for forty persons, besides the president's apartment. It has

cellars, a warehouſe, a tanque or reſervatory of water, and a hummum: there is ſeldom much rent paid, being uſually laid out in repairing, or making additions to the building.

The Preſident has the ſuperintendency of all the ſettlements of the Eaſt-India company, and of their factors and agents, on the weſt ſide of India, and towards the north, as at Agra, Amadabad, &c. and makes a great figure at Surat.

Engliſh factory at Surat.

The company's table where the whole factory eat is nobly provided; they have not only Perſian wine and punch, but the wine and beer of Europe. They have three cooks of ſeveral nations, and are ſerved with all manner of varieties the country affords. All the diſhes, plates, and drinking veſſels are of ſilver, and on Sundays and publick days, the entertainment is ſtill more magnificent, and after dinner the Preſident frequently invites the factors abroad to ſome ſhady garden without the city, on the ſide of a tanque or canal. He is carried thither in his palanquin, on the ſhoulders of four pæons, with two union flags before him, and ſome fine Perſian or Arabian led horſes, richly accoutred. The ſaddles of theſe, and of the horſes the factors ride, are of embroidered velvet: the heads of the bridles and the houſen glittering with ſilver; and the Captain of the pæons on horſeback leads forty or fifty of his men on foot, as a guard to the Preſident. The council follow in large open coaches, but inſtead of horſes, after the cuſtom of the country, they are drawn by oxen; the reſt of the factory ride in hackeries, a kind of two wheeled coaches, without raiſed ſeats, or on horſeback, there being a ſet of fine horſes kept at the company's expence, in order to make a grand appearance, than which nothing turns to a better account in India, therefore none of the council ever ſtir out of the city gates, without four or five pæons to attend on their coach, and the Engliſh chief at Surat has almoſt as much reſpect paid him as the Governor of the place. The factors, when they go to an Indian entertainment, conform themſelves to the cuſtom of the eaſt, lying upon Perſian carpets, but in the factory they ſit on chairs after the Engliſh manner.

A couch covered with a bending canopy.

Tombs of the Europeans at Surat.

The Engliſh, as well as other nations, have their burying place about half a mile from the city, and ſeem to imitate the Mahometans in the magnificence of their tombs: the moſt remarkable of the Engliſh are thoſe of Sir GEORGE OXENDEN and the Preſident ANGIERS, adorned with noble towers, and minorets, and the Dutch vie with them in this extravagance: but there is one built by the order of a jolly Dutch commander much talked of for the humour of it; it is adorned it ſeems with three large punch bowls, in which his ſurviving countrymen, according to his dying requeſt, frequently remember him till they are very merry.

European factors confined at Surat.

The Engliſh factory, as well as the French and Dutch, find great diſadvantages in being ſo much in the power of the Moors, for if any of the ſhipping belonging to the Moors happen to be taken by pirates, they expect the Europeans ſhould be anſwerable for the damage, and will block up their factories, with a body of troops, that none can go in or out. But the Dutch, it ſeems, know how to make themſelves ſatisfaction, by blocking up the Mogul's ports with their ſhips. In the year 1691, the Engliſh factory was ſurrounded by a guard of horſe and foot, and the French and Dutch were confined within the walls of the town, upon the complaint of ABDEL GIFFORD, a rich Moor, that a ſhip of his was taken by Hatmen, by which they mean Europeans, and reſtitution was expected to be made by the Engliſh, French, and Dutch; becauſe the pirate had ſhewn all their colours. The Engliſh Preſident hereupon repreſented to the Governor, that ABDEL GIFFORD was not to be credited, having formerly ſuborned ſeveral ſailors to depoſe, that one of his ſhips were taken, who afterwards confeſſed they were bribed by him to commit the perjury; but ſhould the charge appear to be true, it was as unreaſonable that the Europeans ſhould be required to reſtore ſuch effects as were taken at ſea, as that the Mogul ſhould make ſatisfaction for all robberies committed by land: the pirates at ſea were neither authorized by the company, or within their power. But it being diſcovered afterwards, that the Danes had taken that Mooriſh ſhip by way of reprizal for ſome injury they had received, the Engliſh were reſtored to their liberty, after they had remained in confinement near four months. The next year, the ſame ABDEL GIFFORD in order to make up his loſſes, exhibited another complaint of a ſhip's being taken and plundered at ſea, and procured the Engliſh factors to be confined again, but happily for them the deceit was diſcovered, and it was proved, that part of the money GIFFORD pretended to have loſt, was brought by himſelf aſhore clandeſtinely, and lodged in a garden by the river ſide, which procured the Engliſh their liberty, and brought infamy enough on their old accuſer. But ſtill it ſeems great preſents were expected by the Nabob or Viceroy, and other of the Mogul's officers, for obtaining that diſcharge, for juſtice itſelf muſt be purchaſed, and without a pair of gloves or a well applied bribe, it is not eaſy to obtain a hearing.

Before I leave the town of Surat, I muſt obſerve, that here are no publick houſes of entertainment, but there are large buildings, which ſome call caravanſeras, where travellers may ſleep, and dreſs their own diet, and theſe houſes are to be found at proper diſtances, on all the great roads; near them there is uſually a tanque, or reſervatory of water, for the uſe of thoſe that bait there.

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there. In the ſuburbs of Surat, there is one of theſe great tanques or reſervatories, lined with free-ſtone, and ſteps down the ſide of it, a mile in compaſs, having no leſs than 100 angles. Notwithſtanding the Engliſh, French, and Dutch have a great trade in this city, it is not comparable to what the Moors, Armenians, Banians, Arabians, and Jews carry on here; one of theſe merchants, we are told, was able to fit out a fleet of fifteen or ſixteen ſail of ſhips himſelf. Tho' the Mogul is an abſolute Prince, and claims the ſole property of all the lands of the country, I don't find any Sovereign in the world, who gives greater encouragement to his trading ſubjects of all religions and perſuaſions. As to the Europeans who trade hither, the Dutch have much the greateſt advantage, for if the Mogul inſiſts upon ſuch cuſtoms as they do not approve of, they block up his ports, and compel him to lower them, as they have done within theſe few years, and while the Engliſh pay almoſt four per cent. the Dutch do not pay more than two ' cuſtom. There are ſeveral Engliſh merchants at Surat, beſides thoſe in the factory, who live under the protection of the government, notwithſtanding all the repreſentations of the Eaſt-India company to the contrary. While we had two companies, they had ſeparate houſes, and lived in as great enmity, as if they had been at open war, and it ſeems, contracted ſuch averſions to each other, that when their maſters were united, they could hardly ſpeak peaceably when they met; and the baſe inſinuations and repreſentations they made of one another while they were diſtinct, muſt of neceſſity create a very deſpicable opinion of the Engliſh among the natives.

Surat.

Ten or twelve miles to the northward of Surat, lyes a little bay called Swalley-hole; here the European ſhipping uſually load and unload their goods, for there is no coming near Surat with large veſſels. The Engliſh, French, and Dutch, have each of them their chuoltery or place to lodge in, within half a mile of the ſea, with yards and warehouſes to ſtow their goods in. While the ſhipping lyes here, which is from September to March, the Banians, Armenians, and Moors, build little hutts along the ſhore, where they expoſe their goods to ſale as in a fair.

Baroche.

Baroche ſtands about fifty miles to the northward of Surat, it is ſituate on a hill, and was formerly walled about, and eſteemed a place of great ſtrength, but the fortifications are run to ruin; however it is ſtill a place of trade, and the Engliſh and the Dutch have their agents here.

Cambaya.

The city of Cambaya lyes in the lat. 23. deg. at the very bottom of the gulph of Cambaya. It is much bigger than Surat, and had formerly a better trade, but the trade is now removed to Surat: the Portugueſe were once in poſſeſſion of this place, as well as of Baroche and Surat, but were beaten out of them by the Moors: the city of Cambaya is ſurrounded with a brick wall, and towers at the uſual diſtances; the ſtreets are wide, and the houſes built of brick dried in the ſun, and it has a large old caſtle. The inhabitants are chiefly Banians and Rasboots, who are ſo bountiful to monkeys, whom they have in great veneration, that they perfectly ſwarm here. The ſepulchres of the Princes of Cambaya are in this city. Here was an hoſpital erected formerly for beaſts and other animals, which is run to ruin. The tide ruſheth into the bay of Cambaya ſo furiouſly, that 'tis ſaid, the ſwifteſt horſe cannot keep pace with it.

Goga.

Goga lyes on the weſt ſide of the gulph of Cambaya, almoſt over againſt Baroche, in 21 deg. north lat. It is but an inconſiderable town, about 30 deg. to the ſouth-weſt of Cambaya, where the Portugueſe ſhipping bound for Goa, ſometimes rendezvous.

Diu.

Diu ſtands upon an iſland of the ſame name, on the left hand as we enter the gulph of Cambaya, in the lat. of 20 deg. 40 min. The iſland is about three miles in length and one in breadth, ſeparated from the main by a narrow channel. The Portugueſe poſſeſſed themſelves of it about the year 1515, and fortified it: it was naturally very ſtrong, and one of the forts ſtands upon a high rock, to which there is no acceſs, but by a very ſteep narrow paſſage, and it has a double moat, into which the water flows from the ſea. BADUR, King of Guzarate laid ſiege to Diu ſoon after the Portugueſe took it, but was forced to raiſe the ſiege. BADUR prevailed with the Grand Seignior afterwards, to ſend a great fleet, and 20000 men to his aſſiſtance; and though they attacked the Portugueſe with their united forces, were beaten off the iſland, leaving their artillery, baggage, and wounded men behind them: when the Portugueſe flouriſhed, the trade here was almoſt equal to that of Surat, but it has long been upon the decline.

Amadabad.

Amadabad, or Amadaver, is the capital city of Guzarate, and ſeat of the Viceroy: it lyes in the lat. of 23 deg. 40 min. long. 72 from the meridian of London; being about 140 miles to the northward of Surat: it had once the name of Gurdebad, or the habitation of duſt, from the clouds of duſt that are ſometimes raiſed there. It ſtands in a fine plain, and is watered by a little river, which in the time of the rains riſes to a great height, and overflows the plain country. The town is encloſed with a wall of brick and ſtone, and has towers on it at the uſual diſtances. It has twelve gates, and is three or four miles in length with the ſuburbs: the ſtreets are generally wide, but the principal ſtreet is not leſs than thirty paces over. The Meidan Cha, or King's

ſquare,

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ſquare, is 700 paces long, and 400 broad; and has trees planted on every ſide. On the weſt ſide of this ſquare is the caſtle, and the great caravanſera for lodging ſtrangers ſtands on the ſouth; and there are ſeveral other buildings in it, where the Catoual adminiſters juſtice. Near the Meidan alſo ſtands one of the Mogul's palaces: over the gate is a large balcony, where the country muſick and trumpets ſtand and play morning, noon, and in the evening: the Engliſh factory is in the middle of the town, and the Dutch have another in the great ſtreet, and their ware-houſes are uſually filled with rich Indian goods.

There are a great many moſques, or Mahometan temples in this city, but that called Juma Meſgid, or the Friday's moſque, whither moſt people reſort on that day, is the nobleſt: it is aſcended by ſeveral large ſteps, and before it has a ſquare cloiſter, of 140 paces in length, and 120 in breadth, adorned with twelve domes, and an open paved ſquare in the middle of it. In the front of the temple are three large arches, and on the ſides two great doors which open into it, over which are very high ſteeples, from whence they call the people to their devotions. The chief dome is ſurrounded with ſeveral other ſmall ones, and two minorets or ſpires. The whole pile is ſupported by 44 pillars, ſtanding in two rows, and the pavement is of marble. There are abundance of pagoda's, or idol temples alſo in Amadabad, but the fineſt of them AURENGZEBE converted into a moſque, at which ceremony he ordered a cow to be killed in the temple, being aſſured that the Gentiles would never enter it again after it was ſo polluted; and he ordered all the figures of men and beaſts to be defaced, ſo that it has loſt much of its original beauty.

This town is ſo intermixed with groves and gardens, that at a diſtance it looks like a foreſt. The King's garden, which lyes without the walls by the river ſide, is filled with all the fruits of India. It conſiſts indeed of ſeveral gardens thrown into the form of an amphitheatre, riſing gradually one above another; and on the higheſt is a terraſs, from whence there is a proſpect of the country villages for ſeveral miles: four or five miles from Amadabat is the village of Serquech, where are the tombs of the former Kings of Guzarate; they are large ſquare buildings with three great arches in each front, and over them a great many leſſer. There is a magnificent dome in the middle, and ſeveral little ones on the ſides of it; and the tomb is always directly under the largeſt dome.

At this town ſick and lame beaſts and birds have hoſpitals provided for them by the compaſſionate Indians; who imagining the ſouls of their relations or anceſtors may be removed into theſe animals, think it the greateſt act of charity to adminiſter to their neceſſities: they will purchaſe infirm wounded animals frequently of the Chriſtians and Moors, to deliver them from the cruelty of the Infidels, as they term them; and theſe creatures remain in the hoſpital till they die, if they cannot be cured; but if they recover, they are ſold to ſome of their own perſuaſion, that they may not be abuſed again.

To the eaſtward of Guzarate lye the provinces of Candiſh and Berar, which are of late thrown into one, and have Chitor and Malva on the north, Orixa on the eaſt, Decan on the ſouth, and Guzarate on the weſt. The chief town of Candiſh is Brampour, in 22 deg. north lat. and about two hundred and twenty miles to the eaſtward of Surat. This is a large city, and ſtands upon very uneven ground. In the time of the rains the water runs through the lower ſtreets, and they appear like ſo many rivers. The houſes generally have clay walls, and are but poor little huts, except the Viceroy's palace, and ſome others of the magiſtrates and principal officers. Six or ſeven miles to the northward of Brampour ſtands the town of Rajapore; and about fourſcore miles farther northward the city of Ecbarpore, upon a good river, which falls into the ſea near Baroche; and fifteen miles to the northward of Ecbarpore is the famous caſtle of Mandoa, which ſtands on a high hill, and is ſurrounded by a wall of twenty miles in circumference. Shapour is the capital city of Berar, and lyes in the latitude of 22 degrees odd minutes.

The province of Orixa is bounded by the river Guenga, which divides it from Bengal on the north, by the bay of Bengal on the eaſt, Golconda on the ſouth, and Berar on the weſt. The chief town, which alſo bears the name of Orixa, ſtands in the middle of the province in 21 degrees north latitude, and is about 100 miles weſtward of the bay of Bengal. The town of Cuttack lyes in 20 degrees odd minutes, and is about 60 miles from the ſea. Baliſore, where all European ſhips which are bound for Bengal and the Ganges take in a pilot, lyes near the mouth of a river of the ſame name, where it falls in the bay. This place is in the latitude of 21 degrees ſome odd minutes; and here the Engliſh have a factory. The road is pretty ſafe, and it is a place of ſome trade.

To the northward of Baliſore ſtands the town of Pipley, where the French and Dutch have each of them a factory. This town is ſituated on a river, but not deep enough to admit of any large veſſels, which are obliged to remain in the road ſome diſtance from it.

The provinces of Chitor and Malva are generally laid into one, and are bounded by Guallior on the north, Bengal on the eaſt, Candiſh and Berar on the ſouth, and Guzarate on the weſt.

The

The chief town is Chitor, the ſeat of RAJA RANA's, ſaid to be the deſcendant of PORUS who fought with ALEXANDER; but PORUS at that time was Sovereign of the greateſt part of Indoſtan, and his capital city generally held to be Delly. Chitor indeed was a fortreſs, whoſe ſituation rendered it impregnable, and therefore probably was by ſome ſtyled the capital of his dominions. It lyes almoſt under the tropick of cancer, and about three hundred miles to the northward of Brampour.

The chief town of Malva is Ratipore or Rantipore. It lyes upon a little river in the latitude of 25 degrees north, and is a place of good trade.

Bengal is the moſt eaſterly province of the Mogul's dominions. It is bounded by the provinces of Patna and Jeſuat towards the north, the kingdom of Aracan and Tipra towards the eaſt, the bay of Bengal and the province of Orixa towards the ſouth, and with the province of Malva towards the weſt; it is in length from eaſt to weſt upwards of four hundred miles, and near three hundred in breadth from north to ſouth, and is uſually compared to Egypt for its fruitfulneſs, the river Ganges dividing itſelf into ſeveral branches in this province, and annually overflowing it, as the Nile does Egypt.

The chief towns are, 1. Dacca, which lyes upon one of the eaſtern branches of the Ganges in the the latitude of 24 degrees; it is four or five miles in length, but very narrow, winding with the river. This may properly be called the capital, being the ſeat of the Viceroy, and here the Engliſh and other Europeans have their agents to take care of their trade. which is very conſiderable in this province. 2. Ragemahal ſituated higher up the Ganges, and is between two or three hundred miles from the mouth of it, in the latitude of 25 degrees. Below Ragemahal lyes the city of Caſſimbazar, latitude 24, where the Europeans have their factors, the country yielding great quantities of ſilk and muſlins. To the ſouthward of Caſſimbazar ſtands the city of Hugly upon an iſland made by the Ganges, in the latitude of 23 degrees, about a hundred miles from the mouth of the river: it is a large town, and beſides Moors and other Indians, has ſeveral thouſand Portugueſe Chriſtians in it: moſt European nations who trade to India had their factories here, and particularly the Engliſh; but the unhealthineſs of the ſituation induced them to remove, and the Engliſh have ſince built them a fort a little below near Calcutta, which they named fort William, from the Prince of Orange, who mounted the throne of England about that time. 5. The city of Chatigan lyes near the mouth of the moſt eaſterly branch of the Ganges. Here the Portugueſe ſet up for a kind of ſovereignty formerly, and aſſociating with pirates and banditti of all nations, owned no ſubjection to their own Prince or the Prince of the country, but committed daily robberies by ſea and land, and ſo interrupted all commerce, that the late Mogul found it neceſſary to ſend an army againſt them and extirpate them. 6. Malda which ſtands a little to the eaſtward of Ragemahal, where the Europeans alſo have their factors.

Having deſcribed the ſituation of the ſouthern provinces of India, I come to enumerate thoſe in the north, which are 1. Cabul, 2. Haican or Ballochi, 3. Multan, 4. Buckor, 5. Tata or Sinda, 6. Jeſſelmere and Soret, 7. Hindowns, 8. Jenupar or Jengapore, 9. Pencab or Lahor, 10. Delly, 11. Agra, 12. Bando or Aſmer, 13. Guallior, 14. Narvar, 15. Caſſimere, 16. Bankiſh or Carkares, 17. Naugracut and Siba, 18. Jamba and Becar, 19. Gor, 20. Canduana and Patan, 21. Sambal and Mevat, 22. Halabas, Rotas, Patna and Jeſuat, generally reckoned part of Bengal. There are ſome other provinces named in the maps, but they are all included in theſe that are here enumerated; Candahor is indeed frequently reckoned to be a province of India, but this having been near a hundred years under the dominion of Perſia, I chooſe to place it in that kingdom.

Cabul. On the north weſt part of the Mogul's dominions lyes the province of Cabul, having the mountain Caucaſus, which divides it from Usbeck Tartary, on the north, the province of Caſſimere on the eaſt, Haican on the ſouth, and Condahor in Perſia on the weſt: the country is generally barren, but there is a great trade for horſes and other cattle, which are brought hither from Perſia and Tartary, from whence the greateſt part of India are ſupplied. The capital city of this province is Dabul, in the latitude of 34 degrees 30 minutes: it is a large city, and being near the frontiers both of Perſia and Tartary, is fortified as well as moſt towns in India.

Haican. Haican or Ballochi has the province of Cabul on the north, Attock on the eaſt, Multan on the ſouth, and the kingdom of Perſia on the weſt, the chief town whereof is Duckee, in the latitude of 32 degrees.

Multan. Multan is bounded by Haican on the north, by Jengapore and the Hindowns towards the eaſt, Buckor towards the ſouth, and Perſia on the weſt; the chief town is Multan, in the latitude of 30 degrees north.

Buckor. Buckor has Multan on the north, the Hindowns on the eaſt, Tata or Sindi on the ſouth, and Perſia on the eaſt; the chief town is of the ſame name, and lyes in 29 degrees north latitude.

Sindi. Sindi or Tata is bounded by Buckor on the north, Jeſſelmere and Soret on the eaſt, the gulph of Sindi or Indus on the ſouth, and Perſia

on

on the weſt. The river Sindi or Indus diſcharges itſelf by ſeveral mouths into the gulph of Sindi here, and gives its name to the whole empire of Indoſtan, as well as to this province.

The capital city is Tata, which lyes in the lat. of 25 deg. 30 min. upon a ſmall iſland, made by the weſtern branch of the Indus, and was a town much traded to formerly by the Portugueſe. Dial is another port well known to all that uſe theſe ſeas; lying in a bay about fifty or ſixty miles to the weſtward of Tata. Theſe five provinces are contiguous to Perſia, and moſt of them well watered by the river Indus, and other fine ſtreams; but the mouth of the Indus being choaked up with ſand, the trade is not ſo conſiderable as might be expected from their ſituation.

Jeſſelmere and Soret.

The provinces of Jeſſelmere and Soret being contiguous, I ſhall throw them into one: they have Buckor on the north, Aſmer on the eaſt, the river Paddar on the ſouth, which ſeparates them from Guzarate, and the province of Sindi on the weſt: the chief town of Jeſſelmere is of the ſame name, and lyes in 27 deg. north lat. The capital of Soret is Jaganet, lat. 26 north.

The Hindowns country.

The Hindowns and Aſmer lying contiguous, and very little known of either, I ſhall ſpeak of them as one province. Jengapore lyes on the north of them. The provinces of Delly and Agra on the eaſt and ſouth, and Jeſſelmere on the weſt: the inhabitants are ſaid to be different from any other race of the Indians, and never to have intermixed with their neighbours. Their country mountainous and barren, which is probably the reaſon we have ſuch imperfect accounts of this people. Every writer almoſt gives us a different, and ſome, inconſiſtent accounts of them, and therefore I chooſe to defer ſaying any thing more of them, till farther diſcoveries are made.

Jengapore.

The province of Jenupar or Jengapore, has Pencab or Lahor on the north, the Hindowns and Delly on the eaſt and ſouth, and Multan on the weſt; the capital city is Jengapore, ſituate on the river Chaul, in the latitude of 31 degrees.

Attock.

Attock is bounded by Caſſimere on the north, Pencab on the eaſt, Multan on the ſouth, and Haican on the weſt, the chief town whereof is Attock, ſituate on the Indus, in 33 degrees north latitude.

Caſſimere.

Caſſimere is bounded on the north by mount Caucaſus, which ſeparates it from Tartary, by Bankiſh, or Kaukares on the eaſt, the province of Pencab or Lahor on the ſouth, and Cabul on the weſt, and lyes between the 34th and 39th deg. of north Lat. as near as I can compute; but the northern boundaries of this province, and indeed of India in general, are very little known. I believe none of our geographers will pretend that an obſervation was ever taken in that part of India which adjoins to mount Caucaſus, and nothing can be more uncertain, than the computing the latitude of places, by the number of miles they are diſtant from one another. This province is encompaſſed on every ſide with mountains, but is itſelf a fine fertile plain, thro which innumerable little rivers deſcend from the hills, which, together with the northerly ſituation, renders it mighty agreeable to the ſun-burnt inhabitants of the ſouthern provinces. The complexion of the natives is not inferior to that of the Europeans, and the country is ſaid to produce moſt of the fruits of Europe.

C. Imere

The town of Caſſimere, which gives name to the province, lyes in the lat. of 35 degrees ſome odd minutes, and is about two miles in length and one in breadth, ſeated on a ſmall lake; it has no walls, nor was thought to need any, the avenues to the country being looked upon as inacceſſible, until AKBAR the Mogul found means to corrupt the great officers of the Prince it belonged to, who betrayed their country to him; this having ſince been the ſummer's retreat of ſeveral of the Mogul Emperors, attended by their great Omrah's and vaſſal Princes, there are many beautiful palaces, fine gardens and canals in the neighbourhood of this city, which render the country extremely pleaſant, and occaſion it to be called the paradiſe of the Indies.

L.

The province of Pencab or Lahor, is bounded by Caſſimere and Bankiſh on the north, Siba and Jamba towards the eaſt, Jengapore and Delly on the ſouth, and Multan and Attock on the weſt, the chief town is Lahor, which lyes on the river Ravi, a branch of the Indus, in the latitude of 33 degrees odd minutes, near a thouſand miles to the northward of Surat: this is a large city, but not very antient, being founded by the Mogul AMAYUM, who built a noble palace here, and it was for ſome time the capital of the empire, but the regal ſeat has been ſince removed to Agra. The ſtreets of Lahor are ſtrait, ſome of them a league in length, and we ſee the ruins of ſeveral fine palaces and publick buildings, which have been neglected ſince the removal of the court; there are alſo ſome noble moſques, ſquares, tanques, or reſervatories of water, and gardens about the city, which diſcover the magnificence of the Mogul Princes who reſided here; and here it is that the fine walk of trees terminates, which begins at Agra, near five hundred miles to the ſouthward of this city.

Delly.

The province of Delly is bounded by that of Pencab and Jamba towards the north, Becar towards the eaſt, Agra on the ſouth, and Jengapore and the Hindowns towards the weſt, the chief town whereof is Delly, in the latitude of 20 degrees odd minutes, ſeated on the banks of the river Jemma or Jemmina, in form of a creſcent,

and

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and is about three leagues in circumference; there are two noble wide ſtreets with piazza's on each ſide, under which are ſhops and warehouſes, and over them a terraſs; theſe ſtreets terminate at a large handſom ſquare; on the other ſide of which ſtands the palace; the reſt of the ſtreets are mean, and the generality of the houſes no better than low thatched cottages; the chief publick buildings are the palace, fortified like a caſtle, with a wall, towers, and a moat, being near two miles in circumference: a great moſque with ſeveral fine marble domes, and a noble caravanſera, built for the entertainment of ſtrangers by a Mogul Princeſs. Near the tomb of AMAYUM is an antient ſtone pyramid, generally ſaid to be erected by ALEXANDER, after the defeat of PORUS, but the inſcriptions on it are not Greek, as they would probably have been if the Grecians had erected it, at leaſt the characters are ſo much defaced, that they are not intelligible at this day, either to Europeans or Indians: the Mogul deſtroyed the antient Delly when he took it from the Patans; and CHA JEHAN rebuilt a new city near the place, which he called after his own name Cha Jehanabad, or the city of King JEHAN, but it is much more known at preſent by the name of Delly, the name of the old city; the fine walk of trees from Agra to Lahor runs by Delly.

Agra.

The kingdom or province of Agra, ſometimes called Indoſtan, is bounded on the north by Delly, on the eaſt by Sambal, on the ſouth by Guallior, and on the weſt by Aſmer or Bando. Agra, the capital of this province, and the metropolis of the whole empire, is ſituate in 27 degrees odd minutes of northern latitude, and is about ſeven hundred miles north-eaſt of Surat, which journey the caravans uſually perform in 35 days; this was but an inconſiderable place, till about 150 years ago, when the Mogul ECBAR new built it, and called it after his own name, Echarabad, it lyes upon the river Jemma, in the midſt of a barren ſandy plain, which adds conſiderably to the heat of the climate: the town itſelf is ſeven or eight miles in length, but not near ſo much in breadth, it is not fortified (except the palace) but there always lyes a great army in the place, eſpecially if the Mogul be there.

The palaces of the Omrah's and great men are built with ſtone, and very magnificent, they ſtand upon the banks of the river Jemma, and have large gardens adjoining to them; the reſt of the houſes are but mean, however, the great number of Mahometan moſques, caravanſera's, large ſquares, baths and reſervatories of water, intermixed with trees and gardens, and the river Jemma running the whole length of it, renders the proſpect of the town very agreeable, and the Mogul's palace is looked upon to be one of the fineſt pieces of architecture in the Eaſt.

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Between the town and the palace is a large plain, where the Raja's draw up their Raſhboots when they mount the Mogul's guard, as they do in their turns every week, with fifteen or twenty thouſand men; the palace or mahal, as it is called in the language of the country, lyes in the form of a creſcent upon the river Jemma, but from the town, appears to be of a round figure, it is three or four miles in circumference, and fortified with a high ſtone wall, mounted with artillery; the mahal may be ſeen at a great diſtance, and as the ſtones it is built with are red, and have a luſtre like poliſhed marble, nothing can look more glorious than it does when the ſun ſhines; it is ſurrounded with a deep broad moat, over which there are draw-bridges, and the terraſſes of the gardens ſerve for a rampart.

Within the firſt gate of the palace is a fine broad ſtone walk, with canals running on the ſide of it, and beyond, a large ſquare, where the Mahometan guards draw up, and here the Omrah's their Generals pitch their tents, ſo that one paſſes through two armies, one on the out-ſide, and the other within the palace before we come to the royal apartments; beyond this ſquare is another court, where the Mogul's muſick, as 'tis called, ſounds every morning, noon and night, and whenever he goes abroad: this is a compliment inferior Governors and Magiſtrates have paid them in all the towns in India, though ſurely nothing can be more harſh or diſagreeable, than ſuch a number of large brazen trumpets, and ill ſounding drums, to thoſe who have ever heard other muſick. Our European Governors, therefore, tho' they will not diſpenſe with this piece of ſtate, yet generally order them to be placed at a convenient diſtance. But to proceed, from this court where the muſick ſtands, we come to the Durbar, which is another large court, whither all people reſort at the time of audience: this is divided by rails or baluſtrades, into three parts, at the outward rail ſtand the common people; without the next, which is raiſed on a platform ſomething higher, thoſe of better quality; and within the third, upon a platform or ſtage ſtill more elevated, ſtand the Omrah's and great Lords of the court: in this manner, all attend the approach of the Mogul at the time of audience, who, upon the playing of the muſick, appears in a kind of gallery, above the place where the Omrah's are, and ſeats himſelf upon a glorious throne, covered with precious ſtones of an ineſtimable value. Here the Emperor receives petitions from all his ſubjects, and ſpends ſeveral hours every day in hearing cauſes.

From the Durbar, the Emperor retires to his baths, whither he is followed only by ſome of his prime

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prime miniſters, with whom he adviſes on affairs of ſtate. From another gallery in the palace, the Emperor reviews his troops, his elephants, and horſes, and ſees the combats of wild beaſts, or thoſe of men and beaſts, which ſome of the Moguls have eſteemed beyond any other diverſion: and here alſo malefactors are frequently executed before him, being torn in pieces or trampled to death by elephants, and ſometimes beheaded, according to the Emperor's pleaſure, as ſoon as ſentence is paſſed. Within the walls of the palace is a quarter where all manner of artificers are daily employed in the Emperor's ſervice; theſe obſerve a profound ſilence, and no other noiſe is heard there than what is unavoidably occaſioned by there buſineſs: the haram, or women's apartment, where there are ſeldom leſs than a thouſand, with their eunuchs and ſlaves to attend them, and ſome of them treated like ſovereign Princeſſes, takes up a conſiderable part of the incloſure, and as neither parks, gardens, canals, or any thing elſe, which can contribute to the beauty or pleaſure of the place are wanting, the circumference of the palace muſt of neceſſity be ſeveral miles about, though I do not find our travellers are agreed exactly as to the dimenſions.

Inhabitants of Agra.

The inhabitants of the place are chiefly Moors or Moguls, by which we underſtand Mahometans of every country, whether of Perſia, Tartary, or India, and great part of the court and army itſelf are Tartars and Perſians, in whom the Mogul ſeems to place greater confidence than in the native Indians, and theſe degenerating alſo in a generation or two, their places are ſupplied by others from thoſe countries: it is true the Mahometans of Perſia and India are of different ſects, whoſe antipathy to one another is not inferior to that of ſome Chriſtians, which would incline one to believe they ſhould not eaſily unite; but the Perſians who come to India being for the moſt part men of fortune, whom the wealth and great employments to be met with in the Mogul's court uſually draws thither, it is to be preſumed they come with a reſolution to conform themſelves in all points to the manners of the Prince they ſerve.

But beſides the Mahometans, who have the government entirely in their hands, there are vaſt numbers of Pagan Indians, and of Jews, Armenians, and Portugueſe, and other Europeans; I am credibly informed from one who has been at Agra, that there are ſeveral thouſand Chriſtians in the town, who have their churches, and a free exerciſe of their religion; but the Mahometans have them in the utmoſt contempt, and I believe very few proſelytes are made amongſt the great.

But notwithſtanding Agra is extremely populous when the court is there, it is a perfect deſert at other times; for the tradeſmen and merchants, as well as thoſe who have an immediate dependance on the court and army, remove with their families to follow the camp, where as brisk a trade is carried on as in the moſt populous cities, and there being no enemy able to appear in the field againſt the Mogul, they live in perfect ſecurity.

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Secandria.

To the eaſtward of Agra, four or five miles, ſtands the town of Secandria, the burying place of the Mogul Emperors, famous for two ſtately tombs, the one of the Mogul ECBAR, the other of TAGEMAHAL, the wife of CHA JEHAN, ſaid to exceed any thing of that kind in the world.

Fettipour.

Fettipour lyes about twenty miles to the weſtward of Agra, this was a handſom large town, built by the Mogul ECBAR, and here he alſo erected a magnificent palace; but finding it an unhealthful ſituation, he ſoon removed his court from thence, and it lyes almoſt in ruins at preſent.

The province Guallior is bounded by Agra on the north and weſt, and Narvar towards the ſouth and eaſt, the chief town is of the ſame name, and lyes in the 26th degree of north latitude, it is ſeated near the top of an inacceſſible rock; priſoners of ſtate are uſually confined in the caſtle of Guallior; and part of the royal treaſure is ſaid to be repoſited here.

Narvar.

Narvar has Agra and Sambal on the north, Halabas and Rotas towards the eaſt, and Malva on the ſouth, the capital city whereof is Jehud, in the latitude of 25 degrees, 20 minutes. Sambal, Mevat, and Halabas I ſhall conſider as one province, the boundaries being very uncertainly ſet out, and one frequently taken for the other; the chief town of Sambal is Minapour, in the latitude of 27 degrees. The chief town of Mevat is Narval, which lyes in the ſame latitude as Minapour, but farther to the eaſtward. The chief town of Halabas is of the ſame name, and is ſituate on the river Jemma, where it falls into the Ganges.

Jamba, Becar, Bancah, Nauracut, Siba, Gor, Canduana, Patan.

Jamba and Becar have Siba on the north, Gor and Mevat on the eaſt, and Delly on the weſt; but as for theſe and the provinces of Bankiſh or Carkars, Naugracut, Siba, Gor, Canduana, and Patan, which make the north-eaſt part of the Mogul's dominions, we have no certain account of them, and therefore I ſhall not amuſe the reader with ſetting down boundaries which were never marked out, or the latitude of their towns, which no two people agree in; as to the diſtricts of Rotas, Patna, and Jeſnat, they are ſituate on the north of Bengal, and generally reckoned part of that province. The town of Patna ſtands on the river Ganges, in 26 degrees of north latitude, and Patan in the latitude of 27 degrees, odd minutes, not far from the kingdom of Acham.

The

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The ſituation of the principal towns of Bengal have been already deſcribed, and therefore I proceed now, according to my propoſed method, to treat of their buildings.

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Contains an account of the buildings and furniture of the Indians.

Buildings.

AS this kingdom is inhabited by a variety of people, whoſe cuſtoms are very different, it cannot be expected that their manner of building ſhould in every place be the ſame; we may reduce them however, in this particular, to two ſorts, thoſe of the original Indians, and thoſe of the Moguls or Mahometans. The original Indians, or Pagan inhabitants, are at leaſt twenty to one throughout the whole empire; nothing can appear meaner than the generality of their houſes, which are poor, low, thatched cottages, with clay walls, theſe fill their moſt conſiderable towns, and have only one floor: in the principal ſtreets and bazars, or market-places, there is indeed ſome uniformity: in the front of the houſes are ſheds, ſupported by little pillars, under which are thrown up banks of Earth, where people either expoſe their goods to ſale, or ſit upon mats and carpets and entertain their friends, or tranſact their buſineſs. Theſe ſheds, thus ſupported by pillars, are by travellers often called piazza's, from whence ſome entertain magnificent ideas of very indifferent buildings; they have no windows to the ſtreets, which makes them ſtill more indifferent, even the palaces of their Princes or Raja's that I have ſeen, have nothing very elegant, and are moſt of them built in one form. Before the gate is a large piazza, or roof, ſupported by pillars, open to the front: upon the right and left as you go towards the gate, the earth is raiſed about a yard high, upon theſe banks are ſpread fine carpets, or pieces of European ſcarlet cloth, with cuſhions of the ſame ſort to loll on. Here the Raja ſits to hear the complaints of his ſubjects, entertain foreigners, or tranſact affairs of ſtate. One of theſe Princes I ſaw ſitting in ſuch a piazza, before the gates of his palace, attended by his guards, with glittering arms, and a hundred flambeaux: he was dreſſed in a muſlin veſt, a white turbant, and abundance of jewels ſparkling about him, and then made no ordinary figure; but the next day when I ſaw him ſtripped of his ornaments, and with a ſmall retinue, the ſcarlet cloth and carpets removed, and the building which I apprehended in the night to be ſome glorious palace, to have only clay walls, it abated much of the opinion I had entertained of his greatneſs. But to proceed in the deſcription of the palace, having entered the gate, we came into a ſquare court, with a piazza on every ſide, into which opened ſeveral rooms which had no other light, as I could perceive, but what they received from the door. There were other courts, as we underſtood, beyond this, but we had no opportunity of ſeeing them, their women being kept in the retired parts of the building; but they have, no doubt, their piazza's which look towards the gardens where they ſit and divert themſelves, as the men do in the front of their houſes, or their outward courts. Their furniture conſiſts only in the cuſhions, mats, and carpets they lye on; neither beds, chairs, tables, or ſtools, are to be found amongſt their moveables; neither have they any chimneys or kitchens in their houſes, but either dreſs their meat in their yards, or in little cook-rooms, at a diſtance from the houſe.

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Their ſarra's, or caravanſera's, which ſerve inſtead of inns for the entertainment of travellers upon the road, are built much in the ſame manner their ſheds are before their houſes, being open on one ſide, and no doors to ſecure them from wild beaſts or robbers; near theſe places is uſually a tanque, or large reſervatory of water, and ſeveral of theſe reſervatories of water they have in every great town, which are filled in the rainy ſeaſon, and ſerve the inhabitants for ſeven or eight months, till the rains return again. They have alſo very large wells encloſed with brick, they are at a prodigious expence in their wells and reſervatories, though they are at ſo little in their houſes. Some of their tanques are above a mile in circumference, and lined with ſquare free-ſtone, with ſteps down to the bottom, on every ſide; in the middle there is often a ſummer-houſe of ſtone, ſurrounded with galleries, from whence you may deſcend by ſtone ſteps into the water, and they are ſo contrived that ſeveral perſons may bathe themſelves at one time, with the greateſt privacy; and there are few people of quality but have their private baths in their gardens. The wives and daughters of inferior people, who have not baths, pour water upon their heads two or three times a day, for half an hour together, and it is one great part of their buſineſs to fetch water morning and evening from the common wells, upon their heads, in great round earthen pots.

Tanques.

But to proceed to their temples, or pagoda's, theſe are many of them very magnificent ſtructures, built of ſtone, with lofty ſpires, and a variety of figures carved on the out-ſide as well as within; but the inſide is very diſmal, only one long dark room without windows, extremely hot of itſelf; but as there are a multitude of lamps always burning before their images, the place is ſo ſuffocating that a man is glad to retire, let his curioſity be never ſo great: but there are a great many other little pagoda's in the country, open before, which are but juſt big enough to hold the

Pagoda's.

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image; and here I perceived the people generally ſacrificed, and performed their devotions. The figures, both in one and the other, are very ſhocking and monſtrous, which have occaſioned our people in general to denominate them devils; we ſee perhaps the head of a hog, the body of a man, and the lower part of a lion, in one figure; in another a man with fourteen or fifteen heads, and twice the number of arms, and theſe they believe repreſent a race of people who lived formerly on the earth, and are now a kind of inferior deities or mediators for them in heaven, which is very far from the notion we entertain of devils: but I ſhall enlarge upon this ſubject under the head of religion.

I proceed now to the buildings of the Moors, or Mahometans; and as to the common people, their houſes are little better than the others, nor do the great Omrah's much affect building, becauſe they have no inheritance in their lands. Another reaſon of this neglect is, that they live two thirds of the year in the camp, and ſeem to delight chiefly in removing from place to place, during the fair ſeaſon; accordingly nothing can be more rich and magnificent, or more commodiouſly contrived, than the tents and pavilions of the great officers, who have every one of them at leaſt a double ſuit of tents and field equipage, and a new camp is always pitched before the other is removed: they are furniſhed therefore with horſes, oxen, camels, and ſometimes elephants, to remove their effects, and are as plentifully ſupplied with proviſions as in towns; if they are diſtreſſed for any thing it is water, which is not ſometimes to be met with, in their ſandy deſerts, to ſupply ſo vaſt a multitude as uſually follows the camp. But to return to their buildings, there are ſome houſes in their great towns which make a tolerable figure; theſe belong chiefly to Mahometan or Chriſtian merchants, and are built of brick or ſtone two ſtories high, with flat roofs and battlements about them, where they take the air morning and evening; and the Mahometans have generally a back court or ſquare, for the entertainment of their women.

Moſques. The Moors are at great expence in erecting magnificent moſques, or temples, which are commonly of good ſquare ſtone, and ſometimes of marble; they are built in the form of an oblong ſquare, and ſtand north and ſouth; there are no windows or lights either on the weſt ſide or at the ends. The eaſt ſide is erected on pillars, and the ſpaces between the pillars are open to receive the light; the inſide has no painting or images, but the walls are perfectly plain: the reaſon their temples are thus ſituated in India, I am apt to think, is, that while they are at their devotions their faces may be towards their great Prophet's tomb at Mecca, which ſtands weſt from thence; for it is a rule with the Mahometans to ſet their faces towards Mecca at their devotions, in whatever part of the world they are. Over the middle of the moſque there is a great dome or cupola, and at each corner a high ſlender tower, whether the Prieſts or Molla's aſcend five times a day, to ſummon the people to their prayers, repeating theſe words, 'La alla illa alla MAHOMET Reſul alla.' There is but one God, and MAHOMET his prophet or meſſenger.

Tombs. But to proceed from their temples to their tombs, there is hardly a Mahometan of any condition but erects a tomb for himſelf in his lifetime; though they think it not worth while to build fine houſes for the ſhort time they are to live; they never think they can lay out their time or money better than in erecting palaces, and laying out fine gardens, to receive a mouldring carcaſs; they wall in a great compaſs of ground, near ſome tanque or reſervatory of water, planting the place with trees and flowers, and every thing elſe that can render it a delightful abode: here they erect little moſques or temples, and near them raiſe the tomb, which is arched, and covered with a noble dome: in ſome of them are lamps continually burning, and a penſion left to their Molla's or Prieſts, to perform their devotions here.

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Treats of their genius and temper, perſons, habits, food, diverſions, and ceremonies, and of their carriages and way of travelling.

General Obſervations. THE Indians are to be diſtinguiſhed here as under the former head, into Moors or Moguls, and Pagans or original Indians. The Moors, as has been obſerved, are a mixture of Tartars, Perſians, Arabs, and almoſt every Mahometan nation, theſe having the power in their hands, behave themſelves as lords of the country, and treat the antient inhabitants with ſome contempt, and ſeem to have ſtill a greater contempt, or rather averſion, to all Chriſtians in general. The Chriſtians, it is true, are ſerviceable to them as engineers, mathematicians, &c. and therefore they make uſe of them, and frequently give great pay to thoſe who enter into their ſervice, but they have very little affection for us, and both Moors and Pagans think themſelves to be defiled by our touch.

The Pagans, who are much the greateſt number, are certainly as polite and ingenious a people, and as peaceable, humble, and inoffenſive in their behaviour, as are to be found on the face of the earth; they are alſo extremely tender and compaſſionate, even to animals and the vileſt inſects; as

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as for courage, it is true they are not very remarkable, except the Rashboot cast, who make profession of arms, but at the same time it is probable they may have as much true courage as those who despise them, for few people preserve a more equal temper at the approach of death, though they would not many of them deprive an animal of life for the world; nay, the Banians, a very considerable body amongst them, are for inflicting no corporal punishments on offenders, and look upon the putting any man or animal to death with the greatest horror: but this I shall treat of more at large, when I come to consider their religion.

Their ingenuity is such that whatever patterns you bring them they will immediately imitate at first sight; shew them but a suit of clothes, a head-dress, or any habit whatever, and they will make others so like them, as they are not to be distinguished; and will copy a well drawn picture so exactly, that it cannot be known from the original. Those fine chints and painted callicoes, whose lively colours, shades, and other beauties are inimitable by us, are drawn by the meanest of the people, who want no other pattern than their own fancies, and work for three pence a day. Their ship-carpenters, who follow the English model in building ships, imitate us as exactly as if they had been bred up in our yards, at Chatham or Portsmouth; and it is observable, that the Banians cast up their accounts as exactly, and with more expedition, by their heads, than our accomptants can with a pen and ink; their common people do not only excel in these respects, but seem to have a better notion of God and religion in general than many of our rusticks, and all the world must acknowledge we fall very short of them in our morals.

Their persons.

The Indians are of a good stature, well shaped, and agreeable features; and it is generally observed, that there are hardly any crooked or deformed people amongst them. A reverend author of our own nation observes of their women, that their sprightly motions, their soft charming aspects, their amorous glances, and irresistible mien, gain the admiration of all foreigners, and frequently captivate the wisest; they have, says this grave gentleman, so rhetorical a look, so taking an air, that it is not safe to trust one's self amongst them, and all this under the disadvantage of a dark complexion; even those who inhabit the northern part of this empire are of a deep tawny or olive colour, and those in the south as black as jet; the inhabitants of the mountains in the middle of the peninsula are all coal black to a man; indeed the Indians on the coast, who have mixed with the Portuguese, and other Europeans, are generally tawny; but in every part of the country the natives have long black hair and black eyes, let their complexion be what it will: I believe it will be found that in all hot countries the people have black hair and black eyes, whatever the colour of their skins may be. The Blacks dye their teeth like their neighbours, and frequently rub over their skins with a yellow powder; many of them also mark their foreheads with long yellow strokes of a finger's breadth, which is very far from adding to their beauty.

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Habits.

The general dress of the Indians is a white vest of calico, silk, or muslin, which folds over before, and is tied with strings either on the right or left side; the sleeves are close to their arms, and are so long that they sit in wrinkles about the wrist; the upper part is close to their bodies, and shews the shape; from the middle downwards it is gathered, and sits full in plaits, reaching a little below their knees. Under this vest they wear another something shorter, their breeches reaching down to their heels instead of stockings, and they put their feet bare into their slippers, which are never fastened nor pulled up at the heels, being ready to slip off when they go into any house, they are made piqued like a woman's shoe, and turn up at the toes. They wear a sash about their middles, which the Moors tie on the right side, and the Banians on the left; the better sort have a crice or dagger in their sash, being part of their dress. Both the Moors and Pagans wear turbants on their heads, of muslin, callico, &c. but that of the Moors is much the largest. The Pagans wear their hair made up in a roll on the hinder part of the head, but the Moors leave only a single lock. Many of them wear their beards, but some leave only whiskers. As for the common people among the Pagans, some of them wear a little sash about their loins, but many of them go perfectly naked, except that they have a string about their middle, to which they tie a cloth of a hand's breadth, this they bring up between their legs, and fasten it to the string before; it just covers, but very little conceals what they pretend to hide; and these are the people that carry the palanquins, and attend our English Ladies when they go abroad: it appears a little odd to them perhaps at first, but in a week or two they will look upon a naked man with as good assurance as if he had all his clothes on. In the north part of India the better sort of people have shirts, as they are called, open before, which hang over their breeches: they make use also of a kind of cloak, which they throw over their shoulders in the winter season. The women, those that we see of them, have a piece of white callico tied about their middles, which reaches down to their knees, the remainder of it is thrown over their bodies like a shoulder belt, covering their breasts, and part of their back. The hair of their heads is made up in a roll, adorned

adorned with ſuch jewels or toys as they can procure, the reſt of their hair is kept cloſe ſhaved. They have jewels in their ears and noſe, and ſometimes ſtretch the hole that is bored in the fleſh of their ears to that bigneſs, you may put a ſhilling if not a half crown through it. They have bracelets or rings upon their wriſts and ancles, and rings upon their fingers and toes either of gold, ſilver or braſs; and if they can afford no better, they are made of glaſs, but they have generally a good number of them. The men alſo frequently wear bracelets about their wriſts. As to ſhoes or ſlippers, the women in the ſouthern parts wear none. The Mahometan women ſcarce ever appear, and if they do they are vailed, ſo that it is not eaſy to diſcover the reſt of their dreſs, but I am informed they are decently clothed from head to foot, much in the ſame manner as their men, except their heads, for they dreſs in their hair, letting part of it hang down on their ſhoulders, the lower part of their arms are naked like our women's, which they adorn with rings, bracelets, and abundance of fine toys. Children go perfectly naked until they are five or ſix years old.

To this account of their habits I ſhall add Sir THOMAS ROE's deſcription of the Mogul's dreſs at his going abroad, for tho' it be ſometime ſince he was at that court, yet as they ſeldom alter their faſhions, the preſent Mogul probably appears in much the ſame manner. As he came out, ſays Sir THOMAS, one came and girt on his ſword, another hung on his ſhield ſet all over with diamonds and rubies, and the belts ſuitable to it, another hung on his quiver with thirty arrows, and his bow in a caſe. On his head he wore a rich turbant with a plume of heron's feathers, on one ſide hung a ruby unſet as big as a walnut, on the other ſide a diamond as large, in the middle an emerald like a heart but much bigger. His ſtaff was wound about with a chain of large pearl, rubies and diamonds drilled. About his neck he wore a chain of three ſtrings of excellent pearl, the largeſt the Ambaſſador had ſeen. Above his elbows he had bracelets ſet with diamonds, and on his wriſts three bracelets of ſeveral ſorts. His hands were bare, and almoſt upon every finger a ring, but he had a pair of Engliſh gloves in his girdle. His coat was of cloth of gold without ſleeves, upon a ſemain as fine as lawn; and on his feet he had a pair of buskins embroidered with pearl, the toes ſharp and turning up. Thus armed and thus accoutred he went into his coach, which was made ſo exactly like an Engliſh one the Ambaſſador had preſented him with a little before, that he ſhould not have known the one from the other, he tells us, but by the cover, which was of Perſian velvet embroidered with gold.

Food and liquors.

Their principal times for eating are in the morning and evening; the middle of the day is uſually very hot, and they endeavour to paſs it away in ſleep. The Europeans indeed eat at noon, according to cuſtom, and lye down to ſleep ſoon after, but when they make an entertainment it is uſually a ſupper.

The Bramin and Banian tribes or caſts, as they are called, eat nothing that has life, or even eggs which may have life; but their diet is chiefly rice, roots, herbs or fruit; the reſt of the Pagan Indians eat almoſt every kind of fiſh and fleſh, except beef and the fleſh of ſome other animals they look upon as ſacred. The Mahometans eat any thing but ſwine's fleſh. The uſual diſh we meet with in the country is boiled rice, which they dreſs in ſuch a manner that no two corns of rice ſhall cleave together, and the water is all dried from it; to this they have a high ſeaſoned broth made of fleſh or fiſh, which they call curry, this is poured among the rice and mixed with it upon your plate. The fleſh, which is ſeldom more than two or three ounces, is cut into little ſquare bits as big as dice, and laid on the ſide of the plate, of which they eat but ſparingly, and they mix ſaffron or turmerick with almoſt every thing they eat. Palau is another great diſh with the better ſort of people, this is only a boiled fowl covered with rice boiled dry and cooked with ſpices and turmerick. A dumpoked fowl is another diſh, this is a fowl boiled in butter and ſtuffed with raiſins and almonds. Cabob is another ſavoury diſh, which is beef and mutton cut into pieces as big as one's hand, ſeaſoned with pepper and ſalt, being dipped into a mixture of oil and garlick, they are put upon a ſpit and roaſted with ſweet herbs between every piece, with which the pieces are alſo ſtuffed, and they are baſted with oil and garlick while they roaſt. For their ſauces they have ſoy, with bambou and mango achar and other pickles. The bambou or cane is pickled while it is green and tender, and the mangoes before they are ripe, theſe are frequently brought to England, they are a plumb as big as a gooſe egg, and cut as firm as a peach, and when they are ripe I look upon them to be as pleaſant a fruit almoſt as India affords; but a deſcription of theſe and other fruits I reſerve for another head.

When I was in the country, being invited to dinner by a wealthy black, I was brought into a hall or outward room, which had a bank of earth about a yard wide and near as high all round the room; when the company was ſet down croſs-legged upon this bank, a ſervant brought a leaf as big as the largeſt cabbage leaf and laid before every one of the company inſtead of a plate, ſoon after he brought in a large brazen bowl full of boiled rice, and laid a quart or three pints of rice upon every man's plate or leaf; another brought in a deep diſh of ſtrong broth or ſoop, with the veniſon of which

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which it was made, cut into little ſquare pieces like dice; he diſtributed to every perſon a quantity of the ſoop to mix with his rice, and about a handful of meat which was very ſavoury, and laid upon the ſide of each plate: every man, as I remember, had a cruiſe or bottle of water ſet by him, and drank when he pleaſed without healths or any other ceremony, neither did we ſee any ſtronger liquor. *The Moors entertain with greater variety* of diſhes, ſuch as palan, cabob, &c. but they neither afford us any ſtrong liquors. They ſit or lye on carpets on the floor when they eat, and have cloths ſpread to ſet their diſhes on. The natives, beſides water, which is their common drink, have palm wine, or a liquor drawn from the palm tree, as toddy is from the coco-nut tree; but neither the one or the other will raiſe the ſpirits much when they are new, and though they drink very ſoft and pleaſant at the firſt drawing, they ſoon turn ſour and are uſed inſtead of vinegar. The green coco-nuts alſo contain each of them about half a pint of milky juice extremely cool and refreſhing; the natives, I perceive, when they are hot and fatigued chooſe to drink milk with garlick infuſed in it, rather than cold water: one of them was ſo kind to give me ſome of this liquor in a china cup, upon a long march when I was ready to faint; but to my ſurprize, he immediately daſhed the cup againſt the ground and broke it to pieces, for fear any of his tribe ſhould drink after me and be defiled by it: but beſides theſe ſmaller liquors they have ſpirits of ſeveral kinds, all which go under the common name of arrack; ſome of theſe ſpirits are diſtilled from toddy, ſome from ſugar, ſome from rice, the laſt is the weakeſt and the worſt, and called pariar arrack, as fit only for the pariars or common people, and I queſtion if any of this ſort is brought to Europe; that which is made at Batavia we uſed to prefer for drams, and that of Goa to make punch of, and as the limes and ſugar grow in the country, this liquor is not very expenſive in India; a hogſhead of Goa arrack, which contains fifty gallons, was worth forty or fifty ſhillings; as for beer or wine there are no ſuch things in the country, and what is brought from Europe is exceſſive dear, a bottle of common beer was worth eighteen pence, and fine ale and wine four ſhillings and ſix-pence a bottle each, as I remember; but we uſed to make a liquor with brown ſugar-candy boiled in water and worked with toddy, which would be fit to drink in four and twenty hours, and pretty much reſembled our bottled beer in its colour and briskneſs, but it would not keep. The Indian manner of eating I had forgot to mention, which is thus, they take a full handful of rice, and having ſqueezed it together in a lump as big as an egg, put it into their mouths; the meat, as I obſerved, is ready cut to their hands, ſo that they uſe neither knife, fork, ſpoon, or any other inſtrument in eating, or have any cloths or napkins to wipe on, but waſh before and after their meals. When they drink, ſome of them will not touch the bottle or cruiſe they drink out of with their lips, but pour the water into their mouths, holding it up at a diſtance, and will ſwallow a great deal without gulping once.

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Ceremonies and diverſions.

The common Indian ſalute is the lifting the right hand to the head, and ſometimes both; and if it be to a perſon of diſtinction, bowing the body a little; but they never ſalute with the left hand only. When the Mahometans meet, the uſual compliment is Salam Alacum, or God give you health; to which the reply is Alacum Salam, or God give you the ſame health, or Greba Nemous, I wiſh you the prayers of the poor. The deep Salam to a Prince, is by bowing the body low, putting the hand down to the ground, then to the breaſt, and afterwards lifting it up to the head, and this is repeated three times: I have ſeen ſome fall upon their knees before their Prince, bowing their heads to the ground, and they lay in this poſture a conſiderable time till they were bid to riſe; but theſe I underſtood were people that had been out of favour, and this was the firſt time of their appearing at court.

Upon a viſit, the perſon viſited does not move to meet his gueſt, but entreats him to ſit down by him on the carpet, and the betel and arek-nut is offered him to chew, which they do indeed almoſt all the day long, as has been obſerved already in the neighbouring countries; they are very reſerved, and ſeldom or never talk aloud or very faſt; they play at a game much like cheſs, and ſometimes at cards, but ſeldom game high as in China; nor are they much moved when they loſe, but preſerve an even temper. Upon any feſtival or merry occaſion, it is uſual to ſend for the dancing girls, who ſing and dance before the company, and they will make no difficulty of retiring with any young fellow that deſires it. They act comedies in the open air by torch-light, nor are they ill performed, love and gallantry are the uſual ſubjects.

Tumblers and jugglers go from town to town as in other countries, and are ſo dexterous in their tricks, that ſome of our own countrymen have imputed them to magick and the power of the Devil; but we have jugglers at home that come up to the beſt of them now, and yet no body is ſo ſilly here to think there is any witchcraft in the matter. There are alſo poor people in India that carry about little round baskets of dancing ſnakes, when they uncover the baskets and begin to ſing and play upon their pipes, the ſnakes all riſe up and dance, keeping time with the muſick with the motion of their heads, while the lower part remains coiled up in the bottom

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of the basket; if the muſick ceaſes ever ſo little they leave dancing, and getting out of the baskets hiſs at one another as if they would fight, but on renewing the muſick they immediately fall to dancing again. Our people don't care to let theſe huge ſnakes come very near them, notwithſtanding they are told by their owners that there is no manner of danger; and as I remember, they ſaid their teeth were pulled out.

Hunting is another Indian ſport, but this is very different from ours, having no dogs fit for it. They uſually ſurround the place therefore where the game lyes, and employing ſome to beat the ground, ſtand ready to ſhoot or knock the beaſt on the head when he breaks cover; and 'tis ſaid, they breed up leopards in ſome places who will ſurprize and jump upon their prey, but never run fairly at it. Hawks alſo are brought from Perſia that afford very good ſport, being flown at partridges, &c. One of the Mogul's great diverſions I have obſerved already, is the fighting of elephants and other wild beaſts, and the ſeeing men engage with lions and tygers.

Inſtead of ſtalking horſes, they have oxen which will ſtand fire and to all intents and purpoſes ſerve as well as the beſt bred horſes. To catch waterfowl they dreſs up a round earthen pot with feathers, ſo that it appears like a fowl, and having put it on their heads they go into the water and advance towards their game, nothing appearing above water but the feathers, and there being holes left to ſee through, they pull the fowls under water one after another by their legs; this is a ſport I muſt confeſs I never ſaw, but I have had this account from ſeveral hands. The fiſhermen upon the coaſt uſe nets as we do here, but inſtead of boats they have two or three timber loggs tied together, on which they will go out to ſea ſeveral miles, and they ſeem much ſafer than boats, becauſe there is no ſinking them, theſe machines are called catamarans. In a rough ſea I have ſeen theſe fiſhermen beaten off, but as they ſwim very well they are not much concerned at it, but will turn their catamaran and get up again in an inſtant.

Roads, carriages and manner of travelling.

Their roads are generally a deep ſand, which is ſo hot in the fair ſeaſon about noon, that it would burn their feet if they were not as hard as a ſhoe ſole, and there is no ſuch thing as walking in the ſand with ſhoes on. Before the Mogul or any of the great Omrah's ſets out on a journey, it is ſaid, they have the way meaſured by a line, though they are never ſo well acquainted with the diſtance before; this being looked upon as a piece of ſtate. Upon the great roads at about ten or twelve miles diſtance, there are choulteries or caravanſera's, as ſome call them, houſes for travellers to refreſh themſelves in, they have no doors but are open on that ſide next the road, and generally conſiſt of two rooms, in one of which we ſpread our carpets and ſleep, while the peons who attend us get ready our proviſions in the other. The building of theſe houſes for lodging of travellers is looked upon as the greateſt act of charity in this county, and there is generally a tanque or reſervatory of water near them, and ſome good people in the neighbouring villages frequently take care that fire ſhall be provided for dreſſing proviſion, but the villages ſtood ſo thick in that part of the country I travelled through, that we ſeldom wanted any thing. When a man of ſubſtance travels, he uſually hires eight or ten cooleys or chairmen to carry his palanquin, which is a well contrived couch with pillows, and an arched canopy over it, commonly of ſcarlet cloth; in theſe we ſit and lye at our full length as we ſee fit, and it is carried by four of the cooleys at a time, two before and two behind, who lay the pole, being a light bambou of ſix inches diameter upon their ſhoulders, and run at the rate of four or five miles an hour, their fellows relieving them at certain times without ſtanding ſtill: beſides theſe ten chairmen or cooleys, it is uſual to hire as many musketeers and pike men to defend us from wild beaſts or robbers, and theſe twenty men do not ſtand us in more than a crown a day, being hired for three pence a piece. A little before we deſign to bait, ſome of the cooleys are ſent to the villages, where they buy proviſion, and an earthen pot which does not coſt above a half-peny to dreſs it in, and they get ſticks for firing as they go along, no body claiming any property in the woods as I can find, unleſs it be in gardens or encloſures adjoining to ſome town. The uſual time for travelling is morning and evening, at noon we generally ſleep. In many parts of India where there is any danger of being ſet upon by the mountaineers, they travel in caravans, or large companies of two or three hundred. For carrying of goods they make uſe of camels, oxen and aſſes; their horſes come from Perſia or Tartary, and are of too great a price to be put to theſe drudgeries, and their own little breed are not very fit for burthens: but what makes the camel of great ſervice in all hot ſandy countries, is, that he will travel ſeveral days without water; oxen are alſo uſed to ride on, as well as for burthens, and they draw both their waggons and hackeries, or coaches with two wheels; inſtead of a ſaddle they lay a ſoft cuſhion on the ox to ſit on, and inſtead of a bridle put a rope through the cartilage which ſeparates the noſtrils, and with this they guide him, they will trot along at a pretty round rate, and ſometimes they run races with them; what they differ from ours in, is, that they have a large bunch of fleſh bigger than a man's double fiſt, that ſtands up between their ſhoulders near

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six inches. The buffalo is as large as the ox, but a more sluggish animal, and therefore used only in carrying water from the tanques to their houses, or to draw in the scavengers carts. Their hackeries are square like our coaches, but have no raised seats to sit on, however pillows are laid at the bottom to lean on. There are no people of any quality but have a stable of fine Persian horses for their own riding, and our East-India company keep a set of them for the use of their factors and servants in their principal settlements. The Mogul and his Omrah's have elephants, on which they travel with their women and baggage from place to place; there are not, it is said, less than five hundred of these that attend the Mogul in all his marches, besides a prodigious number of camels and wheel carriages; their carriages are usually drawn by eight or ten oxen, and their wheels have no spokes but are only a thick round board.

It is mighty troublesome travelling in the rainy season, the flat country being overflowed, and innumerable torrents falling from the mountains, but this does not hinder the common people from taking journies at this time of year, for they will take the water like a spaniel, and swim with that strength that I never saw any of our people able to come near them. I happened to be in the country during the rains, and having two or three broad rivers to cross which ran very swiftly, I trusted my self to two of these blacks, who took me between them and swam cross the river with one hand with all the ease imaginable, and thus the whole company was carried over to the number of twelve or thirteen.

As to posts, there is no such thing in the country, but all letters and packets over land are dispatched by messengers on purpose, who travel on foot with great expedition, and are very reasonable in their demands.

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Treats of their manufactures, trade and shipping.

THE principal manufactures of this kingdom are silks, callicoes and muslins; we import also from thence diamonds and other precious stones, great quantities of pepper the growth of the Malabar coast, saltpetre, indigo, cardamums, opium, assafœtida, and a great variety of physical drugs. The goods carried from Europe thither, are English broad-cloth, lead, looking-glasses, sword-blades, knives, haberdasher's wares, gold and silver lace, tin-ware, wine, brandy, beer, and some other provisions, taken off chiefly by our own factories; the ships also frequently take in flints with their ballast, for there is not a flint to be found in India, at least in those parts the Europeans have visited, insomuch that I have found a bag of gun-flints almost as valuable as money in the inland country, where the people had not an opportunity of being supplied by our shipping; but it must be confessed, that all the goods we carry to India are a trifle, compared with the bullion and foreign coin transported thither. Our ships are in a manner empty of merchandise when they go out, though there is hardly any of them carry less than three or fourscore thousand pounds of treasure, which has made it a question, whether the India trade be of any advantage to this nation. But to this the company have answered, that the Indian merchandise which they export again and sell in several parts of Europe, brings in more treasure than they carry out; and were it otherwise, since we should infallibly be supplied by the Dutch with these commodities at a much dearer rate, when they had monopolized the trade to themselves, consequently more treasure would be carried to Holland than is now carried to India. If it be said, that the product and manufactures of India might be totally prohibited the subjects of Britain, it may be answered, that unless we could prohibit them to the rest of Europe, we should by this means immeasurably aggrandize the Dutch, and in effect put all the trade, and consequently all the treasure of the world into their hands in a short time. Was the trade of India open to all nations, and the rest of the world shared with the Dutch in the spices and other rich merchandise of the east, it might not be of any great consequence whether the English traded thither or not: but should the Dutch engross the rest of the trade as they have done that of spice, (except pepper) and consequently could set what price they pleased on them, they would soon give laws to the whole trading world, which if Britain can tamely sit still and see, she will not long boast of the dominion of the Ocean, but must be content to truckle to those high and mighty merchants raised by her own arms to that grandeur we see them at present. As for the Ostend company, what hurt can they do us? Can it be supposed they will ever be an overmatch for the Dutch, and deprive them of their settlements in the spice islands? And admitting they should one day come in for a share in the spice trade, would not this be rather an advantage than a prejudice to us, as well as to all the nations of Europe in bringing down the price of those commodities, which might be as cheap as pepper, if vast quantities were not yearly destroyed by the Dutch? When we see the Ostenders begin to attack the Hollanders and deprive them of their settlements, as the Dutch served the Portuguese, it will then be time enough to exert our selves in favour of the Dutch; and if in the

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dispute, we should be able to put in for a share of what we were so barbarously and unjustly deprived of, I cannot conceive what reason we have to dread the approach of such an event, notwithstanding some gentlemen pretend to prognosticate dismal consequences from the establishing an Ostend trade. As for the trade of silks, muslins, and callicoes, these are the product of the Mogul's dominions, and we can never be excluded from this trade, except we exclude our selves; and as for the spices, these we have lost already to the Dutch; and no wonder that nation, and such Englishmen as are in their interest, should exclaim against any others putting in for a share of the trade. What interest we can have as a nation in opposing other people's trading to India, I cannot conceive. But admitting we had as great an interest as the Dutch in the matter, by what authority or with what justice can we or they restrain the Offenders, or any other people, trading to the East-Indies, which are not at all subject to us but to the Mogul and other independent Princes, over whom we cannot pretend to any superiority? It is true, nations do not always consider what is just, but what is convenient, and some people seem to insinuate, that success sanctifies the greatest villanies, that conquest transfers a right to the conqueror, how unjustly soever the war began, and that whoever has power, has a right to oppress and enslave the rest of mankind; and either this doctrine is orthodox, or some of our neighbours have a very weak title to their acquisitions in the Indies. As they are conscious they have no better title than force, they may well be apprehensive that sometime or other a superior force should expel them, as they expelled their predecessors. While on the other hand, the English justly boast, that there is not one of their settlements in India, but what were fairly purchased, or voluntarily transferred to them; nor have they attempted to encroach on the natives, or enlarge their territories by force in any one instance; and those who live under their government, enjoy greater privileges than they did under their former Princes.

But to return to the trade of India, there are not to be found greater merchants in the world than the Mogul's subjects; notwithstanding their shipping never passes the cape of Good Hope, they drive a prodigious trade to Persia and the Red-sea, and supply Turky and Persia with all the rich merchandise of India; in return for which they bring back carpets, pearl, and other Persian commodities, but chiefly treasure, which they frequently load on board English or Dutch ships, and the freight, Mr. LOCKYER tells us, is one great branch of the company's profit, for they rarely dispatch a ship from Persia to Surat, but she is as deep loaden as she can swim, full of passengers, with vast quantities of pearl and treasure on board, to the amount sometimes of two or three hundred thousand pounds. It is chiefly for security that the Indians make use of European shipping to import their treasure, looking upon them to be in much less danger of pirates than the country ships; not but they have ships of four or five hundred tuns burthen of their own, built in India after the English model, which they always imitate; but their laskers or Indian sailors would make but a poor defence if they should be attacked, and their skill in navigation is very mean, insomuch that they are very glad when they can find an European commander; an English sailor with very ordinary qualifications serves for a Captain of a country ship. Notwithstanding the Mogul has such a vast extent of sea coast, there is not such a thing as a man of war or a ship of force to be found in India. Their merchant ships they build with teak, a firm lasting timber, and they do not caulk the seams; but instead of it the planks are rabbeted and let one into another, which with a little dammer (a kind of pitch) and oakham, makes them very tight; their cables and other cordage is made of the coco-nut tree, and they have their anchors and guns from Europe. Their boats are flat bottomed vessels, the sides whereof are five or six foot high; the planks are very thin and sewed together with coco-nut cordage, so that they will yield like pastboard, and are in no danger of splitting when they strike, as they must do several times on many parts of that coast before they get on shore; and this is the reason we seldom attempt to carry any thing on shore in English boats. These Mussoula's, as they are called, are rowed by six or eight hands, but as they are very deep, and will carry great quantities, it is not very chargeable landing or embarking of goods: they have another vessel or vehicle, called a catamaran, which I have mentioned before, on which they will carry the greatest weights, as anchors, guns, &c. these are only three or four rough pieces of timber tied together, and are chiefly used by the fishermen, not being fit to carry such goods as may be damaged by the wet, every little sea beating over them; and for the same reason passengers seldom make use of them, tho' they are in reality much safer than any vessels whatever; and some people I have known sail along the coast upon one of these catamarans for a hundred miles together.

Shipping and other vessels.

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Treats of their ſoil and huſbandry, plants, animals and minerals.

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Soil and huſbandry.

THE earth here, at the latter end of the fair ſeaſon, looks like a barren ſandy deſert, without one ſpire of graſs, or any thing green upon the ſurface, unleſs the trees, which retain their verdure all the year round; but the fruitful ſhowers no ſooner begin to fall, than we ſee nature revive, and the whole face of the earth immediately covered with graſs and herbs; and tho' the ground has lain ſo long without any rain to moiſten it, yet is the ſoil ſuch a brittle fat mold, that it is very eaſily broken up and prepared for tillage: and notwithſtanding they ſow the ſame land every year, and never lay any dung or other manure upon it, it is made ſo prolifick by the annual rains, that we never ſee a bad crop. In Bengal, and the northern parts of India, they have as good wheat and barley as in any part of the world; but in the ſouthern part of the peninſula, they ſow nothing but rice, and indeed the natives ſcarce eat any thing elſe. They prepare the ground for rice by ploughing it up, and gathering out all the weeds, then from ſome great pond or well they convey great quantities of water to the field by rills or channels, and moiſten it till it is a perfect hotchpot; then the husbandman with his wife and children are employed for ſome time in planting every ſpire; for ſhould they ſow it the crop would be too thick and yield nothing; therefore they firſt ſow the rices in beds, and when it is grown half a foot high tranſplant it to their fields; but I have ſomewhere already given an account of the manner of ſetting the rice crop, and therefore ſhall not enlarge upon it here, only remember the reader, that where the rains do not ſave them the trouble, they continue to convey water to the fields by little channels, ſo that the rice always grows in water till it is near ripe. They plow their grounds with foot ploughs, which are ſeldom drawn by more than two oxen or buffaloes, the ſoil is ſo very light notwithſtanding it is rich. Their ſeed time is in May or June, and the crop is no ſooner ſet but the rainy ſeaſon comes upon it; and about November or December, when the dry time returns, is their harveſt. They ſeldom trouble themſelves to lay their rice up in barns in the ſtraw, but frequently employ a great many hands in thraſhing it out in the fields as ſoon as they have cut it; for a few fair days hardens the ground there and drys more than a month with us at that time of the year: they make no hay, but cut the graſs and give it their cattle green as they want it. During the rains, and for ſome time after, it is not to be conceived how faſt all manner of vegetables grow; but in the dry ſeaſon the graſs is burnt up, and there is none to be found but ſome rank, ſour ſtuff in the woods. Their fields lye open, except near the towns and villages, where people make ſome little encloſures for their conveniency; and as no man has any property in the lands he ſows, the Prince's officers take a third, or one half of the crop, or more, as they think fit; and leave the husbandmen the reſt. Nor is it left to the husbandman's choice whether he will ſow or not; for the reſpective Governors and Generals having certain towns and villages aſſigned them, to enable them to maintain the quota of troops they are to furniſh, order ſuch a quantity of ground to be marked out for every village to manure, and at harveſt ſend their officers to take as much of the crop as they think fit. They have no oats. Their peaſe and beans are full as good as ours, but much leſs; and they have a ſort of peaſe called donna, ſomething larger than tares, with which they feed their horſes; theſe they boil and bruiſe, and having mixed coarſe ſugar with them, make up into balls and feed their horſes with when it is cold: they make up alſo a compoſition of barley-meal and other things into a paſte, which they ſometimes give their horſes: and I find we had a kind of bread for our horſes in England, no longer ſince than King JAMES I. his reign; for upon a ſcarcity of corn it was enacted, that no inholders or hoſtlers ſhould make any horſe bread. This I thought neceſſary to obſerve, becauſe I find ſome gentlemen are apt to ſneer when we talk of feeding horſes with bread or paſte, and have queſtioned the credit of ſome writers for reporting it.

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Butter.

When they beat their cream for butter, it produces a ſubſtance like thick oil, it will never come to be ſo hard as ours in that hot climate; yet it is very ſweet and good, and as they have plenty of milk from their cows, buffaloes and goats, they make good ſtore of cheeſe, as it is ſaid, in the north part of India; but I muſt confeſs I never ſaw any in the ſouth. There can be no whiter or better wheaten bread than we have in Bengal and ſeveral other parts of India, but the natives ſeldom eat any; however, they make thin, flat cakes of wheat flower, and bake them upon iron plates, which they always carry with them when they travel.

Gardens and flowers.

They have no great variety of flowers in this country, and yet their gardens are exceeding pleaſant, containing long walks of lovely fruit trees always green and blooming; and water in large baſons is ſeldom wanting, though they have no fountains. Thoſe flowers they have laſt almoſt all the year, but few of them give any ſmell, though the mixture of their colours is beautiful; the roſe only and another white flower like

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jeſſamin have any fragrancy, with which people of condition make a ſweet oil and perfume themſelves.

Fruit trees.

Their fruit trees are the coco-nut, mango, banana or plantains, anana, or pine apple, guava's, pomegranates, jaccas, tamarinds, mulberries, limes, lemons and oranges, to which we may add their betel and arek-nut, which they are always chewing; and in the north part of the empire pears and apples and other European fruits. Near Amadabat they have ſome few grape vines: the kitchen gardens are well ſtocked with musk-melons, water-melons, potatoes, and other roots and pot-herbs, garlick, onions, &c. They have alſo the pepper plant, ginger, cardamums, ſaffron, turmerick, opium, indico and cotton, and very large plantations of ſugar canes, particularly in Bengal.

Kitchen gardens.

The coco tree, as I have formerly hinted, is one of the moſt uſeful trees that grows; there are large groves of them in the low grounds, almoſt all along the ſea coaſts of India; it is uſually about twelve or ſixteen inches thick from the bottom to the top, and runs up to the height of thirty or forty foot, and ſometimes as high again, having no boughs but on the top, where it puts out about eighteen or twenty green tender branches, on which there are thick leaves two or three inches wide and about two foot long, much like the broad ſedge which grows on the ſides of ponds; the nuts grow at the ends of the branches next the tree, ſix or eight in a cluſter, and are each of them bigger than a man's head, the ſhell is encloſed like our walnuts in a thick rind, with the fibres whereof moſt of the Indian cordage is made. The ſhells we have ſeen in England ſerve for drinking cups and other uſes; the meat of the nut cleaves to the ſhell, and is about half an inch thick, within it is an oily liquor when the nut is ripe, but when green, about three quarters of a pint of water which drinks as ſoft as milk, and is one of the pleaſanteſt morning draughts we taſte in India: by making inciſions in the branches alſo, this tree yields another kind of liquor called toddy, that which diſtils from the tree in the night time is very clear and well taſted, but if they let their pots hang till the heat of the day it turns ſouriſh, however it is much ſtronger then, and upon that account preferred by ſome people to the former: it has been obſerved, that a ſhip may be built, rigged and victualled out of this tree only: of the wood, ſay they, the hull is made, (but I do not apprehend this wood very proper for that purpoſe) of the leaves the ſails, the fibres of the outward coat of the nut makes the cordage, and the nut itſelf affords meat and drink; but this is making the moſt of it; for when the nut is ripe, the liquor which is left in the inſide turns to oil, and is uſed as ſuch; however, there are a great many other uſes this tree is put to, which have not been yet mentioned. Of the toddy, when it is four they make vinegar, the leaves ſerve them to cover their houſes, and to make fans, mats, caps and baſkets: they write alſo on the leaves with a ſteel pencil, or rather engrave their letters on them, the meat of the nut is a pleaſant wholeſom fruit eaten by itſelf, and is frequently mixed with other diſhes. Next to the coco, the cotton ſhrub is of the greateſt uſe, for of this their callicoes, muſlins, ginghams, &c. are made; they plant large fields with the ſeed, and it grows up to the heighth of a roſe-buſh, and then puts out yellow bloſſoms; when theſe fall off, there remain little cods as big as the top of one's thumb, which ſwell to the bigneſs of a ſmall walnut as they ripen, till they break the outward skin, and diſcover a fine ſoft wool within as white as ſnow, and then it is gathered. Theſe ſhrubs will bear three or four years together, after which they are dug up and the ground planted again, the ſeeds are always found amongſt the wool. But beſides this ſhrub, there is the cotton tree which grows to a great height, the fruit whereof grows almoſt to the bigneſs of a hen's egg and then burſts like the other, and yields a fine white wool, the fruit hangs at the middle and ends of the branches by pairs, and ſeldom one alone.

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Cotton ſhrub.

Indico is another very valuable plant, this alſo is a ſhrub, and grows to the height of a gooſeberry-buſh, with a thick round head, but no thorns, they ſtrip off the leaves, which having been laid in a heap for ſeveral days till they have ſweat, are put into deep veſſels, with a ſufficient quantity of water to ſteep them in, where they leave their blue tincture and ſubſtance: after this the water is drained off into other broad ſhallow veſſels, or vats, made of a kind of plaiſter of Paris, where the ſun having exhaled all the moiſture from it, there remains at bottom a hard dry cake, about a quarter of an inch thick, which is our indico. The beſt ſort comes from Biana, near Agra, and a coarſe ſort is made near Amadabat, about both which places are planted abundance of theſe ſhrubs.

Indico.

The herb dutra I had almoſt forgot to mention: this the Moors ſometimes drink an infuſion of in water, and it will intoxicate them like ſtrong liquor; but as for the common obſervation, that whatever temper the perſon is in when he drinks it, that temper will prevail till the inebriating quality abates, this I will not anſwer for.

Timber.

Beſides their fruit trees, they have abundance of fine woods and groves, which afford timber for building of houſes and ſhips, and good quantities of red wood for dying: but I do not remember to have ſeen either oak, aſh, or elm, or any kind of timber we uſe in Europe, in that country: the moſt remarkable of their trees is that called the banian

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banian tree, the twigs whereof, bending down to the earth, take root and grow upwards, ſo that one of theſe trees will have forty bodies and more, and ſpread themſelves far enough to ſhelter a regiment of ſoldiers under their branches, which being ever-greens, and bearing leaves all the year round afford a noble ſhade. Under theſe we frequently find their idols placed, and here their penitentiaries and devotees reſide, and perform thoſe ſurpriſing penances, which I ſhall ſpeak of under the head of religion. And however improbable this account may appear, that the twig of a tree ſhould plant itſelf at the wrong end, and grow up into a large body, the reader may depend upon the truth of it; every man who has ſpent any time in the country muſt have ſeen them, I acknowledge they are not very common.

Banian tree.

It would be endleſs to deſcribe all their trees and plants, and tedious to the reader; beſides there are books purely upon this ſubject, to which I refer him; but theſe I have mentioned are ſo very remarkable that they could not be omitted.

Of their beaſts, none are of greater uſe than their oxen, which ſerve generally for draught or carriage, and are ſometimes ſhod, they are not very large, but much ſwifter on foot than ours, and will carry a man twenty or thirty miles a day. It is no uncommon thing to meet a caravan of eight or ten thouſand of them employed in carrying ſalt, rice, and grain from place to place. The drivers of theſe oxen follow no other employment, nor have any fixed abode, but carry their wives and children along with them. There is a captain of every caravan, who wears a ſtring of pearl about his neck, and takes upon him the ſtate of a Prince. Thoſe who follow this trade of carriers are divided into four tribes, conſiſting each of about a hundred thouſand ſouls, and live always in tents. The firſt carries nothing but corn; the ſecond rice; the third peaſe and beans; and the fourth ſalt, and are diſtinguiſhed by certain marks made in the foreheads of every tribe. Their prieſts attend them in their journeys, and every morning before they ſet out they pay their adorations to the image of a ſerpent, which is afterwards laid upon one of their oxen and carried with them. Their oxen which they ride on, if their horns were not ſawn pretty ſhort, would endanger the lives of their riders, by toſſing their heads back when the flies torment them: they employ uſually ten or a dozen in drawing their heavy carriages, but not more than two in their coaches, which will hold no more than two people, and the oxen are fed when they bait with balls of paſte made of flower and other ingredients, as has been mentioned already.

Camels.

Camels are ſometimes uſed for carriage, but not ſo much as oxen: It is obſerved of theſe animals that they have a joint more in their hinder legs than other beaſts, ſo that they will travel much ſwifter: they cannot well ſtand upon their legs in ſlippery ways, but for the ſandy countries where they are uſed they are very proper. It is ſaid they generate backwards, clapping their tails againſt each other, the genitals of the male being behind, which I confeſs I never had the curioſity to obſerve. They will endure a journey ſeveral days over the deſerts without water, but whether they will live forty days without food and water when they are heated with luſt, as ſome relate, I very much queſtion.

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Elephants.

The elephants, thoſe mountains of fleſh, have been brought into England, and therefore need not be particularly deſcribed, but we never ſee them at their full growth here, they are ſome of them twelve or fifteen foot high, and yet ſo tractable that a boy may govern them, except when they are hot after the female. It is a common error that they have no joints in their legs, for they lye down and riſe like other animals; I never ſaw them have any other pace than a walk, but their reach is ſo large that they will travel five miles an hour, and ſo ſure footed that they never fall or ſtumble. They are reckoned the moſt ſenſible of all animals. But a great many things are related of them, which a man muſt be very credulous to believe. It is true, the keepers by the ſound of their voice, or ſigns do manage them very dexterouſly, which has induced ſome people to believe they underſtand their language; for inſtance, if the keepers make a ſign to them to frighten or terrify a man, they will advance towards him in a threatning manner, as if they would trample him to death, but do him no manner of hurt; if he directs the elephant to throw dirt or water in a man's face, he will do it without farther miſchief: they take up whatever they eat or drink with their long griſly trunks, and carry it to their mouths, and have ſo much ſtrength in theſe trunks, that if they ſtrike a horſe or camel in earneſt they will break his bones, and kill him at a blow. His trunk is as uſeful to him in all reſpects as hands can be, he will tear down the branches off the trees with it, and eat the tender twigs. He will pull up the green corn and graſs by the roots, and knock off the dirt that hangs about it againſt his legs before he eats it; he delights much in water, nor do I know any animal that will ſwim farther, for at fort St. George, where the ſhips that bring them do not come within two or three miles of the land, they frequently ſwim them on ſhore; but as I remember they have little more than their trunks above water when they ſwim, through which they breath: the male elephant is ſometimes mad after the female, when he is very miſchievous, and will ſtrike any one he meets but his keeper, and therefore at that time they are chained

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chained by the legs to great trees, and if by chance they get looſe, they will overturn any thing in their way; nor is it poſſible to ſtop or divert their rage but by fire-works, which burſting with a loud noiſe will make them ſtand ſtill and tremble: when they are in theſe mad fits they ſweat prodigiouſly, and ſmell much ranker than a goat: it is credibly reported, that an elephant having broke looſe in this rage, and making towards the bazar, or market-place, from whence all people fled as faſt as they could, he came to an herb woman's, that uſed to give him a handful of herbs as he paſſed by, and the woman having run away and left her child upon the ground in her fright, the elephant gently took it up with his trunk, and laid it upon a ſtall, without doing it any hurt, and then proceeded to overturn and miſchieve every thing that came in his way as before.

The Mogul has ſeveral of theſe elephants trained up to war, who will not only ſtand fire, but ſuffer a great gun to be fired off their backs: the gun they carry is about five foot long, and placed upon a ſquare frame of wood, which is faſtened to a broad thick pannel, tyed on with ſtrong cords and girths. At the four corners of the frame they plant four ſilk flags, or colours upon little antient-ſtaves. Upon the neck of the elephant ſits the man who guides him, who has an iron rod in his hand about half a yard long, ſharp at the lower end, and a hook turned up, with which he pricks him forward, or pulls him back as he ſees fit. The gunner ſits on the wooden frame, where he has his bullets, and ammunition, and all things neceſſary for loading and firing, and the gun carries a ball about as large as a tennis-ball.

The elephants are uſually kept under the ſhade of great trees, to which they are faſtened by a chain about one of their hinder legs: the Mogul allows every one of his great war elephants four wives as they are called in that language, which by the way, is the ſame number that MAHOMET allows his followers; a reverend divine aſſures us, that theſe brutes will not endure that any one ſhould ſee them in the act of copulation, and reproaches our debauchees with the modeſty of the animal.

Buffaloes. But beſides the beaſts of burthen already mentioned, they have buffaloes, and aſſes; the buffaloes differ very little from cows and oxen, but only they are a more ſluggiſh animal, and have a ſmooth thick skin, without hair: the female gives milk, and the fleſh of them is ſometimes eaten, but 'tis very coarſe food. The ſheep they have in the ſouthern parts are thin long legged creatures, and have a reddiſh hair inſtead of wool upon their backs, the fleſh of them is lean and dry, and good for little.

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Towards Perſia and Tartary they have very fine ſheep, with good fleeces, and large tails, weighing ſeveral pounds, and 'tis obſervable of the Perſian ſheep, which are brought into India, that they have from three to ſeven horns apiece, and ſome of their horns ſtanding upright on their foreheads, the battles of their rams are very bloody. Goats they have here plenty, and the fleſh of their kids are tolerable good eating.

Veniſon. The Indian hogs we have ſeen in England with their bellies down to the ground: I look upon the fleſh of theſe to be the beſt butcher's meat they have in India, eſpecially that of the wild hogs, of which there is great plenty; as there are of deer, antilope's, and hares, in which no body claiming any property, all people are at liberty to kill them as well as other game; for notwithſtanding the Mogul is the Proprietor of all the lands in the country, he does not monopolize wild beaſts, and wild fowls, as our great men do here: nay, graſs, and herbs, and trees, and whatever alſo grows ſpontaneouſly in the woods, and wide fields, are enjoyed by the people in common; ſo that though they have no lands they can call their own, the privileges they enjoy in thoſe of the Prince are almoſt an equivalent. The lion is the only beaſt of the foreſt the hunting whereof the Emperor reſerves to himſelf. Their wild beaſts are lions, tygers, leopards, wolves, monkeys, and jackalls, which laſt are a kind of wild dogs, of the colour of a fox, and ſomething larger, which run about in companies at midnight, and make a hideous howling, not only in the country, but in the middle of great towns. One or more of theſe, 'tis ſaid, always attends upon the lion, and hunts his prey for him; but however that be, 'tis certain there are great numbers of them in all parts of the country, as well in thoſe places where there are no lions as where there are: and they will dig up a dead corpſe out of the grave, if it be not buried pretty deep.

Venomous creatures and inſects. But what very much abates the pleaſure of living in this otherwiſe deſirable country, is the multitude of ſerpents and ſcorpions, and other venomous and troubleſome inſects. Their musketoes or gnats and bugs, are the firſt things which ſeize upon us when we come on ſhore, and ſo venomous are they that a man's face will be ſwollen in a night's time that you cannot know him; indeed when we have been ſome time in the country, though we are always peſtered with them, they do not leave ſuch ſwellings as at firſt: it may be imagined how troubleſome theſe musketoes are, by every man's keeping a ſervant who can afford it on purpoſe to bruſh them off him, and 'tis in vain to lye down to ſleep with the face uncovered, without ſomebody to beat away the gnats; and as for bugs, they ſwarm among the common people

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people and ſoldiers. One way however we have to avoid them, and that is by dawbing the feet of the couch or cott on which we lye with tar, for either they have an averſion to tar, or they ſtick in it and can't get over. As to ſpiders, the reverend Mr. OVINGTON, Chaplain to King WILLIAM, aſſures us, that at Bombay, where he himſelf was, they grew to the bigneſs of a man's thumb, and their toads were not much leſs than ducks; but this I muſt leave upon the credit of that gentleman, for I confeſs, I never ſaw any of theſe monſters in that part of India where I happened to be. Certain it is, that during the rains, frogs and toads do multiply prodigiouſly, and grow to a conſiderable ſize, which has given ſome people occaſion to imagine it rained frogs. Their rats, which they call bandecoots, alſo grow to a very great ſize, three or four times as big as ours, and are ſo impudent that they will hardly give a man the way; but the moſt dangerous of all venomous creatures, are their ſcorpions, centipedes and ſerpents, of which there are various kinds, and as they will harbour and breed in every corner, there is no ſuch thing as being ſecure from them, but by continual ſweeping and bruſhing; and this I preſume is the reaſon that no body has any wainſcot or hangings in their houſes, for here they would certainly make their neſts. The centipede takes its name from the great number of legs it has; it is a little creature not much bigger than a gooſe quill, and three or four inches long, but its bite is very dangerous. Of the ſcorpions there are ſeveral kinds, the wood ſcorpions are ſaid to be black and their ſting mortal, but theſe I never ſaw. The houſe ſcorpions we cannot well avoid ſeeing often, they are about the length of a man's little finger and as thick, ſhaped almoſt like a lizzard, but carry their tails turned up upon their backs, and at the end of the tail there is a ſting not much bigger than a hornet's, always viſible; I did not obſerve they had any way of drawing it in; they creep very ſlowly, and 'tis an eaſy matter to cut off their ſtings, as I have often done, and let them crawl about the window; I was very near being ſtung by one of them which dropped from the cieling upon the cott as I was lying down to ſleep, but I avoided him, and therefore cannot from my own experience give the reader an account what effect his ſting has upon a human body; but a friend of mine who had the misfortune to be ſtung, told me, that for the firſt twelve hours after, the pain was as great as if a red hot iron had been applied to the part, that he run into the ſtreet like a madman, till they laid hold of him and anointed the place with oil of ſcorpion, and that after the firſt twelve hours the pain gradually abated for twelve hours more, till at length it wore quite off.

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Of ſerpents there are ſeveral kinds, but there is one I took particular notice of, when the people brought them about to ſhew their tricks, which having raiſed himſelf up near half his length before he began to dance, he ſpread his head as big as my hand, and ſhewed a beautiful face very near reſembling a human face, and this is the ſpecies our people imagine that addreſſed our mother EVE. A ſerpent, as I apprehend, will not attack or purſue a man, unleſs he is firſt provoked or incited by his keepers to ſeize him, but will rather avoid us while they are wild: I ſaw a very large one come to drink at a pond I was going into, and when he obſerved me he made off, and retreated to his cover, and I immediately pulled off my clothes and went into the water at the ſame place without ſeeing him any more. A reverend gentleman who was at the Mogul's court with our Ambaſſador relates, that while he was there, the Mogul condemned a man to die, for killing his mother, and as the moſt terrible death he could think of, ordered him to be bitten by a couple of ſerpents; accordingly one of theſe people who keep ſerpents in baskets for a ſhow were ſent for, and the criminal being ſtripped naked, and trembling at the approach of his executioners, the maſter of the ſnakes having irritated and provoked the venomous creatures, put one of them to the wretch's thigh, which immediately wound himſelf about it and bit him in the groin till the blood followed; the other was ſet upon the outſide of the other thigh, and bit him likewiſe, notwithſtanding which the criminal kept upon his feet a quarter of an hour, but complained of a fire raging in all his limbs, and his body ſwelled to a great degree; the ſerpents were taken off before he fell, and about half an hour after the wretch breathed his laſt.

Mr. OVINGTON tells us, that a tame ſnake was brought into the factory at Surat, ſo big that he ſwallowed one of their largeſt fowls whole with all the feathers on in his ſight; he began firſt with the head of the fowl, and then twining himſelf round the body ſqueezed it cloſe to facilitate its paſſage, the fowl once at the firſt ſeizing ſcreeched, and then lay dead; the ſnake ſtruggled ſome time with the bulky part of the body before he got it down, but when it was once ſwallowed it found an eaſy paſſage to the middle of the ſnake; neither of the abovementioned relations I find the leaſt reaſon to doubt of, not only becauſe the relators are gentlemen of approved veracity, but becauſe there is nothing monſtrous or improbable in the ſtories.

As for relating ſuch fables as we find tranſcribed in the Atlas Geographus, of a ſnake whoſe body was as big as a man's, and which ſwallowed a ſtag, horns and all, which ran through his body and killed the ſnake; and that other ſtory related by a reverend Miſſionary of a ſerpent, which

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hanging his head down from the arm of a tree would draw in men and beaſts with his breath as they paſſed by, and ſwallow them whole, and that the only way to avoid the misfortune, was to break the air with a ſtaff. Theſe and numberleſs ſtories like theſe that are to be found in many books of travels which bear a great name, I wiſh my readers would excuſe my writing, but I have lately been reproved for relating nothing but mere matter of fact, and not embelliſhing the work with ſome ſuch diverting ſtories as they are called: I have often wondered that a work ſo mean, ſo confuſed and immethodical as the Atlas was, ſhould ever ſucceed; but I am ſorry to obſerve that there are yet many amongſt us whom nothing but monſters and canibals can pleaſe; here the Atlas hits their taſte, for he hardly omitted any one ſtory of this kind; as to the ſnake's ſwallowing a ſtag horns and all, he makes no manner of remark on the improbability of the thing, for this might have offended ſome readers, who would have been angry perhaps, if they had been diſabuſed.

Locuſts. But to proceed, there is a ſpecies of inſects not yet mentioned which are very miſchievous, and that is the locuſt: Mr. OVINGTON tells us of a huſbandman near Surat, who loſt his whole crop in one night's time by them, and that there were ſuch vaſt numbers of them flying over their heads for ſeveral nights together, that they intercepted the light of the moon, though it was then about the full. Theſe inſects are not above two inches in length, but have ſo ſtrong a wing that they will croſs a conſiderable arm of the ſea.

Fowls. I come now to give an account of the feathered race: here is great plenty of all kind of poultry, as geeſe, hens, ducks, pigeons, turtle-doves, partridges, quails, peacocks, parakeets, &c. The fleſh of their poultry is generally dry, lean ſtuff, and ſome of them have bones as black as jet, but I never obſerved any difference in the eating, between thoſe which had white bones and thoſe which had black. The vultures are no where ſo common or ſo tame as in India, which I believe proceeds from the banians feeding them as they do other animals, for I have ſeen the banian tree abovementioned, quite covered with them, nor could we make them ſtir till we fired a ſhot at them though we were under the tree; they are I think conſiderably larger than an eagle, and much of the ſame make. But there is a kite with a white head which the Banians have ſtill a greater veneration for, and ſeem to pay it divine honours. It is not an uncommon thing for theſe birds as they are flying at noon-day, to be overcome with the intenſe heat of the ſun and drop down in the ſtreets, and upon ſuch an accident our ſoldiers never fail to make ſix-pence or a ſhilling of it, for they carry the kite into the market-place, and threatning to wring his neck off, the ſuperſtitious people croud about him and contribute their half-pence a piece for the bird's liberty. I did not obſerve they had many ſinging birds, though I was a conſiderable time in the woody part of the country; but there is one leſs than a wren which is exceeding pretty, adorned with the gayeſt plumage, and whoſe notes equal the beſt of ours. The numerous herds of monkeys which haunt the woods in the ſouthern parts of India are terrible enemies to theſe little birds, but nature has taught them to preſerve themſelves and their young ones, by building their neſts at the farther end of the twigs, where they hang like little purſes, and the monkeys cannot eaſily come at them. Theſe monkeys or baboons are ſome of them as tall as a greyhound, as I have been credibly informed, though I never ſaw any ſo large. But certain it is, that the bats of this country are almoſt as big as kites: a friend of mine ſays, he was never more ſurprized than by a company of them, which were got into an old houſe he came into in the dark, when they begun to flutter and make their way out, not imagining there could be bats of that monſtrous ſize. Bats.

Fiſhes. Among the Indian animals I have not taken notice of their fiſh, of which there are vaſt ſhoals in the Indian ſeas; thoſe we uſually eat of on the coaſt of Cormandel are whitings, or a fiſh very like them. There is alſo an excellent fiſh reſembling a bream, but much larger, being about four foot long. The fiſh called the baldpate is alſo very good eating, and has its name from the neck and head being without ſcales. The raven's fiſh is ſo named from his mouth's reſembling the bill of a bird, it is a ſpan long, red on the back and tail, and yellow on the belly. The rivers and ponds afford abundance of eels and carp, as it is ſaid, but I never ſaw any. They have ſea eels which are more like water-ſnakes than eels, however they are reckoned delicious food by the natives. Dolphins, albecores, and boneta's, I believe, are found in all ſeas near the tropicks: the dolphin, however he comes to be ſo miſrepreſented, is as fine and ſtrait a fiſh as ſwims, about a yard in length, more or leſs; the bright dazling colours he ſhews when he is alive are inimitable, but he is dead before we can well get him into the ſhip, ſtill his colours remain very fine, though not ſo beautiful as when he is alive; his fleſh is as white as ſnow, and reckoned a very nice diſh at ſea, for they are not near ſo common as the boneta's and albicores: he ſwims at a prodigious rate, and preys chiefly upon the flying fiſh, who to avoid him ſpring out of the water and will fly half a furlong, when the wings are dry they drop into the water again, and frequently fall into a ſhip as it paſſes by; they are near the length of an herring,

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herring, but not ſo broad; it is a common thing to ſee thouſands of flying fiſh upon the wing together purſued by the dolphins and albecores, who meet them when they fall down again. Notwithſtanding the dolphins and albecores ſwim ſo very ſwift, and will keep pace with a ſhip while it runs at the rate of eight or nine miles an hour, our ſailors ſitting on the ſprit-ſail yard will ſtrike a ſingle fiſh with a fiſgig, while the ſhip is under ſail: the fiſgig is a ſtaff like a ſetting-ſtaff, with ſeveral ſharp barbed irons at the end of it, and having a ſmall cord faſtened to it and to the fiſherman's hand, when he has ſtruck the fiſh, he draws that and the ſtaff up with the cord. They are taken alſo by throwing a hook out dreſſed up with feathers without any bait, which bobbing upon the water as the ſhip draws it along, the fiſh throws himſelf upon the hook, miſtaking it for a flying fiſh, a little bird, or ſome other animal, having no time to examine it with that deliberation our river fiſh do. The albecore's and boneta's are both of them a thick round bodied fiſh and very good eating; one may cut a handſom ſlice out of either of them as out of a piece of beef: I took one of them with a hook at the great cabin window, as much as ever I could draw up with my hands and teeth. Theſe fiſh follow a ſhip in fine weather for ſix or ſeven weeks together between the tropicks, let her ſail never ſo ſwiftly, unleſs there happen a ſtorm, and then we ſee no more of them. The ſharks alſo follow a ſhip when ſhe does not make too much way, but they ſwim very ſlowly; theſe fiſh ſometimes grow to a prodigious bigneſs, but I reckon the uſual length to be about four foot; they have got ſeveral rows of teeth according to their age, and what is very remarkable, cannot take in their food without turning upon their backs, their under jaw is ſo much ſhorter than the upper jaw, and this we ſee frequently; for at a diſtance from the land the ocean is as clear as glaſs, and you may ſee the fiſh come to the bait as plainly as if it was out of the water. We hang over a piece of beef of three or four pound upon a large hook as thick as one's finger for one of theſe ſharks, who turning upon his back, gorges hook and all at once, and the ſhip's motion, to which the line is faſtened, ſtrikes the hook through his jaws; when he is drawn up to the ſhip's ſide, the carpenter ſtands ready with an ax to cut off his tail, in which his ſtrength principally lyes, or he will do ſome miſchief, even when he is out of the water, and in the water, he will at one chop bite off a man's thigh, bones and all; notwithſtanding which, in fine calm weather our ſailors frequently go into the water when theſe fiſh are about the ſhip, obſerving that there is not much danger when there are ſeveral men together, for if any one man has his face towards the ſhark, he will make off, and, as has been obſerved, the water of the ocean is ſo clear that they may be ſeen at a great diſtance. The fleſh of the ſhark is very coarſe, however the ſailors will ſometimes eat the tail part when they are put to it for proviſion. His backbone is preſerved by our people as having ſome extraordinary virtues in it, but poſſibly the virtues of that and the ſnake ſtone, may be equal.

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As the ſeas are infeſted by ſharks, ſo is the river Ganges by alligators or crocodiles, they are invited hither by the multitude of dead bodies which are caſt into this river, on which they prey, as they do upon the living when they have an opportunity. They are an amphibious animal of a prodigious length, with hard ſcales like armour on their backs, with ſhort claws on which they crawl, and are more dangerous on the water than the land, for though they will run a great pace, yet their bodies are of that length that if a man turns often he will eaſily throw them off; but I have deſcribed this animal ſomewhere already, and therefore do not enter upon a more particular deſcription of him here.

There are very good ſhell fiſh to be met with upon the coaſt of India, ſuch as crabs, oyſters, &c. The oyſters at fort St. George are much of the ſame ſize of ours in England, and equally good; but there are ſome ſhell fiſh in theſe ſeas of a prodigious bulk. There was a ſhell much of the ſame ſhape of the under ſhell of an oyſter, which ſtood in the fort at Maderas, which when the fiſh was in it muſt have been a load for a man.

Mines. As to the mines of this country, the diamond mines only are remarkable, which lye chiefly in the provinces of Viſiapour and Golconda, of which notice has been taken already; there are no mines of gold or ſilver opened, though it cannot be ſuppoſed but in ſo vaſt an extent of country there muſt be ſome, eſpecially when there are mines in ſeveral of the neighbouring kingdoms, as Siam, Pegu, &c. ſome do mention mines of copper, iron and lead, but theſe are not many of them wrought, if there be ſuch, for lead is one of the beſt commodities the merchants carry to India.

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Treats of their learning, languages, and characters, arts and ſciences, phyſicians, diſeaſes, and cures.

Learning. THE Indians have no Latin or Greek, which is probably the reaſon, as a reverend divine obſerves, that there is ſo little learning among them: they are however men of ſtrong reaſon, and ſpeak ex re nata upon any occaſion exceeding well; and had they had the advantage of literature, they might have been the authors of many excellent works. They have heard of ARISTO-

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TLE, whom they call APIUS, and, it is ſaid, have ſome of his books in the Arabian language, as well as of that famous phyſician AVISENNA, who was born at Samercand, and ſome fragments of the Old Teſtament they have in the ſame language; but this is to be underſtood of the Moors, or Mahometan inhabitants, who, many of them, deſcended from the Arabs: their books are but few, and thoſe manuſcript: the art of printing not being yet introduced amongſt them. The Language. language of the Moors is different from that of the antient original Indians, but, however, they have borrowed the Indian characters, being deſtitute of letters themſelves, and in all their writings uſe either the characters of the Pagan Indians, or of the Perſians. The court language is the Perſian, which is ſpoke by all the great Omrah's, and the polite world in general: the learned language is the Arabian, and is written backwards from the right hand to the left, like the Hebrew, from whence they borrow many words; but this is ſtill to be underſtood of the Moors; for the antient Indians have a great variety of other languages, very different from thoſe uſed by the Moors. The Bramins, or Brachmans, which is the chief ſect among the idolaters, have a language peculiar to themſelves, and in that their records, and books of divinity, and philoſophy, and the fables of their prieſts are written, wherein their ignorance in the creation of the world, and the duration of it, are ſufficiently manifeſt. They tell us of four ages, or remarkable periods, ſince the world began. The firſt or golden age, they hold, laſted one million ſeven hundred and twenty-eight thouſand years; after which their God BRAMA was formed, from whom the preſent race of Bramins deſcended; but theſe were at firſt of a gigantick ſtature, not ſubject to diſeaſes, and lived four hundred years in great innocence of life. At the latter end of this ſecond age, which laſted one million two hundred and ninety-ſix thouſand years, the Raja's were created, a noble race, and next in degree to the Bramins: and now vice begun to be introduced, and the age of man was ſhortned a hundred years. The third age which ſucceeded, they ſay, laſted eight millions ſixty-four thouſand years; in which vice made a great progreſs, and virtue was almoſt baniſhed from the earth; but ſtill men lived to the age of two hundred years. To this ſucceeded the fourth, or preſent age in which we live, and vice prevails, and they have taken upon them to aſſign the period of it, and ſet down the time when the world will be at an end; but it ſeems there is a vaſt ſpace to come: and theſe things their diſciples believe as firmly as we do the Goſpel.

Beſides the Bramin language there are the Malabar and Jentoe tongues, which are moſt commonly ſpoken by the Pagans; the one upon the Malabar coaſt, and the other on the coaſt of Cormandel; but no language is more univerſally underſtood on the coaſts, and in the trading towns, than the Portugueſe, which is the lingua franc of that part of the world; but this is mixed with ſome Indian words, and not ſpoken in that purity as in Portugal. The Pagans generally write on the coco-nut or palm-tree leaves, with Writing. an iron ſtile or bodkin. They do not write in a ſtrait line downwards, as the Chineſe, but from the left hand, ſlanting to the right; and though in moſt places the long narrow palm leaves and bodkin are uſed, yet the Moors have a thin ſhining paper, ſometimes ten foot in length and a foot broad, and they tack as many ſheets together as the writing requires; the pen they write with is the antient calamus, or reed, about the thickneſs of a gooſe-quill. When they write to a Prince, the whole ſurface of the paper is gilt with gold, and for ſecurity of letters of conſequence ſent to court, they are incloſed in a hollow cane, or bambou, and ſealed up, that no wet can hurt them. Upon their ſeals, or chops as they are called, they have no coat of arms, there being no ſuch thing in the country, but they have their own names engraved upon gold or ſilver, or perhaps on a cornelian ſtone.

The Indians have a great value for their hiſtory, Hiſtories. which is written in verſe, and contains many fabulous relations of their heroes and ſubordinate deities, which formerly inhabited their country. They have alſo their ſaints and martyrs, whoſe memories they celebrate as we do ours, and give entire credit to all the adventures and miracles their Bramins teach them to celebrate in their ſongs.

The Pagans, or original Indians, begin their Feſtivals of the new year. year the firſt of March, and the Moors the tenth, at the time their aſtrologers gueſs the ſun enters into aries; and the year is divided into thirteen moons. The Mogul holds a noble feſtival, from the firſt of March to the tenth, to uſher in the new year; at which time his great Lords reſort to court in their gayeſt equipage, and make great preſents to their Prince, who then makes ſuch promotions and alterations among the great officers as are intended for the enſuing year; and that is uſually done when the Mogul is upon a progreſs in the camp or leskar.

They have very little skill in the mathema- Arithmetick. ticks, except arithmetick in the practick part, whereof few people in the world excel them, this being their principal ſtudy from their infancy; and they caſt up their accounts by their fingers, without the help of a pen. The Bramins have Aſtronomy. ſome tables of the antient aſtronomers, for calculating eclipſes, and are pretty exact in their predictions, even to minutes, though there is no men-

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tion of them in their books which treat of eclipses; nor do they in discourse make any mention of minutes, but of the garis or half garis, quarter and half quarter of the garis, which is one of their hours, and is about half one of our hours; but their skill, as has been hinted, is mechanical, and performed by some arithmetical calculations, being altogether ignorant of the theory. They look upon the day wherein an eclipse happens as a time of plenary indulgence, and washing themselves in water, believe they receive remission of their sins. Their systems of the heavens, and the constellations, are very extravagant: they believe that the moon is above the sun, though the contrary is demonstrable by an eclipse. They hold also that the sun, when he sets, hides himself behind some mountain, and cannot believe the world to be globular. They are acquainted with the twelve signs of the zodiack, and give them the same names in their language as we do in ours, making abundance of subdivisions. But the science the most universally practised, and by which even their Princes govern their affairs, is judicial astrology. The Mogul will not so much as undertake a journey, or resolve upon any thing of consequence, unless the astrologers tell him it is a fortunate hour to undertake it; and the very moment they prescribe he sets about it. And the grave Mr. OVINGTON, a Protestant divine, who resided at Surat some time, seems to give credit to their predictions, by a story he relates from Mr. HARRIS, the English President at Surat, of a certain Bramin that foretold the arrival of an English ship, some months before she came to India: he says, Mr. ANGIERS, the then President, being under some concern he had received no intelligence from England, his Bramin physician asked him the reason he was so melancholy, which the President having acquainted him with, the Bramin desired he would permit him to be absent for three or four days, and he did not question but to bring him such news as he desired; which the President readily consented to, and promised him an Indian mantle for his reward. At four days end the Bramin returned, and assured the President, that at such a certain time an English ship would arrive at the mouth of Surat river, with a particular person, who had formerly been in India, on board her, and that on such a day he would arrive at the custom-house at Surat, before eleven o'clock of the morning. The President afterwards related this prediction of the Bramin to all the factors, at a publick dinner: some of them walking one morning on the banks of the river, recollected that this was the very time the Bramin had foretold the arrival of an English ship, whereupon they hasted back to the custom-house, to enquire if there was any news from England; and to their surprize, as they were going, saw an English boat rowing up the river, and they no sooner came to the custom-house but they saw the person expected, whose coming the Bramin had foretold. Mr. OVINGTON adds, that the Bramins had frequently made the same offer to President HARRIS, to bring him undoubted intelligence when the English shipping would arrive, but that he durst not accept the proposal, being confident it could not be done without the help of the devil. I do not at all doubt Mr. OVINGTON's veracity in this matter: he probably had this story from the President HARRIS, and Mr. HARRIS had it by tradition from some who had it from the President ANGIERS: however, I am very far from giving entire credit to the thing; people are extremely ready to give into those stories, and they seldom pass through many hands without improvement: we frequently laugh at the Romish miracles, but in stories of magick or witchcraft we are, at least, as credulous as they, and a well worked up apparition seldom fails of a kind reception amongst good Protestants. But to proceed, there are people upon the coast of Cormandel that pretend to tell what time the rains will begin, how long they will last, and whether the season will be mild or tempestuous; but this they profess to do from natural causes. They go out to sea in the evening, and observe the lightning, &c. and from thence pronounce what kind of weather we shall have; and for this, I was informed the government of fort St. George allowed them a reward every year.

Astrology.

The Indians skill in physick is not very great, understanding nothing of anatomy; however they use simples, and apply them with success, and have secret recipes which they do not communicate. In several distempers abstinence is only prescribed, and they seldom eat any thing but a little congee or gruel made of rice, till they find themselves better.

Physick.

The mort-de-chin, which proceeds from indigestion, and throws the patient into a violent vomiting and purging, with racking pains, which sometimes carry them off in twenty-four hours, is cured by clapping a red hot iron to the sole of the foot, near the heel; and it is said that the cholick is frequently cured by heating an iron ring red hot, about an inch thick and an inch and half diameter, and applying it to the patient's belly, so that the navel may be in the center of it; it may be taken off again immediately, but the sudden revolution it causes in the belly, it is said, will soon ease the patient of his pain. Mr. OVINGTON relates, that a Bramin who had studied physick, being sent for to an English gentlewoman, who laboured under a chronical disease, desired to see some of her water, which having poured into a China cup, he let fall a drop of oil upon it, making this remark, that if the oil sunk

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ſunk to the bottom ſhe would die, if it ſpread it ſelf immediately upon the urine it ſhewed an increaſe of the diſtemper, but if it ſpread very ſlowly there would be an abatement of the diſeaſe.

Plague.

It is a common obſervation, that notwithſtanding the plague frequently rages at Surat, the Europeans are ſeldom infected with it. Mr. OVINGTON tells us, that when he was there, it had continued for ſix years without intermiſſion, though not always with equal fury. That there was ſome abatement of it during the Monſoons, when the air was cooled, and the weather tempeſtuous. Its greateſt paroxyſms were immediately before and after that ſeaſon, when there were ſometimes three hundred buried in a day, and yet not one Engliſhman was affected by it. This our reverend Author ſays, the Indians, as well as himſelf, aſcribed to an extraordinary providence, obſerving that thoſe Indian ſervants, which conſtantly attended the factory in their chambers, dropped down dead in a few hours after they were come from the factory. Something however he thinks ought to be imputed to ſecond cauſes; as to the Europeans living upon a better diet, and drinking plenty of good wine, which the Indians do not. However, he ſays, when he obſerved how languid and feeble many of the Engliſh were at ſome times of the year, and conſequently much leſs able to repel a contagious diſeaſe than the natives, he could not but be of opinion that almighty God diſplayed an extraordinary power in their preſervation. But why providence ſhould make ſo remarkable a difference between the Engliſh of Bombay, and thoſe of Surat, is not eaſy to account for. At Bombay, which is the next Engliſh ſettlement to Surat, this gentleman tells, that the caſe is the very reverſe, that the immoral lives of the Engliſh there draws down the judgments of heaven upon them, and they are ſwept away much faſter than the natives; and yet theſe places are under the ſame government, and frequently have the ſame governor. Upon the whole therefore, I think, we may reaſonably conclude, that the health of the Engliſh in one place, and their want of it in the other, is chiefly owing to natural cauſes: eſpecially ſince the Engliſh are not always exempted from the plague in India, for another reverend gentleman who attended Sir THOMAS ROE in his embaſſy to the great Mogul, tells us, that Amadabat being viſited with the peſtilence when the court was there, in the ſpace of nine days ſeven of the Engliſh in the Ambaſſador's family were ſwept away by it; that none of thoſe who died lay ſick above twenty hours, and the major part of them were well and ſick, and dead in twelve hours: that thoſe who died, their bodies were all on fire from the moment they were ſeized; and when they were dying, and dead, broad ſpots of black and blue appeared on their breaſts, and their fleſh was ſo exceſſive hot they could hardly bear to touch them after they were dead. On thoſe who recovered (for all of them had it but the Ambaſſador) great boils aroſe of a thick, yellow, watery ſubſtance, which burnt and corroded their skins when they broke, wherever it touched.

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But to return to the Indian phyſicians and their patients it is a notion very current among the popiſh miſſionaries, as well as the proteſtants, that the Bramins cure moſt diſtempers by charms; which I believe they do full as often as our cunning men here, and like them they tie little bits of paper about the patient's arms or neck with ſome unintelligible jargon, which no doubt amuſes the common people, though it is certain they uſe natural means beſides, which there would be little occaſion for if the devil had ſo great a ſhare in the matter as is imagined. But in no inſtance, it is ſaid, they make uſe of charms more than in recovering people who are bitten with ſerpents, which I am apt to think proceeds from the ignorance of our Engliſh ſurgeons in the proper remedies, who therefore aſcribe thoſe cures of the Indians to magick: but beſides other means the Indians uſe in this caſe, they always keep the patient awake, and as I remember they ſing and play to him as they do to the ſnakes when they dance. Some Europeans have much cried up the virtues of the ſnake ſtone in this caſe; Mr. OVINGTON relates, that one of his ſervants walking in the graſs was bitten by a ſnake, which twiſted about his leg and brought the man to the ground, by cauſing in him a deliquium of ſpirit even to expiration almoſt; whereupon an Engliſh merchant happening to have one of theſe ſnake-ſtones about him, applied it to the wound and cured him. It is a ſmall artificial ſtone almoſt flat, with a little protuberance in the middle, and of a grey colour; the compoſition of it is the aſhes of burnt roots mixt with an earth found at Diu, a Portugueſe town in India. This ſtone, it is ſaid, being applied to the part invenomed ſticks faſt, and by its powerful attraction ſucks out the poiſon till the pores are full and then falls off, and being put into milk, emits the venomous matter it has imbibed, and recovers its alexipharmick quality again, and may be applied as before; and if this ſtone be ſcraped into a glaſs of wine, or any other liquor, and taken inwardly, it is reputed to be a moſt powerful medicine againſt malignant fevers, &c. A hot iron or a burning coal, alſo, it is ſaid, applied to the part that is bitten by a ſnake, will draw out the poiſon; but for ought I could learn when I was in India, the cure of theſe wounds were left to Indian phyſicians, and the pretended virtues of the ſnake ſtone were generally exploded.

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Handicrafts.

The mechanicks and artificers of this country are much admired for the fine callicoes and muſlins that are made here; ſome of their muſlins are ſo exceeding fine, that it is ſaid, a whole piece may be drawn through a ring, and if a piece be torn in half, they will ſet it together again ſo that it ſhall not be diſcerned where it was torn. They have an art of drilling holes through china ware, and ſewing it together with braſs wire, that a bowl broke into half a dozen pieces, will hold liquor as well as ever it did at firſt.

The chints and callicoes on the coaſt of Cormandel are painted with a pencil by the meaneſt of the people, but thoſe to the northward are printed; however the dye of the one or the other never waſh out. They do not only paint birds and beaſts, flowers and trees, but will draw the picture of a man tolerably well, at leaſt they will copy after our beſt pieces, ſo that it muſt be a good judge, who can diſcern the difference; and for inlaying in ivory there is no people exceed them. The goldſmiths work curiouſly in filigrane, and imitate any goldſmiths work that is made in Europe; and yet the forge and all the tools they make uſe of, are not worth ten ſhillings, and we frequently ſee them at work in the ſand in the middle of the ſtreet, a goldſmith being but a mean employment here. The cement their builders uſe is much harder than their bricks, being made of ſea-ſhells, and they will terraſs the roof of a houſe, or lay a floor with it, that ſhall be like one entire ſtone, and full as hard. There are very good ſhip-carpenters, who will imitate the Engliſh model exactly; what they fail moſt in, is iron-work. They make no clocks or watches, gun-locks, or any hard ware that requires good ſprings: however, it is ſaid they forge very good ſword blades in ſome parts of India, the Scymetar make, as well as crices or poniards.

Manner of reckoning time.

The day among the Indians is divided into four parts, and the night into as many, which they call pores, and theſe they ſubdivide again into eight parts, which they call grees or gari's, and meaſure them according to the antient cuſtom, by water dropping out of one veſſel into another. There is a perſon appointed, who always ſtands ready to turn up the veſſel again when all is dropped out, and to ſtrike with a hammer upon the brim of a concave piece of metal like a pewter diſh, (hanging by the brim on a wire) the number of the pores and grees as they paſs; but this method is only uſed in ſome great towns, the common people are content to gueſs at their time in the country, having neither clocks or hour glaſſes, nor is it very difficult to know what time of the day it is in the ſouthern part of India, the ſun riſing and ſetting conſtantly about ſix, and the weather for the moſt part clear.

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Honours and eſtates.

It is frequently ſaid there is no ſuch thing as hereditary honour or hereditary eſtates in India; and this may be true enough if ſpoken of the Moors, there being no other diſtinction among them, but what their reſpective poſts in the government create: the greateſt Nabobs and Omrah's are often natives of Perſia or Tartary, and when they die, whatever they have heaped together devolves on the crown. The Nabob I take to be the Governor of a province, but he may be an Omrah too, as all great officers, civil and military are called. The diſtinction that is made among the Omrah's is according to the extent of their command; he that is to furniſh a thouſand horſe, has a country allotted him ſufficient to maintain them, and is reſpected accordingly, and though his eſtate and effects devolve on the crown, and his poſt is beſtowed on a ſtranger when he dies, yet if he have behaved well, the Emperor ſeldom fails to make a proviſion for his children and family, and his ſons ſtand very fair for preferment at court. It may happen indeed that a ſon of an Omrah may be a mechanick or a beggar, but this is not uſual, as far as I can learn, however the writers of the Indian hiſtory may have repreſented this matter; and for the encouragement of trade in cities and maritime places, the merchants houſes deſcend to their children.

But if we ſpeak of the Pagans, the original inhabitants of India, who are twenty to one, nay, ſome ſay there are a hundred Pagans to one Moor, there are no people ſeem to ſtand more upon birth and honour than theſe, as is evident from their different caſts or tribes, who will not intermix, or even eat with thoſe of an inferior caſt for the world: but here honour and wealth do not always go together, for the Bramins, who are their prime nobility as well as their prieſts, are ſometimes very poor, and yet no men can be had in greater veneration than they are by all the other caſts. The next moſt honourable caſt, are the Rajaputes, or Raſhboots, as they are generally called, and theſe are ſoldiers by profeſſion. The Raja's are the Princes who poſſeſs the mountains, and theſe Raſhboots I take to be their vaſſals, who engage in all their quarrels, as the Highlanders of the clans in Scotland uſed to engage under their reſpective Lords. Theſe Raja's, though they are moſt of them tributary to the Mogul, retain their own religion and laws, and their honour and inheritance deſcends to their eldeſt ſons, ſo that it is far from being univerſally true, that there are no ſuch things as hereditary honours or eſtates in India; and I believe there is no inſtance that ever the Mogul appointed an Omrah to ſucceed a Raja, even when the Raja has been taken in rebellion and beheaded, but his eldeſt ſon or ſome near relation

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relation of the ſame family always ſucceeds; for ſhould he attempt to ſend a Moriſh Governor amongſt them, whoſe religion they abominate, it would probably cauſe a general inſurrection among the Raja's. And this leads me to treat next of the Government of India.

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Treats of the Mogul's court, his officers and women, and of the ſucceſſion to the empire; of his civil government, laws and puniſhments, and of his camps, forces, revenues, coin, weights, and meaſures.

The Mogul's miniſtry.

THE Mogul has no ſtanding council of ſtate like other Princes, but the affairs of the empire are managed by four or five great officers who receive their orders from him, and report the ſtate of the ſeveral provinces to him. As the Emperor gives a particular name to every officer he advances, ſo he always takes a new magnificent title himſelf on his acceſſion to the throne, as 'the conqueror of the world; the ornament 'of the throne,' and the like. But coronations are not known in this part of the world, nor does the Prince ever wear a crown. He ſits himſelf as Judge of all criminal matters in the province where the court reſides, as his Governors do in their reſpective provinces. The Emperor's ſons have the title of Sultans, and his daughters of Sultana's, and the Viceroys that of Nabob. The next in degree which anſwers to our nobility, have the title of Chan, or Caun, as it is pronounced, and are diſtinguiſhed by the names they receive upon their advancement, as Aſaph Chan the rich Lord, Chan Channa Lord of Lords. One of the Moguls, it ſeems, gave his chief phyſician the name of Mocrib Chan, or Lord of his health, and theſe names are uſually expreſſive of ſome peculiar excellency, ſuppoſed to be in the perſon preferred. The great military officers are called Omrah's, and one who has been General, Mirza. The chief Eunuchs are Treaſurers, Stewards and Comptrollers of the Houſhold. His other great Officers are the Secetaries of ſtate, the Governors of the elephants, the Maſter of the tents, and the keepers of the wardrobe, who are entruſted with the jewels.

Women.

The women of the haram or ſeraglio, as it is uſually called, are either wives or concubines, Princeſſes of the blood, governante's, or ſlaves. Thoſe which are called wives, and are contracted with ceremony, ſeldom exceed four, what the number of the concubines are is uncertain; but it is generally agreed they amount to above a thouſand. The Mogul never matches with the daughter of any foreign Prince, but uſually with the daughter of ſome great Raja of his own country, notwithſtanding they are idolaters; ſometimes he will advance the meaneſt ſlave to that dignity, if ſhe pleaſe him, and the firſt ſon he has by any of theſe wives, is looked upon to be heir to the empire; though the longeſt ſword uſually carries it, and whoever poſſeſſes himſelf of the throne, immediately deſtroys all his brothers, and their male iſſue. But what is very obſervable, is, that we never hear of above one ſon of any one wife, that ever comes to man's eſtate, which has given occaſion to ſome to conjecture that the reſt are diſpatched as ſoon as they are born. The Emperor always gives ſome fine names to his wives, as he does to his great officers, one was called the Light of the world; another the Crown of the Mahal &c. Their apartments are ſaid to be extravagantly fine, and their gardens beautiful, ſhades, rivulets, caſcades, and grotto's, render thoſe abodes ſo cool and refreſhing, that the heat of the climate is not perceived. Palace.

The young Sultans are married at thirteen or fourteen years of age, and then have a ſeparate court, little inferior to that of the Emperor's; and when they come to age are ſent to diſtant governments, except the heir apparent to the crown, who remains near his father. The young Sultaneſſes are bred up with all the tenderneſs and ſoftneſs imaginable, and are not under ſo ſtrict a reſtraint as the other women, and there do not want inſtances of the Emperor's indulging them in their gallantries, which is the more reaſonable, becauſe the Royal Blood muſt never match with, and be under the controul of a ſubject. The number of jewels and precious ſtones, which 'tis ſaid the Ladies of the ſeraglio wear, exceeds all belief. Their clothes are as thin and light as poſſible, ſuitable to the heat of the climate. A certain author tells us, that the ſilk they wear is wove ſo very fine, that the whole habit weighs but a few ounces, and that their linnen is tranſparent. The governante's of the young Princeſſes, and thoſe who are ſpies upon the conduct of the King's women, are a conſiderable body in the ſeraglio; and 'tis ſaid, have a great ſhare in the government of the empire: if this Prince has any council, it is compoſed of theſe Ladies, for it is by their influences the great offices of ſtate, and governments are diſpoſed of, and every one of them have a title anſwerable to ſome great office. One is ſtyled prime Miniſter, another Secretary of ſtate, another Viceroy of this or that province; and each Lady maintains a correſpondence with the Miniſter, whoſe title ſhe bears, and there are eunuchs perpetually carrying letters backwards and forwards between them. It is by the interpoſition of theſe Ladies that all buſineſs of conſequence

quence is effected, who have better opportunities of repreſenting things to the Emperor than his miniſters have without doors. The Emperor is ſerved altogether by women in his retirement, and has a guard, 'tis ſaid, of Tartar women armed with ſcymetars and bows, who have the care of his perſon. There are beſides a multitude of eunuchs who guard the gates, and all the avenues to the palace, who, 'tis ſaid, have a very difficult province; for if they are too ſtrict they procure the hatred of the Queens and Princeſſes, who ſometimes bear a great ſway; and on the other hand, they run the hazard of their lives if they are too complaiſant.

The Emperor, and other great men, it ſeems, do not come near their women after they have paſſed a certain age, ſome ſay after they are five and twenty, others thirty: however, they have never the more liberty, but are ſtill guarded as ſtrictly as ever. A reverend divine of our own country, who was at the Mogul's court, tells us of a piece of cruelty which was exerciſed upon one of theſe women when he was there for kiſſing an eunuch, with whom the Emperor ſurprized her: he ordered a pit to be dug, and the woman ſet in the ground up to her neck, her head only being above the ground, and the earth rammed cloſe about her, and thus ſhe ſtood in the ſcorching ſun for two days, till at length it killed her, crying out all the while, as long as ſhe could ſpeak, oh my head! my head! the torture being inſupportable; and to add to her miſery, the offending eunuch was brought to the place and torn in pieces by an elephant before her eyes. The execution was done near the Engliſh houſe. This Lady had managed her buſineſs ſo well in the mahal, that ſhe had laid up a hundred and ſixty thouſand rupees, which fell to the Emperor, as all their jewels and riches do when they die.

Ambaſſadors. The Mogul is above ſending any Ambaſſador to a foreign court, looking upon the reſt of the Princes of the world to be much inferior to him, neither does he treat Ambaſſadors as repreſentatives of their Prince, but as common meſſengers. The Mogul's letters, and orders are received with as much reverence as if he himſelf was preſent, for the Governor to whom they are ſent, having intelligence they are upon the road, rides out with all his officers to meet the pattamar, or meſſenger, who brings them: he no ſooner ſees the packet, but he alights from his horſe and falls down on his face to the earth, then he takes them from the meſſenger and lays them on his head, whereon he binds them faſt, and returning back to the court where he uſually diſpatches buſineſs, he reads them, and returns an anſwer without delay.

When any perſon is ſent to a government he never ſhaves himſelf, it is ſaid, or cuts his hair till his return (though they ſhave almoſt every day at other times) to ſhew his concern for being out of his Prince's preſence.

The Mogul ſhews himſelf to the people three times a day, the firſt is at ſun riſing from a gallery, or if he be in the field from a pavilion facing the eaſt, on a place raiſed ſeven or eight foot above the ground: at which time crowds of people reſort thither to give him the uſual Salam, crying out as ſoon as they ſee him, with a loud voice, padſha ſalamet, or long life and health to the great King. At noon he ſhews himſelf at another place, raiſed like the former and ſtanding to the ſouth; and a little before ſun-ſet, on the weſt-ſide of his palace or pavilion, being always uſhered in and out with drums, trumpets, and other wind muſick: and at any of theſe times if any man, tho' never ſo mean, has a petition to the Emperor, it is received. At ſeven he retires to his baths, or guzalcan, as it is called, which are made as light as day by a vaſt number of flambeaus, and here he ſits and talks with ſome familiarity with his principal miniſters.

Adminiſtration of juſtice.

The Mogul, as has been obſerved, adminiſters juſtice himſelf in capital caſes, as his Viceroys do in their reſpective provinces; but there is the catoual who apprehends offenders, and inflicts puniſhments upon little criminals; the cadi is judge in civil caſes between man and man, and of marriages and divorces.

There are no written laws in the empire; however certain puniſhments are uſually inflicted on certain crimes, as murder and theft are puniſhed by death, but the manner of the execution is entirely in the breaſt of the Prince or his Viceroy. They never ſuffer malefactors to lye above a night in priſon, and very often not at all, for if the offender be apprehended in the day time, he is immediately brought before the Governor and either acquitted or condemned, and from judgment he is hurried to his execution, which is uſually done in the bazar or market-place; ſome malefactors are hanged, others beheaded, ſome impaled on ſharp ſtakes, ſome torn in pieces by wild beaſts or killed by elephants, and others bitten by ſnakes. If an elephant be commanded to diſpatch a criminal immediately, he ſtamps upon the wretch who lyes trembling before him, with his broad round foot, and cruſhes him to death in a moment; if it be intended he ſhould feel his death and die in torture, the elephant breaks firſt the bones of his legs, then his thighs and arms, and leaves him to die by the wounds he has given him. Sir THOMAS ROE relates, that when he was at the Mogul's court, a hundred thieves were brought chained before the Mogul with their accuſation, and the Mogul immediately ordered them to be carried away, the chief of them to be torn in pieces by dogs, and the reſt to be put to death in the ordinary way; accordingly the priſoners were divided into ſeveral quarters of the town, the chief of them was torn

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in pieces by twelve dogs before the Ambaſſador's houſe, and thirteen of his fellows at the ſame place, had their heads tied down to their feet, and their necks being chopped half off with a ſword, they were left naked and bloody in the ſtreets, where they became a great annoyance to the neighbourhood.

As the Mogul expects preſents from all his ſubjects whenever they addreſs him, ſo he does from Ambaſſadors and foreign Miniſters, and ſuitable to their preſents generally is their reception. His ſtyle however of writing to foreign Princes is condeſcending and obliging enough, as appears by the introductions to thoſe letters the Mogul ſent to King JAMES I. which are curioſities I am ſure my reader will forgive my inſerting: they were written in the Perſian language, and the firſt of them begins thus:

The Mogul's ſtyle in writing to a foreign Prince.

'UNTO a King rightly deſcended from his anceſtors, bred in military affairs, clothed with honour and juſtice, a commander worthy of all command, ſtrong and conſtant in the religion which the great Prophet CHRIST did teach, King JAMES, whoſe love hath bred ſuch an impreſſion in my thoughts, as ſhall never be forgotten; but as the ſmell of amber, or as a garden of fragrant flowers, whoſe beauty and odour is ſtill increaſing; ſo be aſſured, my love ſhall ſtill grow and increaſe with yours.' In another letter he ſays,

'WHEN your Majeſty ſhall open this letter, let your Royal Heart be as freſh as a garden, let all people do reverence at your gate, let your throne be advanced higher, amongſt the great Kings of the Prophet JESUS, let your Majeſty be the greateſt, and all Monarchs derive their wiſdom and counſel from your breaſt as from a fountain, that the law of the Majeſty of JESUS may revive and flouriſh under your protection.

'The letters of love and friendſhip which you ſend me, the preſent tokens of your good affection towards me I have received by the hands of your Ambaſſador Sir THOMAS ROE, who well deſerveth to be your truſty ſervant, delivered to me in an acceptable and happy hour, upon which mine eyes were ſo fixed, that I could not eaſily remove them unto any other objects, and have accepted them with great joy and delight.' In a third letter he ſays,

'HOW gracious is your Majeſty, whoſe greatneſs God preſerve. As upon a roſe in a garden, ſo are mine eyes fixed upon you. God maintain your eſtate, that your monarchy may proſper and be augmented, and that you may obtain all your deſires worthy the greateſt of your renown; and as your heart is noble and upright, ſo let God give you a glorious reign, becauſe you ſtrongly defend the law of the Majeſty of JESUS, which God make yet more flouriſhing, for that it was confirmed by miracles.'

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Notwithſtanding the empire of the great Mogul is of that vaſt extent and exceeding populous, the civil government of this country creates but very little trouble to the Mogul or his miniſters, for all the Raja's or petty ſovereigns who are poſſeſſed of the mountainous and encloſed part of the country, and are fourſcore or an hundred in number, are allowed to govern their people by their own laws, though they have ſubmitted to his power. And as for the pagan inhabitants of the open country, they are of ſo peaceable a diſpoſition, and ſo ſubmiſſive to their Mahometan maſters, that they very rarely give offence. The Raja's have no written laws to govern their ſubjects by any more than the Moors, but their adminiſtration is much milder than that of the Mogul. As they are in a ſtate of ſubjection themſelves, and always meditating how they may throw off the Mahometan yoke, they endear their ſubjects to them as much as poſſible, and uſe them as their children rather than their vaſſals. I proceed now to give an account of the Mogul's leskar or camp, in which he generally ſpends two thirds of the year.

The camp or leskar.

The camp is always pitched in one form, which is pretty near round, and a detachment always marches before and clears the ground, that the ſtreets may lye in their uſual regular order, ſo that let the camp remove never ſo often it has the ſame face, and you know where to find every man readily. The whole circumference ſeldom takes up leſs than twenty miles, as will eaſily be believed if we conſider that the military men are not leſs than an hundred thouſand, who have their wives and families with them, and that all manner of trades and profeſſions follow the camp. The tents are for the moſt part white like the clothing of the people, except the Mogul's, which are red and pitched in the center of the camp, erected much higher than the reſt, from whence he has a complete view of the whole army. And as the young Sultans and Sultana's, the Queens and the whole ſeraglio almoſt take the field, the Emperor's quarter is as large as a conſiderable town, this is called the Ataſckanha, which no man is ſuffered to approach within a muſket ſhot. It is ſurrounded with canats about ten foot high, which are made to fold together like skreens, and ſerve inſtead of a wall; this encloſure is guarded by the troops of the houſhold, and other great bodies of horſe and foot. The tents of the Om-

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rah's ſtand at a diſtance round about the Emperor's, thoſe of the firſt quality neareſt, and the inferior people take up the remoteſt parts of the camp. The ſtreets are wide and ſtrait, and the chief of them run in a direct line from the royal quarter; there are ſhops and all manner of trades carried on as in a city. Every Omrah or general encamps with his own men, and in every quarter there is a bazar or market place where proviſions are ſold almoſt as cheap as in garriſon; and among other things, the Mogul's camp is the greateſt market for diamonds in the world. The camp ſeldom moves ten miles at a time, and they generally chooſe a part of the country where they may be well ſupplied with water, and poſſibly it was from theſe people that the Europeans took the hint of carrying boats or pantons along with them for the paſſing of rivers, for the Indian armies have always a great number of barges on carriages in their camp, which the Mogul uſes to take his pleaſure in upon the lakes and rivers, as well as for the paſſing over his army. He alſo carries with him hawks, dogs, and leopards bred for the game, ſo that as he ranges from one end of his dominions almoſt to the other, he divides his time between his recreations, and his enquiries into the conduct of his Viceroys and Governors, and by thus ſhewing himſelf once in a year or two, he ſtrikes a terror into the Raja's, and keeps them within the bounds of their duty. In theſe marches the Mogul's women are carried ſome of them in coaches, others in palanquins upon men's ſhoulders, others in little towers upon the backs of elephants, and ſome of the meaneſt of them in a kind of cradles hanging on the ſides of camels, all of them covered cloſe and attended by eunuchs, having an advanced guard before them to clear the way; for though it would be impoſſible to ſee them, yet it would be thought a crime even to look that way, and the men are frequently ordered to quit the villages through which the road lyes, till the Ladies are paſſed.

Forces of the Mogul.

As to the Mogul's forces, he allows pay for a million of horſe, not that it is to be ſuppoſed or ever expected that the whole number ſhould be raiſed and in actual ſervice. For inſtance, the Viceroyſhip of Patan is ſaid to maintain five thouſand horſe, and the pay allowed for each is 200 * roupees per ann. but the Viceroy is obliged to keep up but 1500 men, and the pay of the reſt goes into his own pocket, ſo that inſtead of a million of horſe, if we reckon about three hundred thouſand in the whole empire, we ſhall come pretty near the matter; but beſides theſe, there are the forces of the Raja's, or Pagan Princes, whom the Mogul has in his pay, which may amount to as many more: theſe Princes bring into the field, ſome five, others ten, and ſome twenty thouſand of their Raſhboots, who are the only fighting caſt among the idolaters. Theſe troops are generally, if not always foot, notwithſtanding ſome writers make them to conſiſt of horſe; for as has been obſerved, there are no horſes fit for the ſervice in India, and the Raja's living in the heart of the country, it is not eaſy to conceive how they ſhould import ſuch vaſt numbers of horſe as are mentioned; beſides, their country being woody and mountainous is very improper for horſe, and in the territories of the Raja's where I have been, which were ſome of the moſt conſiderable, there was not a body of horſe to be ſeen: it is not impoſſible indeed, but they may have horſe in other parts of India, but I never could learn they had; and as has been obſerved already, their ſituation is very improper for horſe. The Mogul has alſo ſome Mooriſh foot in his ſervice, but 'tis his horſe that he principally depends on: when he attacks any rebellious Raja in the defiles and paſſes in the mountains, he is forced to order ſome loyal Raja's with their Raſhboots for that ſervice, and nothing is more common, as one obſerves, than for a Raja to make his ſubmiſſion and preſents to the Mogul while he is in his neighbourhood, and diſclaim any allegiance to him when he is at four or five hundred miles diſtance; ſo that the peace of this country is yet in a very unſettled condition, even in thoſe places which have acknowledged the Mogul, and in the mountains of Gate, which run the whole length of the peninſula; there were lately no leſs than ſeventeen confederate Raja's who boaſted they never had ſubmitted to the Mogul's arms.

But to return, the Mogul has, beſides the troops already mentioned, ſeveral companies and regiments, which may properly be called the body guards or troops of the houſhold; firſt there is a regiment of four thouſand men, called the Emperor's ſlaves, to expreſs their devotion for the perſon of their Prince. This is the moſt honourable body among the Mogul's troops; their Captain is called the Daroga, who is an officer of great authority, to whom the command of the army is ſometimes committed. Every ſoldier who is admitted into this battalion is marked in the forehead, and out of theſe the Manſebdars or ſubaltern officers are taken, who by degrees are preferred to the dignity of Omrah's, which anſwers to our general officers. There are alſo the guards of the golden mace, of the ſilver mace, and the iron mace, who carry a club or mace on their ſhoulders, with a large ball or globe at the end plated over, the ſolders whereof are differently marked in the forehead, and their pay is proportioned to the metal with which the mace is covered. All theſe bodies are picked men, whom their courage has recommended; and it is neceſſary to have ſerved in one of theſe battalions to be qualified for a poſt

* Roupees

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a poſt in the government. As to the reſt of the army,

The arms of a horſeman are a broad ſword bending a little backward, and a crice, a bow and a quiver of arrows, a lance, and ſometimes a ſhort piece like a carbine, and to this is added a great ſhield, ſo that they are really incumbred with arms. A footman carries alſo a ſword and dagger, a ſhield, a bow and arrows, and ſometimes a match-lock musket, and others of them carry pikes inſtead of muskets: they have alſo heavy artillery, but are generally obliged to European gunners to manage them; ſome ſhort pieces I have already mentioned, which carry a bullet about as big as a tennis ball, and are fired from the back of an elephant; there are alſo about threeſcore ſmall field pieces which attend the grand army.

As to their manner of engaging, every Raja and every Omrah commands his own men, and as with us the front, with them the center is the poſt of honour. The General is ſurrounded by his proper troops, and from his elephant is a witneſs of their behaviour. Their troops ſometimes charge with great bravery, but obſerve no order; rank and file are terms they are perfect ſtrangers to, inſomuch that a ſmall body of diſciplined Europeans will drive thouſands of Indians before them. If they make any impreſſion on you it is at the firſt; if you keep a cloſe order and ſuſtain their firſt charge, you will immediately ſee them in confuſion, and they muſt be pretty much elevated with opium before they will attack a regular body in the open field. Their method of carrying on a ſiege I learnt from an intimate acquaintance of mine who went with a detachment of the Engliſh troops to the relief of the Danes at Trincombar. As for the occaſion of the war or the juſtice of it, that, like a true ſoldier, he did not much enquire into, but he underſtood in general, that the Dutch envying the Danes the poſſeſſion of that town, which is one of the largeſt and beſt fortified the Europeans have upon the continent of India, had incited the King of Tanjour, in whoſe dominions Trincombar ſtands, to lay ſiege to it, and furniſhed him with European engineers, and the Dutch were to give that Prince a tun of gold for the town when it ſhould be taken. The Indians were ſo extremely cautious, that they begun to open their trenches above a mile from the town, and carried on two attacks; the earth being a light ſand they drove down the bodies of coco-nut trees inſtead of ſtakes both on the inſide and out, and filled up the ſpace between them with ſand, ſo that their trenches were almoſt as thick as a town wall, and very high, and they were perfectly covered from our fire. They had about twenty or thirty thouſand men employed in this ſiege, and with incredible labour and patience, in about five months time, they brought down their trenches within piſtol ſhot of the walls, and with their batteries had almoſt ruined one of the baſtions when the Engliſh reinforcement arrived. The Danes expected every day a general aſſault, and were preparing to remove their effects into the fort and quit the town, and indeed they gave the enemy very little diſturbance as far as I can learn, in carrying on their works, for the garriſon did not conſiſt of more than two hundred Europeans, as many Indian Portugueſe, and about a thouſand blacks, and beſides the fort they had to defend, the circumference of the town wall was not leſs than a mile and half; it was faced with ſtone indeed, but had no ditch, and therefore the Danes to prevent the enemies ſcaling it, had ſet high palliſadoes upon the top of the ramparts.

A day or two after the Engliſh arrived, a ſally was reſolved upon, and about ſunriſe one morning a detachment of the blacks marched out of a poſtern, and were followed by the Engliſh, but the blacks were no ſooner out of the gates, than they opened to the right and left, and made room for the Engliſh to advance, never intending to engage themſelves. A body of the enemy moved out of their trenches to oppoſe our troops, and came on in tolerable order, with their broad ſwords and ſhields, without ſhooting an arrow or firing a piece; they were all decently clothed in white veſts and turbants, and ſeemed determined to engage our people hand to hand in the plain between the town and the trenches. The Engliſh officers were in ſome pain ſeeing this body of Indians advance with that reſolution, knowing their men were ſeveral of them new raiſed and mixed with Portugueſe, on whom there was very little dependance, but our great guns from the walls beginning to play upon the enemy, put them into confuſion, and they retired to their trenches with much greater haſte than they came out, and our men advancing, while they were in that conſternation, drove them ſtill farther, but there being no preparations made for levelling the trenches, and the day growing hot, the Engliſh retired into the town, and the enemy returned into their works without any great loſs on either ſide.

A few days after, it was reſolved to make another ſally with the greateſt part of the garriſon; and accordingly they marched out at the great gate which faced their principal attack; the black ſoldiers, according to cuſtom, retired under the walls almoſt as ſoon as they were out, to make room for the Europeans; the enemy kept cloſe in their trenches firing at us, but between the two attacks upon the plain, there ſtood a conſiderable body of musketeers and pikemen, againſt whom

whom the Engliſh commander thought fit to advance, but he had not marched many paces before an unlucky ball wounded him in the middle of his foot, which compelled him to quit the field. The next officer hereupon took upon him the command of the Engliſh, and led them towards the enemy, who were drawn up in the plain; that body retreating, drew the Engliſh ſo far from the town, that they were intercepted by the Mooriſh horſe, and the Danes, whom the Engliſh expected to have ſupported them, never advanced a ſtep. In this exigency the Engliſh officer reſolved to throw himſelf into the enemy's trenches, finding it impoſſible to retreat into the town over the plain, and having thrown ſome grenades into the trenches, the Indians were ſo complaiſant as to quit them, and make room for the Engliſh, who marched along them towards the town till they came to the end of the works; here they were met again by the Mooriſh horſe, but upon making one general fire, in which great execution was done, the horſe ſcoured off and left the Engliſh at liberty to march on to the walls, where they found the Danes drawn up in perfect ſecurity. In this action the Engliſh were one half of them killed or wounded. Among others, one of the Grenadiers, a drunken ſhoemaker, received twelve or fourteen wounds, and yet was brought alive into the town and recovered. It ſeems a Moor had his horſe ſhot under him, and being on foot, the Grenadier with the bayonet at the end of his piece made a thruſt at him, which the Moor put by with his ſhield, and at the ſame time wounded him with his broad ſword on the head and brought him to the ground, the reſt of them as they paſſed by, had every one a ſtroke at the Grenadier, till he was reſcued by ſome of his comrades and brought off. This fellow's ſkull was found to be fractured in two places, beſides ſeveral other deep wounds; and he was told by the ſurgeons, that if he did not forbear drinking he was a dead man, but he got drunk in two or three days, which however did not prevent his recovery. By this relation we may obſerve that the Indians are not altogether deſtitute of courage, and 'tis certain they have challenged the beſt men in our troops to engage them ſingle handed: notwithſtanding, it is certain a battalion of diſciplined ſoldiers will drive five thouſand Indians before them. To proceed, the enemy having brought their approaches pretty near the walls, we continued to ply them with grenades and ſhells from our mortars, againſt which their thick trenches were no ſecurity, and thus haraſſing them from time to time, they thought fit, after having lain before the place ſix months, to raiſe the ſiege. This ſiege was not near ſo terrible to thoſe within the town, as a ſiege in Europe, for the Indians do not yet underſtand the uſe of bombs and mortars, and it being a ſandy ſoil it was very unfit for mining: the greateſt inconvenience was the brackiſh water, the enemy being poſſeſſed of their beſt wells; and the Dutch of Negapatan, which lyes about four or five leagues from Trincombar, according to their wonted humanity, inſtead of ſupplying the Danes as they might have done by ſea, whipped their meſſengers they ſent to deſire a ſupply, and ſent them back without.

As to their war elephants, they can be of little ſervice againſt Europeans, who know how to manage their artillery and grenades; indeed againſt an enemy like themſelves, they may be of ſervice, for an arrow, or even a muſket ſhot at any diſtance, will hardly penetrate ſo far as to diſable them, and they muſt certainly bear down all before them by their mighty ſtrength. If the governor gives the elephant a heavy chain, or a bar of iron, or any ſharp weapon, he will manage it with his trunk as well as a man would with his hands, and with his trunk alone, if he ſtrikes a man in earneſt, he will break his bones. We had an inſtance that elephants will not eaſily be diſabled by muſket ſhot, in the ſurprize of the Engliſh town adjoining to fort St. David's, a Mooriſh officer with about ſeven or eight hundred men, pretending that he had been collecting the Mogul's revenues in the country, and that he was in danger of being attacked and plundered by the mountaineers, deſired the Engliſh Governor that he might quarter in the town one night, and the next morning he would march away; which being permitted, the Moors behaved themſelves very quietly till the riſing of the ſun, when having performed their devotions with much ſolemnity, on a ſudden they ſet upon ſome of the guards who were poſted at the gates, and cut them in pieces, but the garriſon immediately aſſembling under arms, drove them out of the town. In this skirmiſh the Moors to ſave themſelves from our fire, drew the elephants croſs the ſtreets, and abundance of ſhot were lodged in their ſides, which were afterwards picked out without any farther damage to the monſters.

War elephants.

I proceed now to enquire into the treaſury and revenues of the Mogul, which ariſe from the product of the ground, the labours of the people, the cuſtoms of the ſea-ports, the eſtates of great men which devolve on the crown by their deaths, and preſents from the ſubjects, who never approach their Prince or Governor empty handed. The Viceroy of every province, it is ſaid, is obliged to anſwer the crown ſuch a certain ſum, which he raiſes out of the manufactures and the product of the ſoil; this part of the revenue therefore may eaſily be computed; and MANOUCHI, who reſided in the Mogul's court forty years, makes theſe alone amount to three hundred eighty ſeven millions one hundred and ninety four thou-

Revenue of the crown.

CHAP. X.

ſand roupees, which he reckons to be of the value of half a crown, but the juſt value is two ſhillings and three-pence, and then the annual revenue of the provinces may be reckoned to be between forty and fifty millions ſterling; and much the greateſt part of the troops being maintained by the reſpective Omrah's and Raja's, this may be looked upon alſo as a conſiderable addition to the revenue, it ſaving the crown a prodigious expence. The Raja's alſo many of them yield a yearly tribute, but then as many of them receive large penſions, one perhaps may balance the other; but the wealth he poſſeſſes himſelf of when any of his Viceroys or rich Governors die, and the daily preſents he receives from his ſubjects, muſt amount to an immenſe ſum; the diamond mines alſo are an inexhauſtible treaſure.

Coin, weights and meaſures.

The coins we meet with in this country are the pice or caſh which are copper, and about the value of a half-peny; fanams, a ſilver coin of the value of three-pence; the roupee, another ſilver coin, two ſhillings and three-pence; the gold moor or roupee, which is about the value of fourteen ſilver roupees, and the pagoda, ſo called from having the figure of a pagoda ſtamped upon it, is of the value of nine ſhillings; the laſt are coined chiefly by the Raja's or petty Princes, they are flat on one ſide and the other is convex. The gold and ſilver coins are finer here than in any other country. Foreigners have their mints and coin both gold and ſilver, particularly the Engliſh at fort St. George; foreign coins alſo are current in this country, but there is not much of this; for little matters they ſometimes uſe bitter almonds, or ſea ſhells called black-a-moor's teeth, ſixty whereof are about the value of a half-peny. Whatever foreign coin falls into the hands of the Mogul's Governors is melted down into roupees, with the characters of the reigning Emperor, and after his death, it abates in the value a half-peny or peny, on account of wear, as they pretend, and only the new coin paſſes at the full value.

Great ſums are reckoned by lecks, carons, and arobs. A leck is a hundred thouſand roupees. A caron or carol, as ſome call it, is a hundred lecks, and an arob is ten carons.

Their weights differ in almoſt every port, and frequently in the ſame port, ſo that no exact calculation can be made of them. The common weight at Surat is the ſeer, which is about thirteen ounces ⅓, and forty ſeers make a maund generally; (the ſeer at Agra, it is ſaid, is double that of Surat) the candy varies from five hundred pounds, to five hundred and ſeventy; it is generally ſaid, that twenty maunds go to a candy. Pepper, aſſaſœtida, dry ginger, benjamin, turmerick, tyncall and ſaltpetre, have 42 ſeers of Surat to the maund, according to Mr. LOCKYER. Aloes, brimſtone, coperas, long pepper, dammer, ſticklack and wormſeed, have forty four ſeer to the maund, and for the moſt part goods wherein there is no waſte, as copper, quickſilver, vermilion, ivory, lahor indigo, tutanag, &c. are ſold forty ſeer to the maund, which holds out thirty ſeven pounds 3 Engliſh, or three maunds to one hundred. At Carwar Mr. LOCKYER obſerved, that their ſeer was about 8 ounces 19 d. troy weight, forty two ſeer made one maund, and twenty maunds one candy of about 514 l. 14 ounces.

At Surat corn and rice and other commodities which are ſold with us by hollow meaſure, are there ſold by weight; ſilks and callicoes are ſold by the pieces or by the cobit, which contains twenty ſeven inches.

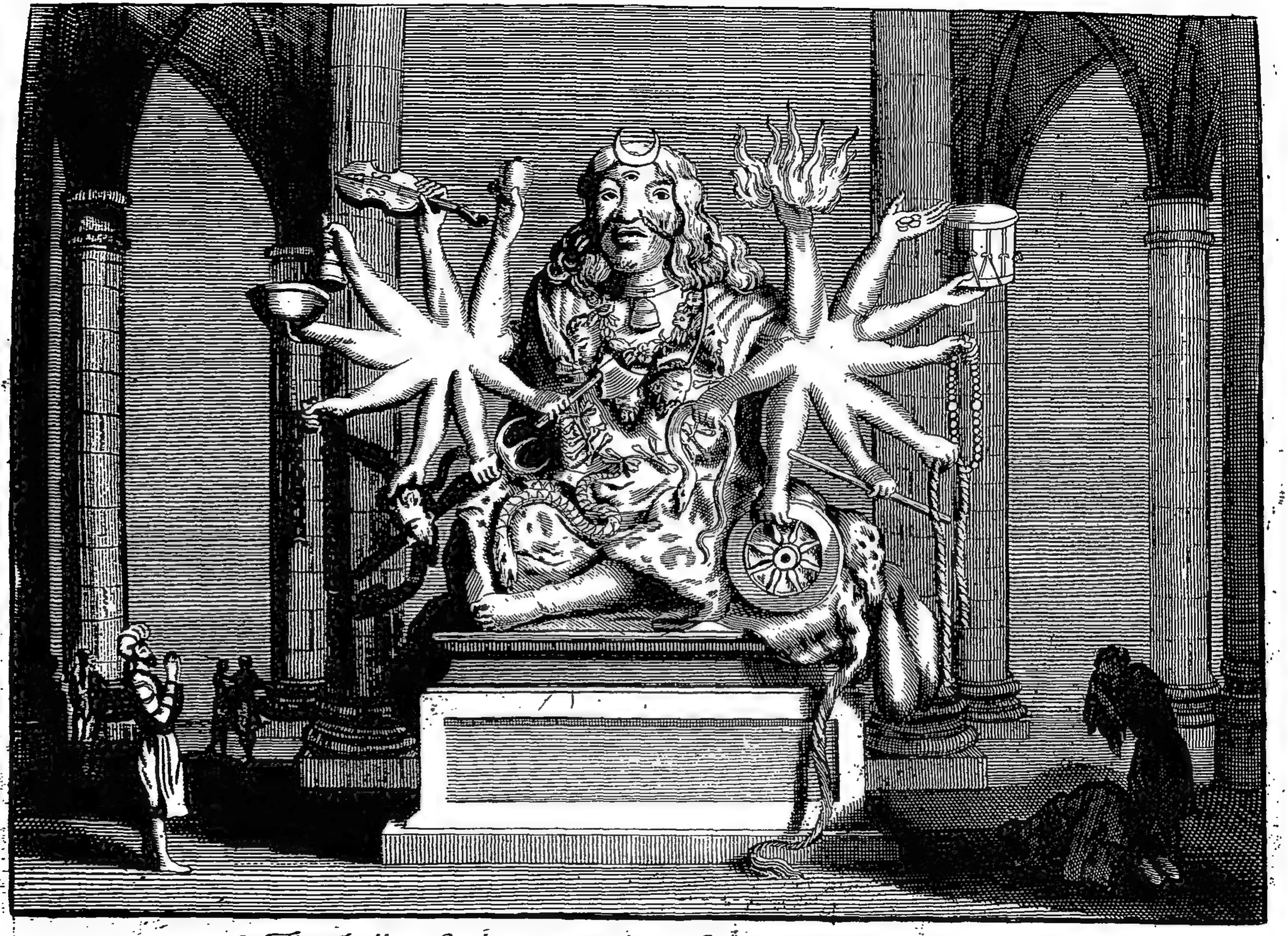
The coſs by which they meaſure their roads is alſo very uncertain, near the coaſts it is about an Engliſh mile and half, but farther up in the country, and particularly about Brampour, it is near two Engliſh miles.

Mr. LOCKYER, who very well underſtood theſe things, has given us the following account of the coins, weights and meaſures uſed at fort St. George on the coaſt of Cormandel, viz.

Moſt of the current money is coined by the company, for which they have a conſiderable allowance by the owners; two eſſay maſters regulate the mint, to whom they give great ſalaries for their extraordinary care. The pagoda (valued at nine ſhillings) is gold of about 8² mats or 86¼ touch, and weighs 2 d. wt. 4 gr. 17 3 mt. There are others, as Allumgeer, Negapatan, Policat, Pagoda's, but not in ſo great eſteem as the Madraſs pagoda's, by about ½ per cent. more or leſs; the allumgeer is fineſt, but want of weight makes it leſs deſired. The fanams are not coined by the company, thirty ſix are current per pagoda, yet in the bazar one may get 36½ and ſometimes more; they are dollar-mat, or fineneſs. Doodoes or caſh, are copper coins, eight of the former make one fanam, and ten of the latter one doodo; they are ſtamped with the company's mark, as are the weſt-coaſt fanams. In the company's accounts, ſix imaginary caſh are reckoned one fanam. Roupees that are coined here are three or four per cent. better than others, being ſold 326, when mixed roupees are 338 per pagoda's 100. At the ſame time dollars are 15, and 15¼ per pagoda's 10. The Madraſs roupee, pz. 7 d. wt. 11 gr. is 14½ better than Engliſh ſtandard; ſo that 7 d. wt. 22 gr. 13 mt. 5 4/4 ſtandard is one roupee; mixed roupees are moſt common, but neither ſort uſed in payments at a fixed rate; their value riſing and falling according to the demand for ſilver.

In weights, ten pagoda's are 1 pollam, forty pollams one viſs of 3 lib. Engliſh, eight viſs one maund, and twenty maund one candy of 500 l.

Liquid



Vol I. Pag 325. *The Indian God* IXORA *with 3 Eyes and Sixteen hands.*

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Liquid and dry measures, viz. One measure is one pint and a half, eight measures, one mercall, and four hundred mercalls are one garse.

One cobit for long measure is $18\frac{1}{10}$ inches.

A corge is twenty in number, as twenty is a score in England.

CHAP. XI.

Treats of the several religions professed in proper India, or the Empire of the great Mogul, and the casts and tribes into which they are divided.

Religion.

WE may consider the Indians as professing four different religions. First, The original inhabitants of India, who are the most numerous by far, are idolaters. II. The Parsies, worshippers of fire, who derive themselves from the ancient Persians, are another species of idolaters, who have little resemblance of the former. III. The Moors or Moguls, who have the government in their hands, are Mahometans. And IV. The Christians, who are dispersed throughout India, most of them proselytes of the popish Missionaries, though there are some called Christians of St. THOMAS, who is supposed to have planted Christianity in this part of the World, whom the Missionaries found here at their arrival, and who refused to own or submit to the authority of the Pope.

I begin with the original inhabitants of India, by some called Hindowns, who are divided into a multitude of casts or tribes, that will not eat or drink, or intermarry with any but those of their proper cast, notwithstanding their idolatry and religious worship are very much the same.

Casts or tribes.

There are reckoned three or fourscore several casts among the Pagan Indians, but the three chief are the Bramins, the Rajaputes or Rashboots, and the Banians or Chontres; there is a fourth sort of people who abstain from the flesh of some certain Animals, but not all; and there is a fifth whom they call Pariars and Halicors who are very numerous, and are employed in all vile offices, as cleaning the streets and houses, carrying out their dead, &c. who make no scruple of eating or drinking any thing whatever, and the touch of any of these people would defile any of the other casts.

Bramins.

Of the Bramins there are several subdivisions or casts, some of them eat no flesh, others eat some kinds of flesh; some of them marry, and others condemn themselves to a state of celibacy, and will not so much as look upon a woman; most of them wash and bathe several times a day: but there are others who never wash at all, for fear of destroying some living creatures, and as they are apprehensive they may be the death of some imperceptible animals by drawing in their breath, wear a piece of silk or muslin before their mouths. They burn no wood for the same reason, and carry a brush in their hands to sweep the place where they sit down, that they may not crush the soul of any creature out of its body; and some of our travellers are so merry to relate, that the sect which refrain from marriage, do it that no creatures may be stifled by their matrimonial embraces.

This tribe of the Bramins have not only engrossed the priesthood, but all learning and the highest rank of nobility to themselves. Their learning consists chiefly in being able to read some antient books called the vedam, wherein their law or rule of life delivered by BRAMA, their great law-giver, is contained. These they get by heart, though great part of them are not well understood by themselves.

The Bramins, according to the Popish Missionaries, teach, that there is but one God infinitely perfect, who has been from all eternity; but that he created three subordinate deities, viz. BRAMA, WISTNOW, and ROUTEREN; that to BRAMA he gave the power of creation; to WISTNOW that of preservation, and to ROUTEREN that of destroying. But they say, the wiser Indians reject the fable, and ascribe all to the Supreme Being, who by these several ways has manifested himself to the world. The Missionaries also suggest, that the religion of the Indians was derived from that of the Jews, and that the scriptures were formerly communicated to them. Their account of the creation of the world, the flood, &c. having a great resemblance of the scripture story. Father BOUCHET tells us, that a learned Bramin assured him, that one of their books gave an account, that BRAMA made man of the dust of the earth, and placed him in a paradise, where was a tree of life, and a serpent; and after the fall a flood, an ark, &c. Afterwards they make BRAMA to be ABRAM, and pretend there is a tradition of one of their penitents going to sacrifice his son, and that some of the Pagans observe circumcision, &c. And after the Father has run through the whole scripture story, and made the Indian records exactly parallel to it, he introduces confession as necessary to the disciples of both religions. But as I was inclined to believe great part of the story a fiction before, from the exact resemblance the Father makes between the Bramins books and those of MOSES; this article of confession which the Father adds, confirms me in that opinion: besides, as we have had settlements and factories in the country above a hundred years, it would have been very strange, if none of our own people, or the Portuguese, or the Dutch, should ever have made this observation of the history of the Bramins, agreeing so exactly with the sacred writings. Another thing which would induce a

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Proteſtant to ſuſpect the truth of what the Miſſionaries relate in religious matters, is their frequent pretences to the working miracles, &c. Thus much is true, the Indians do acknowledge one ſupreme God, and their images, they ſay, repreſent ſome heroes and virtuous perſons, who formerly dwelt on the earth, and are now exalted to heaven, where they apprehend them to be mediators for them, which is the reaſon they pay their devotions before theſe images. They have alſo ſome confuſed notion of the creation, and deſtruction of mankind by a flood, which no doubt gave the hint to our modern Jeſuits to improve the ſtory.

The Bramins hold that BRAMA, by the power given him by MAHADEU, did not only make one, but a great many worlds, to the number of fourteen at leaſt; and to our world they aſſign four ſeveral ages, the duration of every one of which they hold to have been ſeveral hundred thouſand years; and that the laſt age, in which we live, has yet upwards of 400000 years to come, as has been taken notice of already. The ten principal images which are the objects of their adoration, are ſuch figures as their vedam relates their God MAHADEU has appeared in the world under, at ſeveral times, for the ſervice of mankind. In the firſt he is repreſented with four heads, and as many arms, in another with a head like a hog, with two great tusks, and a body like a man's, with four arms and hands. This image is very common in India, and having a dreadful aſpect the Europeans imagine it repreſents ſome devil. There are ſeveral other monſtrous repreſentations of their God, one of them partly man and partly fiſh; another has ten heads, and as many pair of hands; but the hiſtories of them are ſo very childiſh and trifling, that they are not worth the repeating. They have ſeldom any publick aſſemblies in their pagoda's, but every one performs his devotions at what time he ſees fit, and to the image he is moſt affected; but they carry the images of WISTNOW and ESWARA through their cities on feſtivals, when there is a vaſt concourſe of people. The greateſt part of their worſhip ſeems to conſiſt in ſinging, dancing, and playing on muſical inſtruments, and in offering rice and other food; but I have ſeen the poor people at Madraſs praying before the ſhrines of their Gods, with all the fervour and devotion that a ſenſe of their wants can be ſuppoſed to inſpire. They alſo waſh, perfume, and adorn their images, according to their ability.

The Bramins believe a pre-exiſtent ſtate, and that the good and bad fortune we meet with in this world, is either a reward or puniſhment for what we have done in a former, and that thoſe who behave themſelves well in this world ſhall be rewarded in another ſtate; ſome endeavour to do more than their vedam or law requires, hoping to enjoy an extraordinary place in heaven. In order to obtain remiſſion of ſins, the Bramins direct their diſciples to make pilgrimages to ſome certain places, and particularly to ſome pagoda's near the mouths of the Ganges, the bare waſhing in which river has a mighty effect, as they believe, to cleanſe them from their ſins. CH. XI.

The moral duties required by their law are, temperance, and charity to the poor, not to kill, or lie, or ſteal, or defraud, or oppreſs any perſon. A reverend Proteſtant Divine relates, that a certain Bramin told him, that they acknowledged one God, whom they deſcribed as having a thouſand eyes, and as many hands and feet, whereby they only intend to expreſs his omniſcience and power; the conſideration whereof made their people very exact in the performance of all moral duties required of them.

As to the ſect of the Rajaputes, or Raſhboots, they perform the ſame moral duties as the Bramins, but they abſtain from no meat, except it be the cow, and the fleſh of ſome other beaſts they look upon as ſacred, for which reaſon the Banians, the third ſect, though reckoned inferior, will not eat with them. Rajap.

The Banians are the moſt numerous as well as the moſt wealthy of all the Pagan tribes; theſe are again ſubdivided into four and twenty caſts, which I take to be ſo many ſeveral trades or profeſſions, who have each of them alſo their reſpective tenets in matters of religion, and one who is reckoned of a ſuperior trade or caſt, will not match or eat with one of an inferior caſt for the world. One thing, however, they all agree in, and that is in their tenderneſs for all manner of animals, whom they do not only forbear to kill, but preſerve and make proviſion for them. This proceeds from that opinion that every man animates ſome noble or deſpicable animal after death, according to his behaviour in this life. The cow is in the greateſt eſteem among them, to whom they pay a particular veneration every morning; not only becauſe they ſuppoſe the happieſt ſouls take up their abode in theſe animals, but becauſe after death, as the Bramins teach, this beaſt is to conduct them over a great river, over which it would be impoſſible to paſs without holding by the cow's tail. Another reaſon of their veneration for theſe beaſts is, that they imagine the foundations of the earth to be ſupported on their horns. It is related alſo, that their God MAHADEU, being highly provoked by the ſins of the people, and reſolving to deſtroy the world, was appeaſed by a cow. The Banians have ſo firm a belief that departed ſouls go into beaſts, that they no ſooner obſerve any animal frequent their houſes but they immediately conclude, it is ſome of their deceaſed friends come to pay them a viſit. Mr. OVINGTON tells us of one MORADASH, who Banian.

was



one form in which the God Wistnow has appeard



Another form in which Wistnow is said to have appeard

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was ſcrivan or ſecretary to an Engliſh broker, who being very melancholy on the death of his father, and ſeeing a ſnake enter his houſe, immediately concluded it was animated by his father's ſoul, and come thither for relief; this was no ſmall comfort to him, and he reſolved to pay the ſame duty to his father under this metamorphoſis as when he was alive; and accordingly provided milk and rice for his new gueſt, who liked his entertainment ſo well that he took up his dwelling in a corner of the room, and came out to eat when his food was ſet him, as regularly as if he was one of the family. The ſame man made a proviſion for the rats in his houſe, imagining they were his relations, whereupon they grew as tame as any other domeſtick animals.

There is no weekly ſabbath obſerved among the Indians, but the ninth and twenty-fourth of every month, or thereabouts, are days of faſting and abſtinence, which they oblige even their children to perform religiouſly. Mr. OVINGTON obſerves alſo, that the husbandmen and labouringmen are taught to ſing ſome religious compoſitions in verſe, conſiſting of prayers and praiſes, which they begin to do as ſoon as it is light in the morning, and conclude the day with; and that when a company of labouring men are employed in the ſame work, theſe ſacred rhimes are repeated alternately, or by a ſingle perſon, the reſt anſwering in a chorus, without a quarter of an hour's intermiſſion all day long. The watermen alſo, while they are at the oar, are perpetually ſinging and repeating certain ſtanza's, as all people obſerve who have been in India; but I confeſs I did not underſtand them to be ſacred compoſitions, till Mr. OVINGTON gave me the hint, who, as he was a Divine, probably enquired more narrowly into the matter: and I ſee no reaſon to reject his account of it, becauſe the Bramins now, as the Druids of old, inſtruct their people in their religion and hiſtory by ſongs, which they teach them, none being permitted to look into the vedam, or ſacred books, but themſelves; and indeed they are written in a dead language, which none but themſelves can underſtand, and part of it is unintelligible even to them.

A great part of their religion, as has been obſerved, conſiſts in their frequent waſhings, and keeping themſelves undefiled from the touch of Chriſtians, and other polluted hands, as they eſteem all ſtrangers. They never drink out of the ſame cup with a ſtranger, or out of any veſſel he has touched; nay, they carry this extravagancy ſo far, that they will not drink out of the ſame well where any profane veſſel has been let down, and defiled the water. Of this my acquaintance, who gave me the account of the ſiege of Trincombar, ſays he ſaw a remarkable inſtance, for having an inclination to ſee the country, after a peace was concluded, he went with ſix or eight more to ſome of the neighbouring villages, and it being very hot, they were about to draw water out of one of their wells, which the people perceiving, aſſembled in the greateſt conſternation, begging the Engliſh would not do them ſo great an injury, for if they let down any veſſel into the well which they had touched, they muſt never uſe the water any more. This occaſioned ſome diſpute at firſt, for the Engliſh were ſo thirſty that they would not hear of marching forwards till they had drank; but at length this expedient was thought of, viz. that the Indians ſhould draw the water out of the well in their own buckets, and then pour it into ſome pots they gave the Engliſh, which were to be broken to pieces as ſoon as they were uſed, that none of their caſt might be defiled by the touch of them; whereupon the Engliſh drank what they pleaſed, and parted very good friends with the inhabitants.

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Another cuſtom theſe people obſerve almoſt as religiouſly as the former, and that is, never to perform any vile office with their right hands, reſerving the left purely for thoſe uſes; as when the neceſſities of nature require them to withdraw, they always waſh themſelves clean with their left hands, carrying a pot of water with them for that purpoſe, when they are not near the ſea, or ſome river; and for this reaſon a ſalam, or ſalute, with the left hand, is the greateſt affront can be put upon them. And as a Banian is defiled by the touch of a ſtranger, or uſing any thing he has touched, ſo is the perſon who touches him, till he has waſhed and purified himſelf.

But to return to their tenderneſs for animals, that precept of their law which forbids them to kill, is extended to all inſects; ſhould they happen to deſtroy a flea, or a mite, it would require ſome extraordinary expiation to atone for the offence. But the Banians do not only forbear to kill living creatures, as has been obſerved already, but erect hoſpitals for them, particularly within a mile of Surat, goats, horſes, dogs, and cows, which happen to be lame or ſuperannuated, are plentifully provided for, and they will purchaſe a lame ox of the owner, to place him in the hoſpital, rather than his maſter ſhould kill him. Near this is another hoſpital for fleas, buggs, and other inſects. And Mr. OVINGTON tells us, that the Banians there ſometimes hire a poor man to let the vermin prey upon him for a night, who conſents to be tied down to the bed, that they may be ſure to have their bargain of him.

The Banian alſo once a year, it is ſaid, prepares an entertainment for the flies, ſetting before them larges diſhes of milk and ſugar, a food they are very fond of; at other times he takes a bag

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of rice with him, and walking out two or three miles, diſtributes it at ſuch ant-hills as he meets with.

But however we may laugh at the folly of the Banians for their tenderneſs to animals; ſurely there is a fault on the other ſide, in uſing them barbarouſly, and taking away their lives without any manner of neceſſity. Life is certainly a very valuable good, and perhaps more ſo to beaſts than men in ſome reſpects; they enjoy all the ſatisfactions their nature is capable of, and taſte their pleaſures unmixed, without any anxious fears or cares, in relation to futurity; the apprehenſions of what may happen to morrow does not at all diſturb their enjoyment of the preſent moment; and though it may be ſaid God made them for our uſe, what commiſſion have we wantonly to abuſe them? there is another reaſon, probably, why he made them; and that is, that they might enjoy ſome kind of happineſs, though it be inferior to ours; and to deprive them of that, is in ſome meaſure to defeat the deſign of their creation. And as to domeſtick animals, as one obſerves, whom we have made familiar to us, and perhaps received much ſervice from them, the abuſing of theſe has ſome appearance of injuſtice and ingratitude; but the putting poor creatures to lingring and painful deaths, only that their fleſh may look or reliſh a little better than ordinary, is ſurely ſuch an indulgence of our palates or fancies as borders upon cruelty.

But to proceed, the Banians are not only extremely tender of the lives of animals, but frequently adorn them with rings and bracelets; and extend their care even to trees and vegetables, painting them with a variety of colours, the banian-tree in particular, under which they frequently place their images, is adorned with flags, ſtreamers, &c.

There is a religious order among the Pagans, called Faquirs, (as there is alſo among the Mahometans) who make vows of poverty and celibacy, and ſome of them inflict unheard of tortures on themſelves, in order to merit the favour of heaven. Their pretended original is as ridiculous as that of their other inſtitutions. The people have them in great veneration, and look upon it as a very meritorious act to relieve them. Theſe Faquirs powder their hair with aſhes, which they let hang down to the middle of their backs; they lay themſelves naked on the ground under certain trees, without bed, or covering, or pillow to reſt their heads on; gathering the duſt and dirt together, with which they beſmear their bodies. Some of them make vows to remain in one poſture all their lives, and will voluntarily diſtort and diſlocate their bones: ſome you ſee with their hands ſtretched out to heaven, which by holding long in one poſture they cannot bring down again without great violence, and the nails of their fingers are ſuffered to grow longer than eagles claws; others ſtand looking up ſtedfaſtly at the heavens, throwing their heads ſo far back between their ſhoulders that they can ſee nothing which moves upon the earth, as if this lower world was not worth their notice; but before they can bring themſelves to remain conſtantly in theſe poſtures they go through a world of pain and uneaſineſs, which, when they have in ſome meaſure conquered, and become wholly uſeleſs and unſerviceable to themſelves and others, they have a ſervant or two to attend on them, and convey them from place to place. There are others who load themſelves with heavy chains, which they drag after them as long as they live; ſome of them we ſee with their right hand brought over the left ſhoulder, and the left over the right ſhoulder, and claſping before upon their breaſts, with the palms of their hands turned outwards, which cannot be done without twiſting the arms round, and diſlocating the ſhoulder bones, and this puts them to inexpreſſible torture, before it can be accompliſhed. Other Faquirs vow never to ſit or lye down, but either walk or lean; accordingly a rope being tied from one bough of a tree to another, a pillow or quilt is laid upon it, on which they lean, and on this they will ſwing backwards and forwards, day and night; but they alter their poſture when they pray, being drawn up by the heels to the bough of the tree, and their heads down towards the earth, as unworthy to look up to heaven; and from the prayers of thoſe great bleſſings are expected, and many calamities thought to be averted. The people reſort with much devotion to the places where theſe penances are performed, and the devotees obtain the reputation of great ſanctity, being almoſt adored in their life-time. And certainly, if the favour of heaven be to be obtained by acts of mortification, theſe people have a much better pretence to it, than the ſaints in this part of the world.

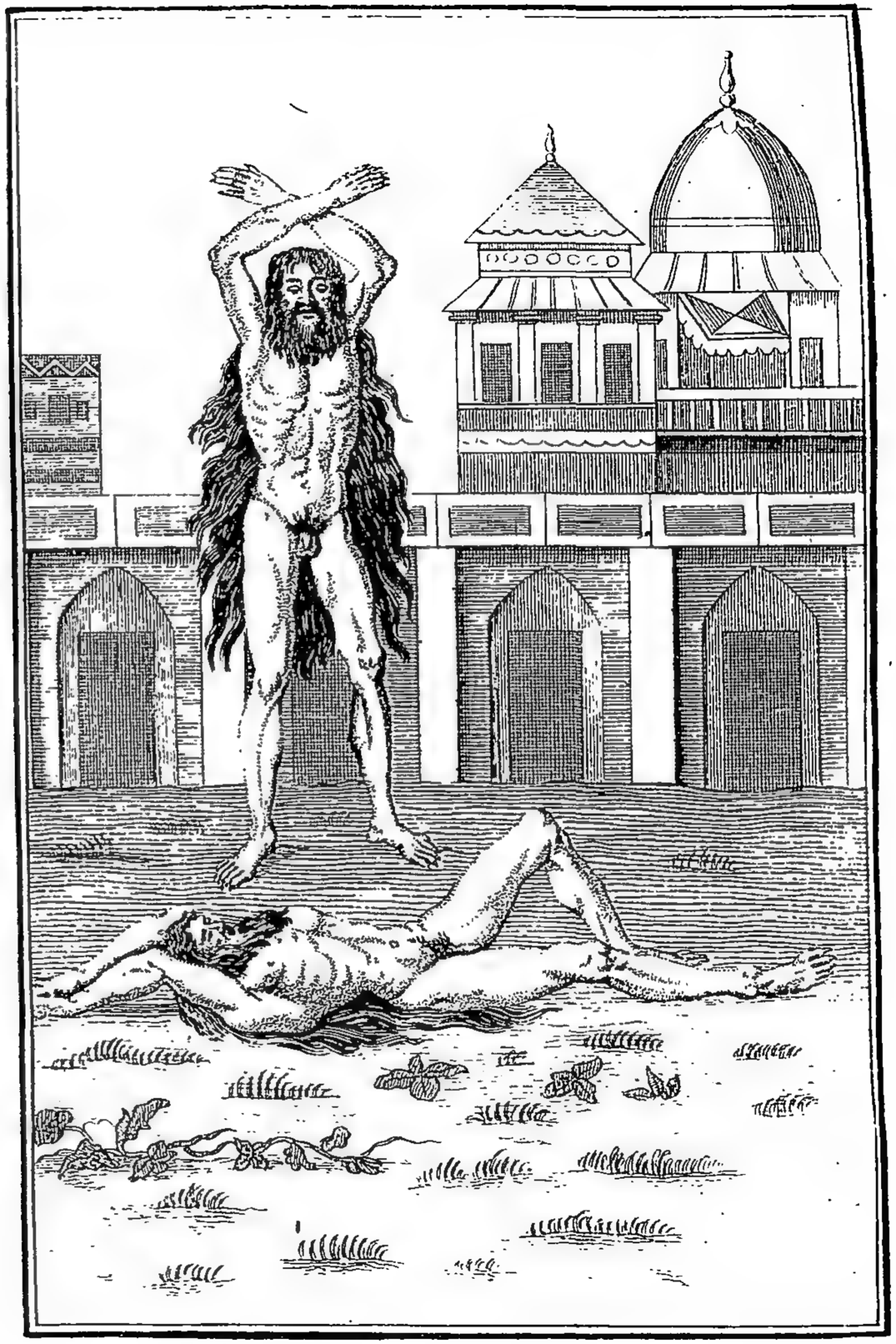
However, we are not to think that the whole body of Faquirs, who are very numerous, lead ſuch very auſtere lives; on the contrary, they rove about the country in large companies, to whom the people are very liberal; and as it is exceeding pleaſant travelling in this country great part of the year, and their ſtages are never beyond a moderate walk, there cannot be a more agreeable life: food is provided to their hands in every village they come to, and they have reſpect paid them equal to that our ſectaries give to their fanatick teachers, who reſemble them in almoſt every thing, but their penances and vows of poverty, which how zealouſly ſoever our teachers recommend to others, it is remarkable, they never look upon themſelves under any obligation to perform.

The



The Banians feeding Birds and Insects &c

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A Bramin Penitent

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The Indian as well as Britiſh ſaints will be extremely merry alſo among themſelves, but great care is taken that they do not give offence to the world by any exceſs in their cups. Mr. OVINGTON relates, that he ſaw upwards of a hundred of theſe Faquirs rejoicing in a grove of ſhady trees, at an entertainment that was provided for them by a certain great man, and obſerving that they drank bang ſteeped in water pretty freely, which is a very intoxicating liquor, he enquired if theſe meetings did not end ſometimes in frolicks and madneſs; to which it was anſwered, they always took care to preſerve peace and order, and for that end choſe out a certain number among themſelves who did not drink at all, to be cenſors of the reſt, and to interpoſe in any diſputes which might happen, and reſtrain all exorbitant mirth and exceſſive drinking.

I come now to give an account of the other ſort of idolaters in India, called Perſees or Gaures, worſhippers of fire, who tranſplanted themſelves hither from Perſia, when the Mahometans made a conqueſt of that country. Theſe alſo acknowledge one ſupreme God, the Creator of all things; but they have a tradition which is equally believed, namely, that their great Lawgiver, whom they call ZERTOOST, was caught up into Heaven, where fire was delivered him, which he brought down from thence, and commanded his diſciples to worſhip it; and accordingly, nothing is a greater crime amongſt them than to extinguiſh fire of any kind. They keep fires conſtantly burning in their eggarees, or temples, in lamps fed with oil, which are always attended by their Prieſts, and as they relate, have burnt without ever being extinguiſhed for many generations; ſome travellers carry it ſo far as to ſay, that if their houſes were on fire, they would ſooner feed than extinguiſh the flame, and look upon him as a very profane perſon who preſumes to put out a candle. They dedicate the firſt day of every month to the ſervice of God, and have publick prayers on ſome other days. At their ſolemn feſtivals, which they hold in the ſuburbs of Surat, it is obſerved that every man brings his own food with him; but upon theſe occaſions they eat in common, every man taking what he likes beſt, whether it be his own or his neighbours; and ſuch is their charity that they take care and provide for all their own poor, ſo that there is not a beggar to be found amongſt them.

They have as much veneration for their cock as the Banians have for their cow, but eat indifferently almoſt of all other animals, except beef and pork, which, it is ſaid, they only refrain from in compliance with the Moors and Banians, endeavouring to give no offence to either, nor will they drink out of the ſame cup, or eat of the ſame diſh, with a ſtranger.

As to the religion of the Moors it is the ſame with that of the Turks; the Perſians are looked upon as hereticks by both: I ſhall juſt mention the heads of their doctrine here, but reſerve a farther account of their religion till I come to treat of Perſia and Turky, where Mahometiſm is more generally profeſſed. CHAP. XI. Moors religion.

They teach that all men ought to believe that there is one only great GOD, and MAHOMET his prophet; they hold alſo that ABRAHAM is the friend of GOD, MOSES the meſſenger of GOD, and CHRIST the breath of GOD. II. That every man ought to marry, to encreaſe the number of believers. III. All men ought to be charitable to the poor. IV. To pray five times a day. V. To keep their ramezan, or one month's faſt, yearly, when they faſt religiouſly all the day, but regale themſelves in the night. VI. To be obedient to their parents. VII. To do no murder. VIII. To do to others as they would be done by. And laſtly, to abſtain from wine and ſwine's fleſh. And Friday they ſolemnize as their ſabbath. They compel none to alter their religion in India, nor do they ſeem to have any great opinion of thoſe who become their proſelytes; and as the Indian idolaters have their Faquirs and devotees, ſo have the Moors, in great numbers, ſometimes called Faquirs alſo, and at others Derviſes.

Theſe Faquirs, like the others, ſome of them condemn themſelves to very afflicting penances, and make vows of poverty, which it ſeems are not always obſerved; for AURENGZEBE, who once pretended to be one of their number, being conſcious what was concealed under their rags, poſſeſſed himſelf of an immenſe treaſure, by changing their old clothes for new ones. Some relate that theſe Faquirs frequently go armed, under pretence of defending themſelves from wild beaſts, but in effect to plunder the villages; for if alms are refuſed they will compel the people to give what they demand.

Some of theſe devotees, Mr. OVINGTON aſſures us, go perfectly naked, without the leaſt covering, in that populous city of Surat, and will walk in the moſt publick places, at noon day, as unconcernedly as if they had all their clothes on, and the thing being ſo very uſual, people of either ſex converſe freely with them without bluſhing.

I come now to ſpeak of the ſtate of the Chriſtian religion in the Eaſt-Indies, and it ſeems generally agreed, that Chriſtianity hath been planted here ever ſince the Apoſtles times; but however that be, certain it is, that Chriſtians were found here when the Europeans firſt viſited theſe coaſts, who had a tradition among them, that St. THOMAS was martyred near Meliapour, on the coaſt of Cormandel, to which town therefore the Portugueſe State of Chriſtianity.

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Portugueſe afterwards gave the name of St. Thomas; this city ſtands about a league to the ſouthward of fort St. George, and is at this day a Biſhop's ſee.

The points wherein theſe Indian Chriſtians differed with the Romiſh church, were their adminiſtering the ſacrament in both kinds, but uſing, inſtead of wine, a liquor made with raiſins, there being no wine made in the country. II. They did not baptize their children till they were forty days old, unleſs they were in danger of death. III. They had no images in their churches but the croſs. IV. They allowed their prieſts to marry once. V. They uſed no extreme unction. And VI. They did not acknowledge the Pope's juriſdiction. But to the laſt, and ſome of the others, the Romiſh Miſſionaries have brought them over, and they go to the ſame church the Portugueſe do, at Madraſs; but, as I remember, not at the ſame time. One thing, however, is obſervable, that notwithſtanding theſe Chriſtians of St. Thomas come to church within the walls of Madraſs, and ſeem to agree with us in ſo many conſiderable points, our Proteſtant divines, who are chaplains to the Engliſh there, do not attempt to reconcile them to the church of England, or indeed to make proſelytes of any kind whatever: indeed there muſt be the fatigue of learning languages, and a ſeverer diſcipline ſubmitted to than thoſe reverend gentlemen are uſed to, if they would do any conſiderable good amongſt them, as the Romiſh clergy have experienced; nor have the Miſſionaries themſelves been able to make any converts, except among the Pariars, the meaneſt of the people; for the other caſts abhor all Chriſtians, as a polluted race, who eat every thing, and converſe promiſcuouſly with all kinds of people without diſtinction. It is true, amongſt this ſort of people, and the mixed breed on the coaſt, and even in Agra and Delly, in the heart of the country, there are abundance of Chriſtians to be found, who are allowed a free exerciſe of their religion. AURENGZEBE was the greateſt enemy the Chriſtians or Idolaters ever had in India; but I do not find he was often guilty of compelling either to change their religion, though ſome inſtances I think there are of that kind.

CHAP. XII.

Treats of the marriages of the Indians, and of their children.

Marriages.

THE marriages of the Jentoes, or Indian idolaters, very little deſerve that name, for the conſent of the parties, which only can conſtitute a marriage, as we apprehend, is never demanded; their fathers drive the bargain before the young people come to the uſe of their reaſon, nor does either the boy or the girl, when they come of age, ever imagine they have a negative in the matter, but look upon themſelves as much obliged to obey their parents in this particular as in any other command; but then the man has this remedy, that if he does not like the girl his father has provided him he may take another, and have as many concubines as he pleaſes: but hard is the woman's lot in this caſe, who cannot obtain a divorce for any cauſe whatever; nay, if ſhe murmur at her husband's conduct, he may reduce her to the condition of a ſlave, and ſet her to work with them. As for the power of life and death over her, that is not very material in this caſe, becauſe theſe people, many of them, would not deprive the meaneſt animal of life if it was in their power, much leſs the quondam partner of their bed; nor need the woman be apprehenſive of ſuffering any other cruel uſage from a Bramin or Banian husband, but ſeeing him kiſs another woman before her face; and this the good natured Banian ſeems to do with ſome reluctancy, where he happens to have two wives, according to the relation Mr. OVINGTON gives us of this matter. He ſays, a merry Banian uſed often to complain of the folly of taking two wives, becauſe they diſtracted him with their perpetual jealouſy of each other; he never could enjoy one but the other was in a flame, nay, upon the leaſt ſuſpicion of his intending a favour to one, the other was alarmed, and would break out into the moſt paſſionate expoſtulations, asking if he intended to forſake her, and perhaps, take hold of his clothes, and partly by force, and partly by the tendereſt expreſſions ſhe could frame, endeavour to divert him from his deſign: one would urge that ſhe was the wife of his youth, with whom he had long contracted an intimate acquaintance, and plead a right to him by preſcription; the other would claim a greater ſhare in his favours, on account ſhe had enjoyed ſo little of him yet; whereas her rival had had him to herſelf for ſeveral years: that the husband, almoſt diſtracted by their importunity, knows not which way to turn; and wiſhes, for his own tranquillity, he had confined himſelf to one.

It is ſaid, how truly I cannot determine, that in ſome countries upon the Malabar coaſt, a woman is permitted to have three husbands, who equally contribute to the maintenance of the iſſue; but that the men are not allowed the ſame privilege: and that their Princes, whether of the male or female ſex, take whom they pleaſe to lye with; and that the crown, as well as private eſtates, goes to the eldeſt brother, and not to the children, as in other places. But I muſt confeſs I much doubt the truth of theſe relations, becauſe the Jentoes, who inhabit the other coaſt, and are of the ſame religion, have no ſuch cuſtom. Another

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ther circumſtance which makes me believe this ſtory to be of European extraction, is, that they have made it ſo exactly parallel to what is reported of our antient Britons, namely, that when one of the husbands is with the wife he leaves his ſtaff, or his arms, at the door, and the reſt thereupon paſs by. This is reported of the Nairo's, the military men on the coaſt of Malabar, who are ſtyled their gentry by our Europeans, and to me they ſeem to be no other than the Raſhboot caſt, under another name, who look upon themſelves, in like manner, to be ſuperior to every other caſt but the Bramins. The military men in moſt parts of the world are ſo far from being contented with a third ſhare in a woman, that they ſeem to look upon the whole ſex as their property, in whoſeſoever hands they find them; let the laws of MAHOMET prohibit wine, or thoſe of Chriſtianity a community of women under never ſo ſevere penalties, either the ſoldiery don't think themſelves comprehended in the reſpective prohibitions, or they think it would argue a want of courage to be frighted with the threats of a diſtant damnation.

But to return to the marriages of the Jentoes, under which I comprehend all the ſects or caſts of Indian idolaters, they conſtantly marry in their own tribe or caſt, and they have as many ſeveral caſts as they have trades or profeſſions; a merchant will not match into a mechanick tribe, or a mechanick into thoſe of a husbandman or fiſherman. Theſe have each other in as much abhorrence as they have Chriſtians; but what is ſtranger ſtill, a mechanick of one trade will not match with a mechanick's daughter of another; a ſmith muſt not match into the carpenters or weavers caſt, or either of them into a ſmith's, and ſo of every other trade: but their Princes ſeem to be exempted from theſe rules; for the great Raja's make no ſcruple to marry their daughters to the Mogul, notwithſtanding he is of a different religion: and how cautious ſoever the men ſeem to be in polluting themſelves with the touch of a Chriſtian, there are Jentoe women, and thoſe too devoted to the ſervice of their temples, to ſing and dance before their idols, who, one would think, ſhould be looked upon as under a ſacred character, who will yet proſtitute themſelves to people of any nation or perſuaſion, nor is it eſteemed a crime in them by the Bramins, or prieſts, who have the government of them; they are, in ſhort, as looſe a generation as our common choriſters.

As to the ſolemnization of the Jentoes weddings, nothing can be more publick or ſplendid; you ſee the little bride and bridegroom carried through the ſtreets for ſeveral nights ſucceſſively, dreſſed with the richeſt clothes and jewels they can procure, the ſtreets made as light as day by a great number of torches, with flags, ſtreamers, and wind muſick marching before them, and a crowd of their friends and acquaintance, who come to expreſs their joy upon the happy occaſion. But I had almoſt forgot to mention, that no match is reſolved on till the aſtrologer or cunning man is conſulted as to the expediency of it in general, and the fortunate hour in particular, when it ought to be ſolemnized; and when they are come to maturity, and it is thought proper for them to cohabit, the aſtrologer alſo muſt appoint the lucky minute for conſummation. As to the particular ceremonies obſerved at the ſolemnization, it is ſaid, after the bride and bridegroom have finiſhed their pompous cavalcade, they proceed to the houſe where the wife's father lives, where being ſeated oppoſite to each other, with a table between them, they ſtretch out their hands and join them croſs the table, and the prieſt covers both their heads with a kind of hood or palmerin, which remains ſpread over them a quarter of an hour, till he has ended his prayers for their happineſs, and gives them the nuptial benediction; after which, uncovering their heads, the company is ſprinkled with roſe water, and other perfumes, out of ſilver cruets, till their clothes are wet and diſcoloured with the ſaffron with which they are mixed, and thus they wear them for a week together, as our people do favours, to ſhew they have been at one of theſe joyful meetings. The evening concludes with a magnificent entertainment, ſuitable to the quality of the married couple; and ſometimes theſe feſtivals laſt ſeveral days.

The women pay their husbands an extraordinary reſpect in this country, being entirely in their power to diſpoſe of them as they ſee fit, which ſeems the more reaſonable, in that they never bring any other fortune than their clothes, and perhaps two or three female ſlaves; and among thoſe who are wealthy, it is ſaid, the father of the husband advances a conſiderable ſum to the wife's friends, ſo that ſhe is in a manner purchaſed like the reſt of his houſhold ſtuff, and, I believe, never eats with the man, but waits till he has done; though, I muſt confeſs, I have this from the relation of others, our people never being admitted to ſee them in their retirements; but theſe women ſeem to have greater liberty in going abroad than the Mahometans, at leaſt the tradeſmens wives, and thoſe of other inferior caſts, who morning and evening conſtantly go with their earthen pots to the common wells, to fetch water to waſh themſelves, which they do ſeveral times a day, from head to foot: and as they do this in their courts and yards belonging to their houſes, no man is ſuffered to have a window that he can look into his neighbour's yard; inſomuch that an Engliſh ſoldier breaking out a window

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which overlooked another Man, it occaſioned a complaint to the Governor.

In lieu of our chriſtnings, the Banians have this ceremony on giving a name to their children, which is uſually about ten days after the birth; they aſſemble ten or a dozen children, who ſtanding in a ring, hold a ſheet in their hands, wherein the Bramin or prieſt pours a quantity of rice, upon which he lays the child to be named; the boys who hold the ſheet ſhaking the child and the rice together about a quarter of an hour, when the father's ſiſter advances and names the child, cuſtom having given her this right; but if the aunt be not preſent, then the father or the mother name the child. A month or two afterwards, (according to Mr. OVINGTON) it is carried to the pagoda or temple to be initiated in the Banian religion, where the Bramin mixes ſome ſhavings of ſandal wood, camphire, cloves, and other ſweets, and puts them upon the child's head, from which time the infant commences a complete Banian. The lying-in-woman is looked upon ſo impure, that none muſt touch her for the firſt ten days but her nurſe, and till forty days are paſt ſhe muſt not concern herſelf in dreſſing meat or any other houſhold affairs. They have ſwinging cradles faſtned to the beam of the houſe, which go much quieter and eaſier than ours that ſtand upon the ground, and I think I have ſeen the ſame ſort in Holland. The Indians never bind or ſwaddle up their children as we do, but let them go perfectly naked both boys and girls, till they are ſix or ſeven years old, and it is not to be imagined how very young they will crawl about the floor. The inhabitants of the ſouthern part of India, who are moſt of them as black as jet, have a reddiſh caſt for ſome time after they are born, and turn quite black as they grow up. It has been obſerved already that there are no crooked or miſſhapen people amongſt them, but they are in general ſtrait and well proportioned; which ſome think proceeds from the leaving them to their natural liberty, and not cramping and ſwadling the children as we do here. But however that may be, the frequent rubbing and waſhing them in cold water, certainly contributes to prevent their being weak and rickety as much as any thing.

The Moors, or Mahometan Indians, like other Muſſulmen, are allowed four wives, and as many concubines as they can keep; but they are obliged by their law not to be too partial of their favours, but viſit their wives duly in their turns once in ſo many days, or the defrauded woman may ſummon her husband before a magiſtrate and have ſatisfaction. The Magiſtrate's licence muſt alſo be obtained for the ſolemnizing marriages as well as for obtaining divorces, and he is judge upon what condition a divorce ſhall be had. The Moors of any quality make much ſuch another cavalcade through their principal ſtreets of the town, as the Jentoes do to the bride's houſe, where the marriage being celebrated, he takes the bride home with him in a covered coach or palanquin, that ſhe may not be expoſed to the view of the people, and from the time ſhe enters her husband's doors, ſhe is ſcarce ſuffered to ſee her male relations; when ſhe does, it muſt be in the preſence of the husband. As to the reſt of the ceremonies uſed at a Mahometan wedding, they will be found hereafter in the accounts of Perſia and Turky.

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Treats of their funerals, mourning, &c.

Funerals.

WHEN a perſon dies, having waſhed the corps and dreſſed it up in ſuch clothes as he uſually wore in his life time, they aſſemble their friends and relations, and carry it out on a bier a little diſtance from the town the next day; and if he die in the morning, the ſame evening ſometimes, for a corps will not keep long in thoſe hot countries. The funeral pile is uſually prepared near ſome river or pond: at Surat they have a place for this purpoſe upon the river Tapte. If they are people of fortune, they mix vaſt quantities of ſweet wood with the reſt, and the whole being reduced to aſhes, they either throw them into the water, or leave them where they may be waſhed away by the river. If the perſon dies where wood is not to be had, they heave the corps into ſome river with a weight to ſink it, as the next moſt deſirable burial, eſpecially if it happen to be the river Ganges, whoſe waters they eſteem more ſacred than any, though they have the Tapte and ſome others in great veneration. If they have no fuel, or any opportunity of committing the corps to the deep, they bury it; but this they never chooſe, imagining the ſoul of their departed friend to be in ſome uneaſineſs till his body is reduced to aſhes, or otherwiſe conſumed; beſides, fire and water, as they apprehend, purges it from the droſs or ill habits it may have contracted. As for young children, whom they look upon to be perfectly innocent, it is ſaid, they always bury them; but I confeſs, I never ſaw any buried, though I have ſeveral burnt.

As to the cuſtom of the wives burning themſelves with their husbands, it ſeems to be wholly diſuſed at preſent, neither the Mahometans or Europeans will ſuffer it where they have any power, and the reſt of India are now made ſo ſenſible of the barbarity of the cuſtom, that I never heard of one inſtance of it while I was in India, or ever

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ever met with the man that pretended to have ſeen any thing of this nature. How this cuſtom came to be introduced I could never meet with any ſatisfactory account, though our people have framed ſeveral for the Indians: ſome ſay, that it was inſtituted to terrify the women from poiſoning their huſbands, to which they were once addicted; others, that the woman propoſed to enjoy a more exquiſite and durable happineſs with her busband in another life than ſhe had done in this; and there are others that impute it altogether to prieſtcraft; for that the people of quality being to be dreſſed up with rings and jewels to a very great value, and the Bramins only having the privilege of meddling with the aſhes ſometimes poſſeſſed themſelves of great wealth by this means. But whatever the original occaſion of the inſtitution was, certain it is that the women were taught to believe it to be an heroick act, and that they ſhould be infinitely rewarded for the pain they ſhould undergo in another ſtate. Their friends and relations, and their whole caſt, it is ſaid, contributed to inſpire them with theſe ſentiments, looking upon it, that ſuch an action reflected uncommon honours upon all that had any relation to the heroin; and to induce her to undergo this fiery trial, they fixed a mark of infamy on all that refuſed it, not ſuffering them to converſe with their relations afterwards, much leſs provided for them, but left them to ſhift for themſelves; and notwithſtanding all theſe motives, the women were never very forward of acting this piece of gallantry, but all arts of perſuaſion as well as threats, and ſometimes force, was uſed to deſtroy them; nay, they were often intoxicated with bang or opium that they might not reflect on that terrible death they were about to undergo. It is currently reported at fort St. George, that ſoon after the ſettlement of the Engliſh in that place, a Bramin woman demanded leave of the Governor to burn herſelf with her husband; and not being able to diſſuade her from her reſolution, and ſtrongly ſolicited by the whole caſt, that he would grant them this their antient privilege, he at length conſented to it, it is ſaid; accordingly great preparations were made, and the woman dreſſed to the beſt advantage, as if ſhe were going to her wedding, the muſick played, her friends rejoiced, and the people ſhouted as on ſome glorious occaſion; but the woman when ſhe ſaw the funeral pile prepared, and the fire about to be kindled, begun to repent herſelf, and would fain have withdrawn, but was hurried on to the pit where the fire was made, and there knocked on the head and murdered by the Bramins to prevent her eſcape, and afterwards burnt with her husband's corps. Whether this be ſtrictly true in every circumſtance, I won't anſwer for, but that there have been inſtances of this kind, I think is not to be doubted from the many relations we have had of this nature, and the general abhorrence that both the Mooriſh and European Governor's expreſs againſt the practice. As to the infamy of remaining a widow, I believe that is pretty much worn off, and if they are not ſuffered to marry in their own tribes, it is ſaid they will turn Mahometans or Chriſtians for a ſecond husband; and ſometimes they will liſt themſelves among the dancing girls that they may enjoy a full liberty; and it ſeems very ſevere upon thoſe women who have been contracted in their infancy, and never cohabited with their husbands perhaps, that they ſhould be prohibited taking others.

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But this cuſtom of burning a living wife with a dead husband was never practiſed, as I underſtand, but when there were no children; for if there were children they were always left to the mother's care to bring up: ſo that when this cuſtom was moſt prevalent, theſe inſtances were not very common; the woman had an equal chance with her husband to die in a natural way before him, and it was ten to one but ſhe had children, for their women are very prolifick, and where ſo much depended upon it, we may be pretty well aſſured it was not the woman's fault if ſhe did not breed.

As to their mourning, the women who mourn for their husbands, ſhave their heads, neglect their dreſs, and ſeem to abandon themſelves to grief; but the men never cut their hair on theſe occaſions, unleſs it be upon the death of ſome of their Raja's or Princes, or on the death of a father. All the mourning I obſerved among the men for their other relations was their rending their clothes, or rather putting on an old torn veſt, and uſing a negligent garb for ſome time: they alſo viſit thoſe places where the body was burnt, carrying coco-nuts, rice, and other food thither at certain times, which is devoured by beaſts or birds as ſoon as they are gone, though they are probably intended for the uſe of the deceaſed; and formerly, it is ſaid, the Indians buried conſiderable ſums of gold and ſilver, with the bones which remained unconſumed, till the profane Europeans cured them of this expenſe, by digging up the treaſure and converting it to their own uſe. The Jentoes have no magnificent tombs where they repoſite the bones of their friends as the Moors have; the places where they are laid have very little to diſtinguiſh them. I have obſerved already that the country being ſo exceſſive hot, a corps is never kept long, even the Engliſh bury their dead within 24 hours, and ſometimes in leſs than 12 hours after the breath is out of their bodies; but Mr. OVINGTON tells us they are

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ſo much in haſte at Surat, that they are frequently carried to the funeral pile before they are actually dead, and gives us an inſtance of a Banian who was broker to the Engliſh, whom they were thus hurrying away, but the Engliſh ſurgeon coming by and obſerving ſome life in him, perſuaded the people to carry him back to his houſe, and the man afterwards recovered.

The Moors or Indian Mahometans, do not burn but bury their dead, the corps being decently dreſſed, is carried to the burying place upon a bier, without a coffin, attended by their friends and relations, and is placed in an arched vault, ſo high that one may ſit upright in it; their graves lye north and ſouth as ours are eaſt and weſt; their relations are uſually at great expences on theſe occaſions, holding a feſtival for ſeveral day's, and they annually reſort to the tomb and obſerve a feſtival in honour of their deceaſed friend. The Mahometans are in nothing more extravagant, as has been obſerved, than in beautifying and adorning their burying places. The great men build large palaces, and encloſe whole fields, which they convert into fine gardens for this purpoſe. Whether they imagine departed ſpirits remain near the bodies they once reſided in, and take pleaſure in fine walks and magnificent buildings, or whether it be purely in honour of the deceaſed is uncertain; but the vulgar in all countries ſeem to entertain an opinion, that the ſoul frequents thoſe places where their bodies are repoſited, and expect to meet with ſpectres and apparitions whenever they happen to be in ſuch places alone and in the night; this is what our nurſes inſtill into us in this part of the world; and it is ſome time before we can diveſt ourſelves of the horrour a burying place or charnel houſe creates. But it is obſervable both of the Pagans and Mahometans, that they never make burying places of their temples; this practice was firſt introduced among Chriſtians, the learned tell us, on the building churches over the graves of the primitive martyrs, in whoſe bones there was ſuppoſed to be ſo great ſanctity, that every body was ambitious of lying near them, in hopes, I preſume, of ſharing in their merits and conſequently in their happineſs in the next ſtate.

A SUPPLEMENT to the preſent State of PROPER INDIA.

Obſervations concerning the nature of the ſilk-worms.

IN India the ſilk worms in November are in eggs twelve days, or according to the natives account, one Aggoa, from which the ſilk then made, is called aggouedbund, and is the beſt that is made all the year. After twelve days from the firſt of November, the worms are hatched, or come out of their eggs, and are laid upon mats.

The four firſt days after they are laid upon mats, they give them mulberry leaves cut into ſmall then pieces, to feed upon four times a day, viz. morning, noon, and at three and nine o'clock.

The fifth day they muſt not be fed at all.

The ſixth day the worms will be ſomewhat bigger, and muſt be fed with big pieces of leaves, and that four times a day, according to the times before mentioned.

The ſeventh, eighth, ninth, feed them as on the ſixth day.

The tenth day they muſt not be fed at all.

The eleventh day they muſt be fed with larger pieces of leaves, and four times a day, as formerly.

The twelfth day they are to be fed with whole leaves, and four times a day.

The thirteenth and fourteenth, they muſt not be fed at all.

The fifteenth, ſixteenth, ſeventeenth, eighteenth, they muſt be fed with whole leaves, and four times a day.

The nineteenth day, feed them five times, viz. morning, noon, at three and nine o'clock, and at midnight, and continue to feed them ſo to the twenty ſixth inclufive.

The worms from about the fourteenth day will begin to be green, and at the twenty ſixth day, will be about two inches and a quarter long.

The twenty ſeventh day they will be of a colour like yellow and white, and then you muſt not feed them any more, becauſe they begin to ſpin.

The twenty eighth day, they muſt be put upon ledges of mat, faſtened to a large piece of round matting, the ledges being about an inch high from the mat, and running round like a ſcrew, beginning at the center of the mat, and running round at about a handful, or three inches diſtance to the circumference. When the worms are put upon thoſe ledges, they ſet the mats leaning in the ſun, about eight in the morning, and let them ſtand for an hour and a half; and then they put them into the houſe, or ſhade, leaning againſt the wall; after, at four o'clock in the afternoon, they put them again into the ſun, and let them ſtand till ſun ſet; then they put them in the houſe or ſhade, leaning againſt a wall, and in this day and night's time they will have made their houſes.

The twenty ninth day they take the worms with their new ſilk houſes, and put them upon other mats, flat, without any ledges or partitions, and ſo lay ſeveral mats upon frames one over another.

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The thirtieth, thirty firſt, thirty ſecond, and thirty third days, they ſpin within their houſes of ſilk, and then they take each worm with its houſe, and ſhake it at their ears, and thoſe that are alive, they are good, and fit for breeders, which are kept for ſuch, and thoſe that make no noiſe are dead, having ſpun away their life. Sometimes $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ live; ſometimes more, and ſometimes leſs; for great heats and colds kill many.

The thirty fourth, thirty fifth, thirty ſixth, thirty ſeventh days, they continue ſpinning.

The thirty eighth day the worms eat through their houſes, and are like a butterfly; after which they take up their houſes, and put the worms upon new mats; the males they know by their ſlenderneſs, and the females by the contrary, which being placed near each other join; but if there be more of one ſort than the other, then after they have done with the leſſer number, either males or females, they join them with the reſt, and let them lye all night.

The thirty ninth day they throw away the males.

The fortieth the females lay their eggs, after which they throw them away likewiſe. So that the whole life of theſe worms is but twelve days in the egg, and forty days out of it; in all fifty two days.

The next ſilk is made in January; and then the worms are fourteen days in the egg, and forty afterwards, before they die. This ſilk is called maug bund, and is the ſixth and worſt ſort of ſilk. The making of it ends about February the fourteenth.

The next is made from February the fourteenth to the twenty fourth of March, and is called cheita-bund. The worms ſtay in the eggs eight days, and live thirty two days after. This is eſteemed the ſecond ſort for goodneſs.

The next is ſauk-bund, eſteemed the fifth ſort for goodneſs. The worms ſtay in their eggs eight days, and live thirty two days after. The making of this ſilk ends about the ſixth of May.

The next is aſſoree-bund, eſteemed the fourth ſort for goodneſs. The worms continue in the eggs and die, as the two laſt ſorts. And the making of the ſilk ends about the fourth of June.

The next is ſowaud-bund, and is eſteemed the third ſort. The making of this alſo ends about the laſt of July.

In Auguſt and September no ſilk is made, and but very little in October.

This is the nature of the ſilk-worms in the Indies, where the heat of the ſun renders them much more fruitful than with us; for in India the worms breed and ſpin their ſilk ſix times in the year, and in England only once, becauſe here they remain in the egg from the latter end of Auguſt until about the latter end of May. There likewiſe they are ſooner brought to perfection, and begin to work ſooner, viz. Twenty eight days after they are hatcht, but in England not until the fortieth. Where alſo they are by a third part more tedious in breaking out of their houſes, from the firſt day of their ſpinning, than they are in the eaſt, which is there done in ten days, but here only in fifteen.

The ſilk worm derives its birth from the ſeed of the butterfly, which is as ſmall as the heads of pins, and does ſomewhat reſemble rape-ſeed, being flatted on both ſides. This inſect, by whoſe induſtry we have the ſilk, which is ſpun out of its bowels, and artificially formed by its mouth into the faſhion of a clew, differs not very much from a caterpillar, either in the ſhape or bulk, bating, this is more hairy, and its web is weaker, and of another colour. And yet for want of mulberry-leaves (which is the moſt proper food for the ſilk-worm) when they are forced to ſubſiſt by the leaves of the roſe-buſh, lettice, or ſome others (which ſometimes are made uſe of) this nouriſhment either weakens the thread they ſpin, and makes it as uſeleſs as that of the caterpillars, or elſe they will not work at all. But that which ſeems moſt remarkable and wonderful in this animal, is its change of ſhape, and one would think of ſpecies, in the transformation of it, from a reptile to a volatile, from a creeping worm into a butterfly. The grain or ſeed of theſe creatures was tranſported into Italy, above three hundred years ago, by two religious perſons, but their ſilk was of a longer date, and brought above a thouſand years ſince, among the Europeans, who called it in Latin, Sericum, from an oriental people, called Seres, who were very induſtrious and careful in its improvement.

This account of the ſilk-worms is taken from Mr. OVINGTON.

An account of the earthquake at Batavia, in the iſland of Java, which was ſent to Europe by Mr. WITSEN.

An earthquake in 1699. at Batavia.

THE earthquake which happened between the 4th and 5th of June, 1699, hath had ſtrange effects about the Tungarouſe and Batavian rivers. The great Batavian river from above Tangal Warna, being a place from whence the ſaid river receiveth the greateſt part of its water, ſtopt up, or covered with earth from the fallen hills, till beyond the river Tſyouſpokitſyl; ſo that the place where the river had its courſe formerly was not to be ſeen. But far beyond that hill, towards Batavia, the water comes forth again from under the earth, which is ſunk down, but thick and muddy; paſſing over and through the trees, wherewith the river was formerly ſtopt up. The trees lying in the river are of a vaſt bigneſs, and ſo

ſo cloſe packed together, that it is impoſſible to conceive how they came ſo.

From the mountains ſituated near the beginning of the Batavian river, called by the Javanians Songſy-Tſialiwony, ſeven hills are ſunk down, viz. five on this ſide, and two on the other. But the mount from whence the river hath alſo its ſource, above Tangal Warna, within the mountains Terbackti, is not ſunk down, nor hath received any damage.

The Tangarang river, called by the natives Songhi Sedani, is alſo ſtopt up, and covered with earth from the hill and branch Salack, to the river Antum, and from thence to Tangarang being filled up with trees, but not in ſuch a quantity, nor ſo cloſe together, as in the Batavian river. On this ſide the Tangarang river, nine are ſunk down by the earthquake; and ſeven branches, that had formerly their iſſue in the river Tangarang, are alſo covered with the earth; but three other hills, lying alſo on this ſide of the ſame river and called Minjan, Dauw, and Halfichi, had not ſuſtained any damage, whereby the branches Autan and Kanichi (the latter into the firſt branch, and the firſt into the river Tangarang) have kept their courſe and the hill Oudjong-Teboe, being called alſo Sedani, from whence the Tangarang river had its ſource, is not ſunk down nor hurt; it is alſo obſerved in the Tangarang river, at the place where it is ſtopt up with trees, that the deſcending water being thick and muddy, went backward with a motion not unlike the waves of the ſea, when moved by a tempeſt.

The high land between the Batavian and Tangarang rivers, behind the old court of the Jacatra Kings, called Pakowang, having been a great wood, is changed ſince the earthquake into a great and open field, wholly deſtitute of trees, the ſurface of the ground being covered with a red clay, ſuch as the maſons uſe here; which in ſome places was ſo hard, that it could endure treading and going upon, and in other places men did ſink above a foot into it. At the place of the old court called Pakowang, ſituated between the Batavian and Tangarang rivers, no other damage hath been ſeen, than that the land thereabouts hath been rent, and divided aſunder with great cleſts more than a foot wide. The river Tſicome proceeding from a pit or well in the aforeſaid court of Pakowang, and running a great way under ground, and then coming forth again, taking its courſe towards Anke, has not received any harm, but kept its courſe uninterrupted.

The Tummagon Porbio Nata, in his going towards the mountains, heard a noiſe like unto thunder; and fearing a ſinking down of the ground, or an eruption of water would follow, he ſtood ſtill with thoſe that were about him, and ſaw afterwards, that the earth from the top of the mountains ſunk down; and hearing no farther noiſe, he went on his journey, having in going and coming back ſpent nineteen days, he felt forty times the ſhocks of an earthquake; and ſince his return from the mountains, he hath felt the like ſhakings at leaſt two hundred times.

Dr. EDMUND HALLEY's *account of the winds which blow in the Indian ſeas, as well the conſtant trade winds as thoſe which are periodical, and go under the name of monſoons.*

Winds in the Indian Ocean.

IN the Indian ocean the winds are partly general as in the Æthiopick ocean, partly periodical, that is half the year they blow one way, and the other half near upon the oppoſite points; and theſe points and times of ſhifting are different in different parts of this ocean; the limits of each tract of ſea, ſubject to the ſame change, or monſoon, as the natives call it, are certainly very hard to determine; but the diligence I have uſed to be rightly informed, and the care I have taken therein, has in a great meaſure ſurmounted that difficulty, and I am perſuaded that the following particulars may be relied upon.

That between the latitude of ten and thirty degrees ſouth, between Madagaſcar and Hollandia Nova, the general trade wind about ſouth eaſt and by eaſt, is found to blow all the year long to all intents and purpoſes after the ſame manner as in the ſame latitudes in the Æthiopick ocean.

That the aforeſaid ſouth eaſt winds extend to within two degrees of the equator during the months of June, July, &c. to November, at which time, between the ſouth latitude of three and ten degrees, being near the meridian of the north end of Madagaſcar, and between two and twelve ſouth latitude, being near Sumatra and Java, the contrary winds from the north-weſt, or between the north and weſt, ſet in and blow for half the year, viz. from the beginning of December till May, and this monſoon is obſerved as far as the Molucca iſles.

That to the northward of three degrees ſouth latitude, over the whole Arabian or Indian ſea and gulf of Bengal, from Sumatra to the coaſt of Africa, there's another monſoon, blowing from October to April upon the north-eaſt points; but in the other half year from April to October, upon the oppoſite points of ſouth-weſt and weſt-ſouth-weſt, and that with rather more force than the other, accompanied with dark rainy weather, whereas the north-eaſt blows clear. 'Tis likewiſe to be noted, that the winds are not ſo conſtant either in ſtrength or point in the gulf of Bengal, as they are in the Indian ſea, where a certain and ſteady gale ſcarce ever fails. 'Tis alſo remarkable that the ſouth-weſt winds in theſe

ſeas, are generally more ſoutherly on the African ſide, more weſterly on the Indian.

That as an Appendix to the laſt deſcribed monſoon, there's a tract of ſea to the ſouthward of the equator, ſubject to the ſame changes of the winds, viz. near the African coaſt, between it and the iſland Madagaſcar or St. Laurence, and from thence northwards as far as the line, *wherein from April to October there is found a* conſtant freſh ſouth-ſouth-weſt wind, which as you go more northerly, becomes ſtill more and more weſterly, ſo as to fall in with the weſt-ſouth-weſt winds mentioned before in thoſe months of the year to be certain to the northward of the equator. What winds blow in theſe ſeas for the other half year, from October to April, I have not yet been able to obtain to my full ſatisfaction; for that our navigators always return from India without Madagaſcar, and ſo are little acquainted in this matter. The account that has been given me is only this, that the winds are much eaſterly hereabouts, and as often to the north of the true eaſt as to the ſouthwards thereof.

That to the eaſtward of Sumatra and Malacca to the northwards of the line, and along the coaſt of Cambodia and China, the monſoons blow north and ſouth, that is to ſay, the north-eaſt winds are much northerly, and the ſouth-weſt much ſoutherly: this conſtitution reaches to the eaſtwards of the Philippine iſles, and as far northerly as Japan. The northern monſoons ſetting in theſe ſeas in October or November, and the ſouthern in May, blowing all the ſummer months. Here it is to be noted, that the points of the compaſs from whence the wind comes in theſe parts of the world, are not ſo fixed as in thoſe lately deſcribed; for the ſoutherly will frequently paſs a point or two to the eaſtward of the ſouth, and the northerly as much to the weſtward of the north, which ſeems occaſioned by the great quantity of land which is interſperſed in theſe ſeas.

That in the ſame meridians, but to the ſouthward of the equator, being that tract lying between Sumatra and Java to the weſt, and new Guinea to the eaſt; the ſame northerly monſoons are obſerved, but with this difference, that the inclination of the northerly is towards the north-weſt, and of the ſoutherly towards the ſouth-eaſt, but the plaga venti are not more conſtant here than in the former, viz. variable five or ſix points; beſides, the times of the change of theſe winds are not the ſame as in the Chineſe ſeas, but about a month or ſix weeks later.

That theſe contrary winds don't ſhift all at once, but in ſome places the time of the change is attended with calms, in others with variable winds, and it is particularly remarkable, that the end of the weſterly monſoon on the coaſt of Cormandel, and the two laſt months of the ſoutherly monſoon in the ſeas of China, are very ſubject to be tempeſtuous; the violence of theſe ſtorms is ſuch, that they ſeem to be of the nature of the Weſt-India hurricanes, and render the navigation of theſe parts very unſafe about that time of the year. Theſe tempeſts are by our ſea men uſually termed, the breaking up of the monſoons.

By reaſon of the ſhifting of theſe winds, all thoſe that ſail in theſe ſeas, are obliged to obſerve the ſeaſons proper for their voyages, and ſo doing they fail not of a fair wind and ſpeedy paſſage; but if ſo be they chance to out-ſtay their time till the contrary monſoon ſets in, as it frequently happens, they are forced to give over the hopes of accompliſhing their intended voyages, and either return to the port from whence they came, or elſe put into ſome other harbour, there to ſpend the time till the winds ſhall come favourable.

Some extracts of letters written by Mr. CORYAT *from the Mogul's court, who travelled thither on foot.*

Extracts of letters from the Mogul's court.

I Remained two months at Iſpahan, and then with the caravan travelled into the eaſtern India, paſſing four months and odd days, in my travel betwixt that (through part of the true Perſia, and a large tract of the noble and renowned India) and the goodly city of Lahor in India, one of the largeſt cities of the whole univerſe, for it contains at the leaſt ſixteen miles in compaſs, and exceeds Conſtantinople it ſelf in greatneſs. But a dozen days before I came to Lahor I paſſed the famous river Indus, which is as broad again as our Thames in London, and has his original out of the mountain Caucaſus, ſo much ennobled by the ancient, both poets and hiſtoriographers, Greek and Latin, which PLATO for curioſity's ſake, in his travels of theſe parts went to ſee.

From the famous city of Lahor, I had twenty days journey to another goodly city called Agra, through ſuch a delicate and even tract of ground as I never ſaw before, and I doubt whether the like is to be found within the whole circumference of the habitable world. Another thing alſo in this way, being no leſs memorable than the plainneſs of the ground, a row of trees on each ſide of this way where people do travel, extending itſelf from the town's end of Lahor, to the town of Agra, being between four and five hundred miles, the moſt incomparable ſhew of that kind that ever my eyes ſurveyed. Agra is a very great city, and the place where the Mogul did always (ſaving within theſe two years) keep his court; but in every reſpect much inferior to Lahor.

From thence to the Mogul's court, I had ten days journey to a town called Aſmere, where I

found a Cape merchant of our Engliſhmen, with nine more of my countrymen, reſident there upon terms of negotiation for the right worſhipful company of merchants in London that trade for the coaſt of India.

I ſpent in my journey, betwixt Jeruſalem and this Mogul's court, fifteen months and odd days, all which way I traverſed a foot, but with divers pairs of ſhoes, having been ſuch a propatetick (I will not call my ſelf peripatetick, becauſe you know it ſignifies one that maketh a perambulation about a place, περιπατῶ, ſignifying to walk about) that is, a walker forward on foot, as I doubt whether you ever heard of the like in your life; for the total way betwixt Jeruſalem and the Mogul's court, contains two thouſand and ſeven hundred Engliſh miles. My whole perambulation of this Aſia the greater, is like to be a paſſage of almoſt ſix thouſand miles, by that time that in my return back through Perſia, afterward alſo by Babylon and Ninevy I ſhall come to Cairo in Egypt, and from that down the Nilus to Alexandria, there to be one day, by God's help, embarked for Chriſtendom; a very immenſe dimenſion of ground. Now I am at the Mogul's court, I think you would be glad to receive ſome narration thereof from me, though ſuccinctly handled, for I mean to be very compendious, leſt I ſhould otherwiſe preoccupate that pleaſure which you may hereafter this reap by my perſonal relation thereof. This preſent Prince is a very worthy perſon, by name SELIM; he is fifty and three years of age, his nativity day having been celebrated with wonderful pomp ſince my arrival here; for that day he weighed himſelf in a pair of golden ſcales, which by great chance I ſaw the ſame day (a cuſtom that he obſerves moſt inviolably every year) laying ſo much gold in the other ſcale as countervails the weight of his body, and the ſame he afterwards diſtributed to the poor. He is of complexion neither white nor black, but of a middle betwixt them: I know not how to expreſs it with a more expreſſive and ſignificant epithet than olive: an olive colour his face preſents, he is of a ſeemly compoſition of body, of a ſtature little unequal (as I gueſs, not without grounds of probability) to mine, but much more corpulent than my ſelf. The extent of his dominion is very ſpacious, being in circuit little leſs than four thouſand Engliſh miles, which very near anſwers the compaſs of the Turk's territories, or if any thing be wanting in geometrical dimenſion of ground, it is with a great pleonaſm ſupplied by the fertility of his ſoil: and in theſe two things he exceeds the Turks in the fatneſs (as I have ſaid) of his land, no part of the world yielding a more fruitful vein of ground, than all that which lyeth in this empire, ſaving that part of Babylonia, where the terreſtrial paradiſe once ſtood; whereas a great part of the Turk's land is extreme barren and ſteril, as I have obſerved in my perigrination thereof, eſpecially in Syria, Meſopotamia and Armenia; many large portions thereof being ſo wonderful fruitleſs, that it bears no good thing at all, or if any thing, there

Infelix lolium & ſteriles dominantur avenæ.

Secondly, in the conjunction of all his territories together, in one and the ſame goodly continent of India, no Prince having a foot of land within him. But many parcels of the Turk's countries are by a large diſtance of ſeas, and otherwiſe, divided aſunder. Again, in his revenue he exceedeth the Turk and the Perſian his neighbour by juſt half: For his revenues are forty millions of crowns of ſix ſhillings value, by the year; but the Turks are no more than fifteen millions, as I was certainly informed in Conſtantinople, and the Perſians five millions, plus minus, as I heard in Spahan.

This Prince ſpeaketh very reverently of our Saviour, calling him in the Indian tongue IFAZARET EESA, that is, the great Prophet JESUS; and all Chriſtians, eſpecially us Engliſh, he uſes ſo benevolently as no Mahometan Prince the like. He keeps abundance of wild beaſts, and that of divers ſorts, as lions, elephants, leopards, bears, antelopes, unicorns, whereof two I have ſeen at his court, the ſtrangeſt beaſts of the world; they were brought hither out of the country of Bengala, which is a kingdom of moſt ſingular fertility within the compaſs of his dominion, about four months journey from this, the midland parts thereof being watered by divers channels of the famous Ganges, which I have not yet ſeen, but, God willing, I mean to viſit it before my departure out of this country, the neareſt part of it being not above twelve days journey from this court. The King preſents himſelf thrice every day without fail to his nobles; at the riſing of the ſun, which he adores by the elevation of his hands; at noon, and at five o'clock in the evening; but he ſtands in a room aloft alone by himſelf, and looketh upon them from a window that has an embroidered ſumptuous coverture, ſupported with two ſilver pilaſters to ſhade him. Twice every week elephants fight before him, the braveſt ſpectacle in the world, many of them are thirteen foot and a half high, and they ſeem to joſtle together like two little mountains, and were they not parted in the midſt of their fighting by certain fireworks, they would exceedingly gore and wound one another by their murdering teeth. Of elephants the King keeps above a thouſand at an unmeaſurable charge, in feeding of whom and his lions and other beaſts, he ſpends an incredible maſs of money, at the leaſt ten thouſand pounds ſterling a day. I have rid upon an elephant ſince I came to this court, determining one day, by God's leave, to have my picture expreſſed in my next book, ſitting upon an elephant. The King keeps a thouſand women, whereof

whereof the chiefeſt (which is his Queen) is called NOR-MAHAL. You may remember to relate this unto your friends, that I will now mention as a matter very memorable: I ſpent in my ten months travel betwixt Aleppo and the Mogul's court, but three pounds ſterling, yet fared reaſonably well every day, victuals being ſo cheap in ſome countries where I travelled, that I often lived competently for a peny ſterling a day; yet of that three pounds I was cozened of no leſs than ten ſhillings ſterling by certain lewd Chriſtians of the Armenian nation, ſo that indeed I ſpent but fifty ſhillings in my ten months travel. I have been in a city in this country called Delly, where ALEXANDER the Great joined battle with PORUS King of India and conquered him, and in token of his victory, erected a braſs pillar which remains there to this day. I learn the Perſian, Turkiſh, and Arabian tongues, having already gotten the Italian. I have been at the Mogul's court three months already, and am to tarry here, by God's holy permiſſion, five months longer, till I have gotten the aforeſaid three tongues, and then depart here hence to the Ganges, and after that directly to the Perſian court.

The copy of an oration that I made in the Perſian tongue to the great Mogul, before divers of his nobles.

'LORD * Protector of the world, all hail to you: I am a poor traveller and world ſeer, which am come hither from a far country, namely England, which antient hiſtorians thought to have been ſituated in the furtheſt bounds of the weſt, and which is the Queen of all the iſlands in the world. The cauſe of my coming hither is for four reſpects, firſt, to ſee the bleſſed face of your Majeſty, whoſe wonderful fame has reſounded over all Europe and the Mahometan countries. When I heard of the fame of your Majeſty I haſtned hither with ſpeed, and travelled very chearfully to ſee your glorious court. Secondly, to ſee your Majeſty's elephants, which kind of Beaſts I have not ſeen in any other country. Thirdly, to ſee your famous river Ganges, which is the captain of all the rivers of the world. The fourth is this, to intreat your Majeſty that you would vouchſafe to grant me your gracious paſs, that I may travel into the country of Tartaria to the city of Samarcand to viſit the bleſſed ſepulchre of the Lord of the corners, (this is a title that is given to TAMERLANE in this country, in that Perſian language, and whereas they call him the Lord of the corners, by that they mean that he was Lord of the corners of the world, that is, the higheſt and ſupreme Monarch of the univerſe) whoſe fame, by reaſon of his wars and victories, is publiſhed over the whole world; perhaps he is not altogether ſo famous in his own country of Tartaria as in England. Moreover I have a great deſire to ſee the bleſſed tomb of the Lord of the corners, for this cauſe, for that when I was at Conſtantinople, I ſaw a notable old building in a pleaſant garden near the ſaid city, where the Chriſtian Emperor that was called EMANUEL, made a ſumptuous great banquet to the Lord of the corners, after he had taken Sultan BAJAZET in a great battle that was fought near the city of Bruſia, where the Lord of the corners bound Sultan BAJAZET in fetters of gold and put him in a cage of iron. Theſe four cauſes moved me to come out of my native country thus far, having travelled on foot through Turky and Perſia; ſo far I have traced the world into this country, that my pilgrimage has accompliſhed three thouſand miles, wherein I have ſuſtained much labour and toil, the like whereof no mortal man in this world did ever perform to ſee the bleſſed face of your Majeſty, ſince the firſt day that you were inaugurated in your glorious monarchical throne.

After I had ended my ſpeech, I had ſome ſhort diſcourſe with the Emperor in the Perſian tongue, who amongſt other things told me, that concerning my travel to the city of Samarcand he was not able to do me any good, becauſe there was no great amity betwixt the Tartarian Princes and himſelf, ſo that his commendatory letters would do me no good; alſo he added, that the Tartars did ſo deadly hate all Chriſtians, that they would certainly kill them when they came into their country, ſo that he earneſtly diſſuaded me from the journey, if I loved my life and welfare; at laſt, he concluded his diſcourſe with me by a ſum of money that he threw down, an hundred pieces of ſilver, each worth two ſhillings ſterling, which countervailed ten pounds of our Engliſh money; never had I more need of money in all my life, than at that time, for in truth, I had but twenty ſhillings ſterling left in my purſe, by reaſon of a miſchance I had in one of the Turks cities, called Emert, in the country of Meſopotamia, where a miſcreant Turk ſtripped me of almoſt all my money, according as I wrote unto you in a very large letter the laſt year, which I ſent from the court of this mighty Monarch, by one of my countrymen that went home by ſea. After I had been with the King, I went to a certain noble and generous Chriſtian of the Armenian race two days journey from the Mogul's court, to the end to obſerve certain remarkable matters in the ſame place, to whom by means of my Perſian tongue, I was

ſo welcome, that he entertained me with very civil and courteous compliments, and at my departure gave me very bountifully twenty pieces of ſuch kind of money as the King had done before, countervailing forty ſhillings ſterling. About ten days after that I departed from Aſmere, the court of the Mogul Prince, to the end to begin my pilgrimage after my long reſt of fourteen months, back again into Perſia, at which time our Ambaſſador gave me a piece of gold of this King's coin worth four and twenty ſhillings, which I will ſave, if it be poſſible, till my arrival in England; ſo that I have received for benevolences, ſince I came into this country, twenty marks ſterling, ſaving two ſhillings and eight pence; and by the way upon the confines of Perſia, a little before I came into this country, three and thirty ſhillings and four pence in Perſian money of my Lady SHERLEY. At this preſent, I have in the city of Agra, where-hence I wrote this letter, about twelve pounds ſterling, which according to my manner of living upon the way at two pence ſterling a day (for with that proportion I can live pretty well, ſuch is the cheapneſs of all eatable things in Aſia, drinkable things coſting nothing, for ſeldom do I drink in my pilgrimage any other liquor than pure water) will maintain me very competently three years in my travel, with meat, drink, and clothes. In this city of Agra, where I am now, I am to remain about ſix weeks longer, to the end to expect an excellent opportunity, which then will offer itſelf unto me to go to the famous river Ganges, about five days journey from this, to ſee a memorable meeting of the Gentile people of this country, called Banians, whereof about four hundred thouſand people go thither on purpoſe to bath and ſhave themſelves in the river, and to ſacrifice a world of gold to the ſame river, partly in ſtamped money and partly in maſſy great lumps and wedges, throwing it into the river as a ſacrifice, and doing other ſtrange ceremonies moſt worthy the obſervation. Such a notable ſpectacle it is, that in no part of all Aſia, neither this which is called the great Aſia, nor the leſſer, which is now called Natolia, the like is to be ſeen: this ſhow do they make once every year, coming thither from places almoſt a thouſand miles off, and honour their river as their God, Creator, and Saviour.

An account of the Pagan convents in India.

Pagan convents in India.

THERE is a convent of the Vartia's, Mr. THEVENOT informs us, at Tanaſſar, who have their General, Provincial, and other ſuperiors, which according to their own account, was founded two thouſand years ſince. They vow obedience, chaſtity and poverty, and ſtrictly obſerve their vows; if any one happens to break them he is rigorouſly puniſhed. They have brothers appointed to beg for all the convent; they eat but once a day, and change their houſe every three months, they have no fixt time for their noviciat; ſome perform it in two years, ſome in three, and there are others who ſpend four years therein, if the ſuperior think fit. The main point of their inſtitution is, not to do to others what they would not have others do to them; that precept they obſerve even towards beaſts, for they never kill any, and much more towards men, ſeeing if any body beat them they do not reſiſt, and if they be reviled they make no anſwer. They obey the leaſt ſignal of their ſuperior without murmuring, and it is forbidden to them to look a woman or maid in the face; they wear nothing but a cloth about their loins, which they bring up to their heads, and make a kind of hood of it not unlike a woman's; they can poſſeſs no money, are prohibited to reſerve any thing for to-morrow to eat, and how hungry ſoever they may be, they patiently wait till their purveyors bring them the alms, which are daily given them at the houſes of the Gentiles of their tribe; they take but little, that they may not be troubleſom to any body, and therefore they receive no more at every place but a handful of rice, or ſome other eatable matter, and if more be offered them, they will refuſe it; they take nothing but what is boiled and dreſſed, for they kindle no fire in their houſe, for fear ſome fly ſhould burn itſelf therein; when they have begged as much food as they want they return to the convent, and having brought together all the rice, lentils, milk, cheeſe, and ſuch other proviſions as have been beſtowed on them, an officer diſtributes all equally among the Vartia's, who eat their portions ſeverally cold or hot, as it is given them, and drink nothing but water.

They make their meal about noon, which ſerves them for the whole day; let hunger or thirſt preſs them never ſo much, they muſt wait till the ſame hour next day, before they either eat or drink.

The reſt of the day they employ in prayers, and reading of books; and when the ſun ſets, they go to ſleep and never light a candle. They all lye in the ſame chamber, and have no other bed but the floor; they cannot of themſelves leave the order, after they have once taken the vow; yet if they commit any fault contrary to their vows, and eſpecially againſt that of chaſtity they are expelled, not only the order, but alſo their tribe. The general provincials, and all the officers, change their convent every four months: their office is for life; and when any of them dies, he names to the religious, him whom he thinks fitteſt to ſucceed, and they acquieſce

quieſce in his choice. Theſe Vartia's have above ten thouſand monaſteries in the Indies; but ſome of them are more auſtere than others: nay, there are ſome who think it enough to worſhip God in ſpirit, and theſe have no idols, and will have no Pagod near them. There are alſo religious nuns in ſome places, who live very exemplarily.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE Iſland of CEYLONE.

CHAP. I.

Treats of the kingdom of Pegu, Ava, Arracan, Brama, Tipra, Acham, and Boutan.

CHAP. I. THESE countries, except the ſea-coaſt of Pegu and Arracan, which lye on the eaſt-ſide of the bay of Bengal, are very little known; and upon that account, the writers, who pretend to give a deſcription of them, for want of other matter, ſtuff their books with abundance of monſtrous and incredible relations, ſuch as it is impoſſible they can believe themſelves, and which one would think could gain no credit even with the weakeſt of their readers: but were it not much better to acknowledge that there are ſtill many parts of the world that we are unacquainted with, than by repeating ſuch abſurd and ridiculous ſtories, render the reſt of our relations ſuſpected. Mountebanks and quacks of every tribe, 'tis true, gain the applauſe of the vulgar, and frequently their money too, by pretending nothing can baffle their skill, or remain concealed from their univerſal knowledge; and perhaps nothing is more taking with ſome readers, than thoſe fables and pretty incidents invented by writers purely to amuſe. Our French Authors ſeem ſo much convinced of this, that there is ſcarce any of them, how capable ſoever of deſcribing a country juſtly from their own knowledge, but fill one third of the work with flights of their own invention.

But to ſhew that I do not charge our writers with this practice without any foundation, I ſhall give ſome inſtances of their attempts to impoſe upon us in the deſcription of theſe very countries I am about to treat of. CHAP I.

They tell us that in the kingdom of Boutan, they preſerve the excrements of their Prince, and having dried and powdered them, they are purchaſed by the grandees at a very great rate, and ſtrewed upon their meat at feſtivals. Atlas Geogr. vol. 3. p. 654. In another place we read of the King of Pegu's bringing fifteen hundred thouſand men into the field, whoſe country is not ſo large as the Britiſh dominions. And in a third, of the little King of Arracan's employing forty thouſand elephants, and three hundred thouſand men in one ſiege, when the great Mogul his next neighbour, and the moſt powerful Prince in the eaſt, ſcarce ever has a thouſand elephants, or more than one hundred thouſand men in his army; and it is a very great queſtion if all the Princes in India are maſters of forty thouſand elephants. Theſe gentlemen never conſider the impoſſibility of ſubſiſting forty thouſand elephants in one place, or of maintaining a million and half of men in one army, by a petty Prince whoſe ſubjects have very little trade; and as for the killing two or three hundred thouſand men in a battle, this is a trifle with them. They tell

CHAP. I.

tell us also, that one of these kingdoms contains 700 provinces, when none of them can be 700 miles from north to south.

There is another story in the Atlas, vol. 3. p. 655. of one of the Kings of Arracan, who being told that he should not long survive his coronation, and consulting with a Mahometan how to avert the prediction, he was advised to make a composition of six thousand of the hearts of his subjects, four thousand hearts of white crows, and two thousand hearts of white doves, which is a pretty handsom dose if he was to take them all by way of physick. That this King also built a palace, and laid the foundation of it upon women with child, and in these frolicks destroyed eighteen thousand persons. I do not charge the author of the Atlas with inventing these stories, but transcribing them from weak and ignorant authors as established truths, and making no remark or doubt of the improbability of the things he relates.

Extent of Ava and Pegu.

But to proceed to the description of these countries, I shall under the name of the kingdom of Ava, include Pegu, Arracan, Brama and Tipra; for the King of Ava is said to have reduced all the rest under his power: and it is to no purpose to treat of them separately upon other accounts, namely, because none of our geographers have yet pretended to fix the limits of the respective countries; and because the manners, customs, and religion of the several people seem to be very much the same, by what we can learn from our merchants who visit the coasts.

This kingdom or empire of Ava therefore, including the countries abovesaid, is bounded by Asem or Acham towards the north, China and Siam towards the east, and the country and bay of Bengal towards the west and south; and extends, according to the best maps we have of those countries, from the latitude of 16 to 27 n. so that the whole length from north to south, may be reckoned between six and seven hundred miles, and the breadth about half as much; which shews how ridiculous it is in our writers of voyages to make one province, and that not a fourth part of the country I have included under the name of Ava, able to bring a million and half of men, and forty thousand elephants into the field at a time, which would make them an over-match for China, or the Mogul their neighbour, and indeed for all the Princes of the known world, if these relations were to be credited.

Rivers.

The principal rivers in this country, are the Arracan, the Capoumo, the Menam, the Ava, and that of Pegu, which running from north to south almost the whole length of the country, and overflowing their banks annually, render it no less fruitful than Bengal and Siam, which lye on each side of them; and the lake of Chamay is placed in our maps at the north-east part of this country.

CHAP. I.

Towns.

The chief towns are Tipra, Ava, Arracan, Lactora, Prom, Mero, Pegu and Syriam; some also reckon Martaban in the kingdom of Pegu, but having already laid it down in Siam I shall not meddle with the situation of it here. Tipra is the capital of the kingdom or province of the same name, and lyes in the latitude of 24 n. or thereabout. Arracan stands near the mouth of the river of the same name, which a little lower falls into the bay of Bengal, it lies in 21 degrees of n. lat. Ava lyes to the eastward of Arracan upon a river of the same name, which a little lower falls into the Menam; and Lactora stands between Ava and Arracan upon the river Capoumo. Prom stands on the east side of the river Menam in the latitude of 19 degrees, and Mero to the southward of it on the same river, lat. 17 n. Syriam lyes on the west side of the river Menam, near the mouth of it, almost over against Martaban. Pegu stands about 80 Miles up the river of the same name, in the latitude of 17 degrees some odd minutes, it is divided into the old and new city, which together make the town almost square; it is defended by a wall and moat, and has on every side five gates; the court and people of condition take up that part which is called the new city, which is separated from the other by a wall and ditch, the streets are strait, and wide enough for fifteen men to ride a breast; and they have trees planted before their houses for shade, as in many other Indian towns. In the middle of the new city stands the palace, which is fortified with walls and towers like a castle. Travellers tell us it is very magnificent, but give no particular description of it Our merchants know the whole country better by the name of Pegu than any other.

Monsoons.

The monsoons, winds and seasons, are the same here as they are in upper Siam, to which it is contiguous, and therefore I refer the reader to my history of Siam. which is in the beginning of this volume: they build their houses also on posts by the river sides, like the Siamese, of which I have already given a model.

Manners and customs.

And as to the genius and temper of this people, their courage and manner of making war, their habits, food, entertainments and ceremonies, their husbandry, produce of the soil, learning, religion, &c. from all that I can collect, there is not any material difference between them and the Siamese. What our sailors most take notice of, is the complaisance of their women, who will contract with them for as long or as short a Time as they please, and behave themselves in all respects like good wives while their temporary husbands remain in the country: nor do their friends look upon this kind

kind of commerce as any disgrace, but receive them kindly when they return to them again. The English from fort St. George drive a profitable trade with Pegu and Arracan, from whence they import rubies, saphirs, amethists, and other precious stones: skins and furrs also are another very considerable branch of this trade.

Acham.

As to the kingdom of Acham, it is bounded by Boutan towards the north, by China towards the east, the kingdom of Ava on the south, and Patan towards the west. Boutan has Tartary on the north, China on the east, Acham on the south, and great Tibet and part of the Mogul's dominions on the west; but how far Boutan extends to the north, or what the breadth of these countries may be, or, which is the same thing, what the distance is between the Mogul's dominions and China, I don't find we have any account. but as near as I can compute, it must be about three or four hundred miles. The woods and mountains, it seems, render this country impassable, from whence we may conclude they are but thinly inhabited; for wherever the inhabitants multiply, their first business is to clear the ground and make it fit for tillage. I proceed now to give an account of the island of Ceylone, which is separated from the southern part of the hither peninsula of India by a channel about five and forty miles over.

CHAP. II.

Treats of the situation and extent of the island of Ceylone, of the respective provinces it is divided into, of its rivers and springs, winds, monsoons and harbours.

THIS island is situate between the sixth and tenth degrees of north latitude, and between the seventy ninth and eighty second degrees of longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London; being about two hundred and fifty miles in length from north to south, and near two hundred in breadth from east to west. The Dutch observe, that it is in shape like a Westphalia ham, which it pretty much resembles. It lyes south east from the hither peninsula of India about five and forty miles, and is one of the noblest acquisitions the Dutch have in India, being the only country in the world which produces the true cinnamon in any quantity. These plantations are wholly in the power of the Dutch, the poor King being driven up into the mountains, and suffered to entertain no commerce or correspondence with the rest of the world, and some say, they have lately made him a prisoner.

Inland provinces.

The inland provinces which were lately under the jurisdiction of the King, according to Mr. KNOX, are the provinces of Nourecalava, which lyes towards the north part of the the island, and contains five leller districts; Hotcourly, which lyes to the west-ward, and contains seven subdivisions, which he styles counties; to the eastward of Hotcourly lyes the province of Mautaly, containing three lesser districts; farther eastward lye Tammaquod, Bintana, Vellas, and Panao, distinct jurisdictions; and to the southward of these the province of Ouvah, which contains three districts; to the westward of Ouvah lye the districts of Wallaponahoy, Goddaponahoy, Poncipot, Hevoyhattay, Cottemul, Horsepot, Yattanvar, and Tunponahoy; farther west lye Oudipollat, Dolushang, and Hotteracourly, in which four lesser districts are contained; the province of Tuncourly lyes the most west of any of them. These provinces, except the six following, viz. Nourecalava, Hatcourly, Tamanquod. Vellas, and Hottercourly, lye upon fruitful hills well watered with springs, and go under the general name of Conde Uda, which signifies the tops of the mountains; and the King is commonly styled King of Conde Uda. In this inland country are reckoned five capital cities, viz. 1. Candy, by which title the King is also frequently called; this was the metropolis of the island, and the residence of most of their Kings, till taken and burnt by the Portuguese, and being too much exposed to the attacks of foreigners, the royal seat was removed to, 2. Nellembyneur, which lyes to the southward of it, in the province of Oudipollat: Candy lyes pretty near the middle of the island, in the province of Yattanour. 3. Allontneur, which lyes on the north-east of Candy, and is divided into two parts by the river Mavelgonga. 4. Badoula, situate between three and fourscore miles to the eastward of Candy. 5. Digligyneur, situate between Candy and Badoula in the province of Ouvah.

Harbours on the coast.

The coast, as has been observed, is generally under the dominion of the Dutch, of which the chief towns are, first, Columbo, which lyes on the south west part of the island; this was formerly the capital of all the Portuguese settlements upon the island, as it is now of the Dutch, and lyes in the latitude of seven degrees. It was about the year 1520, that the Portuguese fortified this and several other places on the coast of Ceylone, and proceeded to dispute the sovereignty with the King of Candy, who was at wars with them for several years, till the Dutch offering their assistance against them, the King accepted it, and having taken Columbo in the year 1656, the Dutch took possession of it, as they did of all the other towns upon the coast about the same time, and great part of the country with it, at least all the cinnamon plantations. The Portuguese indeed would not suffer the King of Ceylone to trade with any other nation but their own; but the Dutch

CHAP. II.

Dutch carried it ſo far, as to deprive that King, their good ally, of the very cinnamon itſelf, which ſo provoked him, that from the taking of Columbo, he became their mortal enemy, and would not ſo much as receive an Ambaſſador from them for ſeveral years.

Negumbo, another fort formerly belonging to the Portugueſe, ſtands about eight leagues to the northward of Columbo, and has been in the poſſeſſion of the Dutch ever ſince the year 1644. Twenty miles to the northward of Negumbo ſtands the town Chilao, eſteemed one of the beſt harbours in the iſland; and ſixteen miles farther north, is the iſland of Calpetyn, about thirty miles in length, and three in breadth. The iſland of Manar lyes on the ſame coaſt, between forty and fifty miles to the northward of Calpetyn; this the Dutch took from the Portugueſe about the year 1658. The ſouth part of Manar lyes in eight degrees fifty eight minutes north.

Between the iſland of Manar and Jafnapatan lye the iſlands of Delft, Middleburg, Leyden, Amſterdam, Enkheuſen, and Hoorn. On the northermoſt part of the iſland lyes the peninſula called the kingdom of Jafnapatan, which, as well as the iſlands abovementioned, is entirely in the poſſeſſion of the Dutch; it is divided into four provinces, and contains an hundred and fifty nine villages, beſides great towns. The capital city bears the name of Jafnapatan, it is regularly fortified, and was taken from the Portugueſe by the Dutch about the year 1658. The moſt northerly point upon this coaſt is called by the Portugueſe, Punta des pedras, or the rocky point.

Trinkamale, or Crankanella, lyes on the eaſt part of the iſland, about fourſcore miles ſouth eaſt of Punta Pedra; and about fifty miles farther to the ſouth eaſt ſtands the town and caſtle of Battacalao, now alſo in poſſeſſion of the Dutch; and in the ſouth part of the iſland they have Punt de Galle, and ſeveral other fortifications, inſomuch, that the iſland is perfectly ſurrounded with their forts.

Rivers.

Rivers there are ſeveral, which fall down from the mountains and water the country, but generally ſo rapid and full of rocks that none of them are navigable; the largeſt is that of Mavillagonga, which has its ſource in the hill called Adam's mount, and running north eaſt by the cities of Candy and Allatneur, falls into the ocean at Trinkamale.

Monſoons and ſeaſons.

The monſoons and ſeaſons are the ſame here as on the neighbouring continent, and the rains begin to fall much ſooner on the weſtern coaſt than on the eaſtern, as they do ſooner on the Malabar ſide, than on the coaſt of Cormandel, which probably proceeds from the ſame reaſon, the iſland being divided by very high mountains; the northern part of the iſland is ſubject to great droughts for ſeveral years together, which is the more ſenſible affliction, becauſe they have ſcarce any ſprings or rivers in that part of the iſland, but muſt be ſupplied with great difficulty with water as well as food from the ſouth. This often renders Jafnapatan and the adjacent country ſickly, but the reſt of the country is eſteemed very healthful.

CHAP. X.

CHAP. III.

Treats of their buildings, fortifications and furniture; their ſtature, complexion, and habits, food, feſtivals, diverſions and ceremonies; carriages, and manner of travelling.

Building.

THEIR towns are very irregular, not laid out into ſtreets, but every man encloſes a ſpot of ground with a bank or pale ſuitable to his circumſtances, and there are frequently twenty or thirty of theſe encloſures pretty near together. The buildings are mean, the houſes of the generality of the people low thatched cottages conſiſting of one or two ground rooms, the ſides are ſplintered with ratans or cane, which they do not always cover with clay, and if they do, it ſeems, they are not permitted to white-waſh them, this being a royal privilege. The better ſort of people have a ſquare in the middle of their houſes, and as many rooms on the ſides of it as the number of the family requires, with banks of earth raiſed a yard high about this ſquare court, on which they ſit croſs-legged, and eat or converſe with their friends. They have no chimneys, but their meat is dreſſed in their yards or a corner of the room. Their furniture conſiſts only of a mat, a ſtool or two to ſit on, a few china plates, and ſome earthen and brazen veſſels for their water and to dreſs their meat in, except one bedſtead which is allowed the maſter of the houſe to ſit or ſleep on, and this is corded, if I may uſe the expreſſion, with rattans or ſmall canes, and has a mat or two and a ſtraw pillow upon it, but no teſter and curtains. The women and children lye on mats by the fire ſide, covering themſelves only with the cloth they wear in the day time, but they will have a fire burning all night at their feet, the pooreſt people never want fuel, wood being ſo plentiful that no body thinks it worth while to claim any property in it. Their pagoda's or temples which are of any antiquity are built of hewn ſtone, with numbers of images both on the inſide and out, but no windows in them, and in all other reſpects like thoſe on the neighbouring continent of India; but their temples of a modern date are little low buildings with clay walls, almoſt in the form of a dove-houſe, and beſides their publick temples, they have little chapels in their yards, ſometimes not more than two feet ſquare, which they ſet upon a pillar four feet high, and

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and having placed the image in it they reverence moſt, they light candles and lamps before it, and every morning ſtrew flowers about the image, and perform their devotions.

The inland country called Conde Uda, is naturally ſo well defended, that it needs no artificial fortifications; which ever way you approach, it muſt be aſcended by vaſt high mountains, through thick woods, in which there is left only one narrow path, and that fenced at proper diſtances, and centinels placed there night and day.

Inhabitants of the iſland.

The deſcendants of the antient inhabitants, of whom the bulk of the people ſtill conſiſt, are called Cinglaſſes; there are alſo great numbers of Moors, Malabars, Portugueſe, and Dutch upon the iſland. The Malabars enjoy a ſmall province, towards the north-weſt part of the iſland adjoining to Jafnapatan; and are, much againſt their wills, ſubject or tributary to the Dutch at preſent.

Cha[illegible] the[illegible] and temper.

The Cinglaſſes, 'tis ſaid, do not want courage, and are men of quick parts, complaiſant and inſinuating in their addreſs, naturally grave, of an even temper, not eaſily moved, and when they happen to be in a paſſion, ſoon reconciled again; they are very temperate in their diet, neat in their apparel, ſomething nice in their eating, and do not indulge in ſleep; but though they commend induſtry much, like the natives of other hot countries, they are a little enclined to lazineſs; they are not given to theft, but intolerably addicted to lying, and have not much regard to what they promiſe; they allow their women great liberty, and are ſeldom jealous; they are extremely ſuperſtitious, and great obſervers of omens; if they ſee a white man or a great belly'd woman at their firſt going out in a morning, they promiſe themſelves ſucceſs in what they undertake; ſneezing is an ill omen, and if they hear a certain little animal, like a lizard, cry, they look upon it to be ſo unfortunate, that they will not proceed in what they are about for ſome time after.

Stature and complexion, &c.

They are well ſhaped, of a middle ſtature, their hair long and black, their features juſt, their complexion dark, but not ſo black as the Malabars, and their eyes black, like all other Indians. Notwithſtanding they uſually ſit on the floor, as well when they eat as at other times, they have a ſtool or two in their houſes which they ſet ſtrangers on, for whom they have a particular reſpect; but they are not ſuffered to have chairs with backs to lean againſt; this it ſeems is prohibited by their ſuperiors, as too great an indulgence to the vulgar.

Food and liquors.

The principal food of the Cinglaſſes is rice with ſome ſavoury ſoups made of fleſh or fiſh to reliſh it: the better ſort of people will have ſix or ſeven diſhes at their table, but they are moſt of them ſoup, herbs, or other garden ſtuff, ſeldom more than one or two of fleſh or fiſh, of which they eat very ſparingly. The meat is cut in little pieces and laid by their rice, ſo that they uſe no knives or forks, but they have ladles and ſpoons made of the coco-nut ſhell: they have braſs and China plates to eat on, but the poor people who want theſe, make a ſhift with broad leaves inſtead of them. Their uſual drink is water, wine or beer they have none, and arrack they drink but little of; the water they pour into their mouths like the Malabars, holding the cruiſe or bottle at a diſtance from their heads. If they have rice and ſalt in the houſe, the poor look upon themſelves to be well provided for, and with a ſallet and the juice of a lemon inſtead of vinegar, will they make a good meal. Beef, I think, they are prohibitted to eat if they were inclined to it; and for pork and fowls, they chooſe to ſell theſe to the foreigners amongſt them, and would think themſelves hardly uſed if they were compelled to make a meal of either. The wife dreſſes the food and waits on her husband while he eats. And then ſits down with her children and takes what he leaves.

Habits.

Among people of condition, the young fellows wear their hair long, combing it back, except they are on a journey, and then they tie it up. The caps the elderly people wear are like a biſhop's mitre; they let their beards grow long; their clothing is a waiſtcoat of blue or white callico, and a piece of callico wrapped about their middles, blue or ſtained, with a ſaſh over it, in which they ſtick their knife, which has uſually a fine wrought handle; they have a hanger alſo with the hilt inlaid by their ſides, the ſcabbard being almoſt covered with ſilver. They walk with a cane, and ſometimes a tuck in it, and have a boy to wait on them, who carries a little bag in which is their betel and arek-nut, and other trinkets. The common people go naked to the middle, about which they wrap a piece of callico which reaches down to their knees.

Habits of the women.

The women go in their hair combed behind their heads, and oil it with coco-nut oil; they have a waiſtcoat flouriſhed, which fits cloſe to their bodies and ſhows their ſhape. A piece of callico they wrap about them which falls below their knees, and is longer or ſhorter according to their quality. They have jewels in their ears, in which they bore great holes, and ſtretch them like their neighbours of Cormandel. They have necklaces and bracelets on their arms, and rings in abundance on their fingers and toes, and about their waiſts have a girdle of two of ſilver wire and plate. They have a ſtately mien, but are however very obliging and condeſcending to their inferiors, and converſe freely with them; when they go abroad they throw a piece of ſtriped ſilk over their heads, as our women do their hoods.

CHAP. III.

When they ſalute their acquaintance, it is by holding out both their hands with the palm upwards, and bowing their bodies; but one of ſuperior quality holds out but one hand, or perhaps nods his head. The women ſalute by clapping the palms of the hands together, and carrying them to their foreheads, which is the ſalam of the Bramins, and the firſt enquiry is about their health, as it is here. When the neareſt relations viſit, they ſit very reſerved and ſilent, and are at no time addicted to talk much. It is cuſtomary to carry proviſions and ſweat-meats with them to their friend's houſe, and he makes an entertainment for them the firſt day; but if the gueſt ſtays more than a night, he does not expect to be treated any longer, but aſſiſts the maſter of the houſe in his buſineſs; the Cinglaſſes thinking it unreaſonable that idle people who have nothing to do, ſhould diſturb others as long as they ſee fit: but to ſay the truth, the people are generally poor and in no condition to make entertainments, inſomuch, that great part of their clothes and ornaments are borrowed when they go abroad, which is ſo very common, that it is no manner of diſgrace, nor do they endeavour to conceal it.

Salutations and viſits.

There are no wheel carriages in the country, at leaſt among the Cinglaſſes; it would be impoſſible to uſe them, if they had any, in the woods and mountains, eſpecially while their ways are ſo very ſtrait that two men can ſcarce go a-breaſt. The King directs the roads to be kept ſo, it ſeems, as the greateſt ſecurity he has againſt the Dutch. The baggage of people of condition is carried by their ſlaves and by others on their backs. There were no horſes in the country till the Portugueſe brought them hither, and it ſeems the King thinks it too great an honour to permit his ſubjects, or even foreigners, to ride on them in his country, but they have oxen with bunches on their backs, as on the continent, which ſerve for carriage, and when the King and his court move, they have elephants as well as oxen for their baggage.

Carriages and roads.

CHAP. IV.

Treats of their trade and manufactures, huſbandry, plants, animals and minerals.

Trade.

NO nation had a better foreign trade antiently, than the iſland of Ceylone. Their cinnamon brought the Egyptians, Arabians, Perſians, and all the people of the eaſt thither, once in two or three years. The Portugueſe found the Arabians and other Moors here at their arrival in theſe parts, who oppoſed their ſettling any factories in Ceylone, having long enjoyed that profitable trade of tranſporting cinnamon to Europe. The Portugueſe, like their predeceſſors the Moors, endeavoured to engroſs this trade to themſelves, that they might ſet their own price upon this ſpice, and in all their treaties with the King of Ceylone, inſiſted that no cinnamon ſhould be ſold from them, and had they not behaved themſelves with intolerable inſolence and cruelty, they might have enjoyed that trade to this day; but the King not being able to endure their encroachments, called in the Dutch to his aſſiſtance, who having expelled the Portugueſe and ſeized their forts, diſpoſſeſſed alſo the King their ally of all the cinnamon country, and made the natives beggars, driving them and their Prince up into the mountains, and ſeem nevertheleſs to wonder, that he now and then diſturbs them in the enjoyment of what they have thus notoriouſly robbed him of; it is true he falls upon their men when they are gathering in the cinnamon, and makes them priſoners, even the Ambaſſadors they ſend to him, refuſing to have any commerce or treaty with the Dutch till they make him reſtitution; which they are ſo far from doing, that they ſtraiten him more and more every day, and ſome ſay, have lately made him tributary to them. The Dutch are poſſeſſed of the pearl fiſhery alſo, between Jafnapatan and Madura, on the continent; but this does not ſeem to be very conſiderable of late, for they do not think it worth their while to fiſh for them for ſeveral years together. Sometimes the people have ſome little home trade among themſelves, one part of the iſland ſupplying the other with what they want of the product of their reſpective countries; but moſt of the people are now employed in husbandry.

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There are no markets held in the iſland, but ſome few ſhops in their great towns, where are ſold callicoe cloths, rice, braſs, copper and earthen veſſels, ſwords, knives, and other manufactures of iron and ſteel, in which they work very well, making all manner of tools for carpenters, ſmiths and husbandmen. The callicoes are good ſtrong cloth fit for their own uſe, but not ſo fine as thoſe on the coaſt of Cormandel; goldſmiths works, painting and carving, they alſo perform tolerably well, and make pretty good fire arms.

Manufactures.

As to the face of the country, it is for the moſt part covered with woods, and very mountainous, as has been obſerved already; but the little vallies between the hills are full of fine ſprings. On the ſouth ſide of Conde Uda ſtands that famous mountain, called by the natives Hamalell, and by Europeans Adam's peak; it is ſhaped like a ſugar-loaf, and on the top has a little plain flat rock, with a print upon it like a man's foot, but near two foot long; this the natives come in pilgrimage to, and climb up with great difficulty once a year, and worſhip the impreſſion, ſuppoſing it to be a very meritorious act of

of which I ſhall treat farther, under the head of religion. In this mountain riſe ſeveral fine rivers, beſides that of Mavelagonga above-mentioned, which fall into the ſea on different ſides of the iſland, ſome on the eaſt and weſt, and others to the ſouth; but in the north part of the iſland, about Jaſnapatan, they have very few ſprings or rivers.

They have, it ſeems, ſeveral ſorts of rice, ſome which requires ſeven months before it comes to maturity, ſome ſix, others five; and there are other kinds, which will be ripe in three or four months from the ſeed time. That which ripens faſteſt is the beſt taſted, but yields the leaſt increaſe; and as all ſort of rice grows in water, the inhabitants are at great labour and expence in levelling the ground they deſign for tillage, and making channels from their wells and repoſitories of water, to convey it to theſe fields: they cut out the ſides of their hills from top to bottom, into little level plains, one above another, that the water ſhall ſtand in them till the corn is ripe, and theſe levels not being more than ſix or eight feet wide, many of them look like ſtairs to aſcend the mountain, at a little diſtance. They ſow no more ground than they think they have a ſtock of water provided for on the top of the hill, which they convey down in channels from time to time, from the higheſt part of the hill to the loweſt. If they apprehend they have water enough, they ſow that kind of rice which yields moſt, and is the longeſt a growing; but if they think their water will not hold out, then that which ripens ſooneſt; for the whole crop is ſpoiled if they want water. They alſo contrive to have all their rice ripe together; for their fields are common, and they turn in their cattle after harveſt, as they do here; and if any husbandman is much later than his neighbours, his corn is eaten up by the cattle; therefore, when by any accident they find themſelves under a neceſſity of ſowing later, they take that rice which will be ripe ſooneſt, and ſo recover their loſt time.

In the north part of the iſland, where there are few ſprings, they ſave the rain water in great ponds, or tanques, of a mile in compaſs, in the time of the monſoons, as they do on the continent of India, and when their fields are ſown, let it down into them gradually, ſo that it may hold out till harveſt. Their ſeed time is uſually in the months of July or Auguſt, a little after the beginning of the rains, and their harveſt in January or February; but where they have plenty of water all the year round, they do not ſo much regard theſe ſeaſons, but ſow and reap almoſt at any time. Their plough has a handle and foot ſhod with iron, much like our foot ploughs, but they are both of a piece, and much leſs and ſhorter, on account of their turning on the ſides of hills, where they are cramped for room. There is a little beam alſo let into that part which the ploughman holds in his hand, and to which the geers of the buffaloes are faſtned; they do not turn over and bury the ſward as ours do, but juſt break up the ground, and then overflow it with water, which rots the graſs and weeds. They give their lands two plowings; after the firſt they make up their banks, which ſerve to keep the water in, and for people to walk from one field to another, for the reſt of the fields are knee deep in water and mud. This ground, at the ſecond plowing, is a perfect hotchpot, having lain ſoaking in water a conſiderable time: when the weeds and graſs are rotted, they drag a heavy board over their land, ſtanding edgways, to make it all plain and ſmooth, that the water may overflow it equally in all places. Before they ſow their ſeed they ſoak it in water, and then lay it on a heap four or five days till it grows; when their ſeed is ready, they drain all the water off the land, and then with little ſquare boards, faſtned to poles, ſmooth over the land again, after which they ſow their rice as our husbandmen do wheat and barley, and let it ſtand without water till the corn is a ſpan above the ground; when the women come and weed it, and tranſplant the rice where it grows too thick, (the reader will remember, that on the continent of India they plant every ſpire of rice which they take out of beds ſown before) after this they let in the water again, and the rice grows half a foot or a foot deep, and more, in water till it is ripe.

They do not thraſh, but tread out their corn with oxen and buffaloes, frequently in the field where it grows: as ſoon as it is reaped they lay out a round ſpot of ground for this purpoſe, about twenty-five foot over, which they dig a foot and half deep, and the women, whoſe buſineſs it is, bring the corn in bundles on their heads, after which the cattle are drove round the pit till they have trampled it out of the ſtraw; then a new floor is laid, and with half a dozen oxen they will trample out forty or fifty buſhels in a day. Before they begin to tread out the corn, they always perform ſome religious ceremony, and apply to their idols for a bleſſing on their labours.

They have ſeveral other kinds of grain, which they eat of the latter end of the year, when rice begins to be ſcarce; and particularly coracan, which is as ſmall as muſtard-ſeed, which they beat or grind into flour and make cakes of. This grain grows on dry ground, and is ripe within three or four months after it is ſown. They have another kind, called tanna, as ſmall as caracan, every ſeed whereof ſhoots out four or five ſtalks, which have each an ear, and are ſaid to multiply a thouſand for one. The women, who do the greateſt part of the harveſt work, cut off

only the ears of it when it is ripe, and carry it home in baskets. This is very dry food, and only eaten when rice is not to be had. They have alſo a ſeed called tolla, of which they make oil, and anoint themſelves with it.

Here are great variety of fruits, but the natives ſeldom eat them ripe, or cultivate any, but thoſe which ſerve to make pickles for their ſoup or curree, and ſauces, when they are green, to eat with their rice. The betel-nut, ſo often mentioned, they have great plenty of, which they uſed to export to the coaſt of Cormandel to great advantage, before the Dutch excluded them from all trade with foreigners.

Fruits. The fruit called jack is part of their food, they grow upon large trees, are of a round ſhape, and as big as a peck loaf, being covered with a green prickly rind; they have ſeeds or kernels in them as big as a cheſtnut, and in colour and taſte like them. They gather theſe jacks before they are ripe, and boil them, and they eat much like cabbage: if they let them grow till they are ripe they are very good to eat raw; they roaſt the kernel in the embers, and carry with them, when they take a journey, for their proviſion.

There is another fruit called jambo, which is very juicy, and taſtes like an apple, it is white, ſtreaked with red, and looks very beautiful; they have alſo ſome fruits which reſemble our plumbs and cherries; nor do they want any of the common Indian fruits, ſuch as mangoes, coco's, pine-apples, melons, pomegranates, oranges of ſeveral ſorts, citrons, limes, &c.

Roots and pot-herbs. Their kitchen gardens are very well ſupplied alſo with roots and herbs, their roots are known to us under the general name of yams, though they have great variety, and will make a hearty meal of them; they have ſeveral kinds of pot-herbs which they eat with butter, ſome of them almoſt equal to aſparagus; they dreſs alſo ſome of their green fruit with their rice, which are a very pretty acid. The Portugueſe and Dutch have introduced almoſt all kinds of Engliſh herbs and roots, as colworts, lettice, roſemary, ſage, mint, carrots, radiſhes, &c. and their woods afford plenty of medicinal herbs, which the natives know very well how to apply, and perform conſiderable cures.

Flowers. Flowers alſo they abound with, of fine colours and ſcents, but never cultivate them, or take any manner of delight in fine gardens, but the girls and young fellows adorn their hair with them: among the reſt they have white and red roſes, which ſmell as ſweet as ours, and they have a white flower which very much reſembles jeſſamin, of which the King has a noſegay brought him every morning, and claims the propriety of them wherever they grow.

There is another flower, called the ſindricmal, which has this peculiar to it, that it opens about four o'clock every evening, and cloſes again about four in the morning, remaining ſhut for twelve hours. There are alſo flowers called hopmauls, which grow upon trees that bear nothing elſe, they have a very fine ſcent, and are uſed more than any other by the young people in their hair.

Trees. The moſt remarkable trees in Ceylone are, firſt the tallipot, which grows ſtrait and tall, and is about the bigneſs of the maſt of a ſhip, the leaves whereof (any one of them) are large enough, it is ſaid, to cover fifteen or twenty men and keep them dry; they are round and will fold up like a fan, a piece of them is worn on their heads when they travel, to ſhade them from the ſun, and are ſo tough that they make their way through the woods and buſhes with them. Every ſoldier carries one, which ſerves him alſo for a tent to lye in, and without them it were impoſſible to live abroad in the rainy ſeaſon. It bears no fruit till the laſt year it lives, and then has a hard fruit as big as a nutmeg, in vaſt plenty; in the inſide is a pith like elder, which is ſometimes eaten like the pith of the ſago-tree, and they make bread of it as they do of the ſago.

The ſecond tree I ſhall mention, is that called the reffule, which grows up ſtrait and tall as the coco-tree, and is likewiſe full of pith; from this they draw a cool pleaſant liquor, which is very wholeſom, but not ſtronger than water; an ordinary tree yields three or four gallons a day. This liquor they boil, and make a kind of brown ſugar of it, which they call jaggory in India, and it is ſaid, they can make it finer, and fit for any uſe. The way of drawing this liquor is thus, there grows out of the very top of the tree a bud, which, if they would ſuffer it, would bear a round fruit, but is good for nothing but to plant again. This bud they cut, and bind about it ſalt, pepper, limes, garlick, leaves, and other things which backen the growth of it: every day they cut a thin ſlice off the end, and hang an earthen pot under it to catch the liquor. The leaves of this tree fall off and are renewed every year, till it comes to its full growth, and then the ſame leaves continue on it for ſeveral years; but when they fall there comes no more new ones in the room. As the top bud ripens and withers, others come out lower every year, till it comes to the bottom of the boughs, and then it has done bearing, and dies within ſeven or eight years afterwards. The wood of the tree is very hard and heavy, of a black colour, and ſerves them to make peſtles of, with which they beat the huſk of the rice in mortars. But the tree peculiar to this iſland, and more valuable to the Dutch than any of the mines of Potoſi to the Spaniard, is the cinnamon. This tree is as common as any other in the woods, on the ſouth-weſt part of the iſland near Columbo, but there is little or none to be found

Cinnamon tree.

found towards the north part; however, the Dutch have ſecured all the bays and mouths of the rivers round the iſland, to prevent other nations ſettling here, or having any commerce with the natives. This tree is of the middle ſize, not very large, and has a leaf in thickneſs, ſhape, and colour, like the laurel; the leaves when they firſt ſprout are as red as ſcarlet, and rubbed between the fingers ſmell like a clove; it bears a fruit in September like an acorn; but neither the taſte or ſmell of it is like the bark; however, by boiling the fruit in water, an oil will ſwim on the top, which ſmells mighty prettily, and when it is cold is white, and as hard as tallow. It is ſometimes uſed as an ointment for aches and pains, but is ſo very common that they burn it alſo in their lamps. This tree, according to ſome, has three barks, but two all people agree in, and that it is the ſecond, which they ſtrip from trees of a middling growth, that is the beſt cinnamon; neither the trees that are very young, or thoſe that are old, are proper for peeling: having ſtripped off the outſide bark, they cut the next round the tree in ſeveral places, with a pruning knife, then they cut it long ways in little ſlips, and having peeled them off, lay them in the ſun to dry, and they roll up together, as we ſee them brought over. Whether the cutting the inward bark kills the tree, as ſome affirm, is not very material, for there is enough of it to ſupply all the world, if it was five times as large. The Dutch do not care to how narrow a compaſs the cinnamon groves are brought, ſince they have monopolized them, and can ſet what price they pleaſe upon this ſpice; the leſs the extent of theſe woods are they will be the better able to defend their poſſeſſion, to which force is their beſt title. The body of the tree, under the bark, is perfectly white, and ſerves them for building, and all manner of uſes, but has not that delicious taſte or ſmell which the bark has. There are cinnamon trees alſo upon the Malabar coaſt, whoſe bark has the colour, and ſomething of the taſte of the Ceylone cinnamon, and is not eaſily diſtinguiſhed from it by the ſight; for which reaſon, it is ſaid, the Dutch deſtroy as much as they can of it, becauſe other nations uſed to mix them, and paſs both off together as true cinnamon; and ſome ſay, if thoſe trees were cultivated and taken care of, their cinnamon would fall little ſhort of that of Ceylone: but this I can ſcarce believe, becauſe it is not to be ſuppoſed, that neither the natives, nor European merchants, ſhould, in all this time, have made the experiment, knowing how valuable this ſpice is. But methinks it would be worth the Eaſt-India company's while to get ſome young cinnamon plants from Ceylone, and tranſplant to their ſettlements on the Malabar coaſt, which are but a very little diſtance from this iſland, and try if they could not raiſe a plantation of them. It is impoſſible that the Dutch can ſo ſtrictly guard the coaſt, for ſeveral hundred miles, but ſome plants might be carried off; and it would be an inconceivable advantage, both to the company and the nation in general, if ſuch a thing could be effected; beſides, as our ſhips often put into the ports of this iſland, tho' they are not ſuffered to trade there, we know by experience, that their merchants, and even their greateſt officers, will accept a bribe, or a compliment, (as a certain noble Peer ſtyles it) and many of them (as well as our people) will barter away their country itſelf, to make their private fortunes, ſo that, no doubt, the thing might be eaſily accompliſhed if it was once attempted.

I cannot but lament the negligence of my countrymen, in making no attempts to procure a ſettlement in this iſland, when they knew the conſequence of it, and it lay open to them for ſo many years together. It is not at this day much above threeſcore years ſince the Dutch monopolized this trade to themſelves, and excluded the reſt of the world from this charming iſland. It is impoſſible to ſail by it without being under a concern that we muſt never ſet a foot on ſhore in this earthly paradiſe, but be excluded by that booriſh race who have uſurped the poſſeſſion of it. It can never be ſuppoſed, that if the Dutch had not in the reign of King JAMES the firſt perfectly purchaſed our miniſtry, and afterwards taken the advantage of a cruel civil war amongſt our ſelves, and the diviſions amongſt us, in the reign of King CHARLES the ſecond, that we ſhould ever have ſuffered them to run away with our fiſhery at home, and every valuable branch of trade abroad. The cloves and mace and nutmegs, in the Molucca and Banda iſlands, I have already given an account how treacherouſly and barbarouſly they robbed us of; our merchants ſeem to have been ſo terrified with the unheard of cruelties of the Dutch at Amboyna, that they durſt not put in for a part of the cinnamon trade at Ceylone. It is true, they were ſo poorly ſupported by our government, in the reign of King JAMES the firſt, that it was enough to diſcourage them from ſettling where the Dutch had any thing to do; it was with too much truth the Hollanders boaſted in the Eaſt-Indies, that they had a better intereſt at the Engliſh court than our own merchants, and that a well applied bribe in Europe would atone for all their depredations in the Eaſt. It was with propriety enough that the Hollanders ſtyled themſelves 'Lords of all the 'ſeas of the world,' for their own fleet was the beſt in Europe, next to that of the Engliſh, and they were ſenſible they had ours in their pockets; and if at any time we were about to call them to account for their ill uſage of our merchants, either by bribes, or ſowing diviſions amongſt us, which

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which their good friends the Diſſenters too often favoured them in; all complaints were huſhed up, and we were made to believe that the intereſt of the Dutch and this nation were inſeparable, and that therefore we muſt never take notice of anything they plundered us of, leſt this ſhould create a miſunderſtanding between us and our good allies.

Cinnamon, cloves, and nutmegs grow in three ſeveral countries.

But to return to the cinnamon tree, it is often apprehended by the vulgar, that cinnamon, nutmegs, mace, and cloves, grow all upon one tree, or at leaſt in one country; and my friend the Atlas has ſo far confirmed them in their error, as to make nutmegs of the growth of this iſland of Ceylone; whereas nutmegs only grow in the Banda iſlands, they are covered by the mace as a nut is covered over by the husk. Cloves grow only in the Molucca iſlands and Amboyna, and the true cinnamon only in Ceylone, and the Molucca's, Banda, and Amboyna, lye any of them near three thouſand miles to the eaſtward of Ceylone; the Molucca's under the equator, and Banda and Amboyna, three or four degrees to the ſouthward of it, whereas Ceylone lyes ſix degrees to the northward of the equator.

When I ſailed by this iſland in my voyage from the coaſt of Cormandel, we had not touched at any land for about four months, and the evening before we made Ceylone, when our beſt artiſts on board were confident we were a hundred miles from that or any other land, the air was ſo extremely ſweet, ſo repleniſhed with fragrant ſmells, that I was morally ſure we muſt be near ſome land: I called up ſeveral of my fellow travellers hereupon, who regaled their ſmelling faculty in the ſame manner, and it was the general opinion that this muſt proceed from the cinnamon groves in Ceylone. However, it is obſervable, that when people have been long at ſea, and draw near any coaſt, if the wind ſets off of it, it will bring a very refreſhing ſmell along with it, though not comparable to that perfumed air we meet with on the coaſts of Ceylone.

But to proceed: the next morning, to the ſurprize of all who had the moſt skill in navigation, land was ſeen at the top-maſt head, though it could not be leſs than fifteen or twenty miles diſtance; and conſidering we had ſailed all the night before the wind, muſt carry thoſe delicious odours a vaſt way out to ſea, when it ſits off the iſland, as it did at this time; though I do not ſuppoſe the people of the country, who ſmell them conſtantly, could have been ſenſible of them at ſo great a diſtance as we were, who had not experienced that refreſhing ſmell that ariſes even from common earth, for ſo many months. This is what I may relate of my own knowledge, and the reader need entertain no doubt of the truth of the fact.

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But to give ſome farther account of the trees of this iſland; there is the orula, of the bigneſs of an apple-tree, which bears a fruit like an olive, which they ſometimes take as a purge; they uſe it alſo to dye their clothes black, by dipping them into water this fruit has been ſteeped in; and, it is ſaid, if a piece of ruſty iron be thrown into this water, it will eat off the ruſt, and become bright, and that the water will be ſo very black that it will ſerve inſtead of ink.

The downekaia is a ſhrub, which bears a leaf two fingers broad and ſix or eight foot long, which is on both ſides full of thorns; theſe leaves they ſplit, and make mats of them: it bears a bud which opens into a bunch of whitiſh flowers like a noſegay, and the leaves are extremely ſweet: the roots of this tree are full of ſmall fibres, of which they make their cordage. They have another fine ſhady tree, which they have a particular veneration for, on account that the God BUDDOU when he was upon earth, as tradition goes, uſed to repoſe himſelf under the branches of it; under theſe, therefore, they frequently erect their altars, and ſet up their images, and place a number of lighted lamps, as the Indians always do in or before their places of worſhip.

Animals.

In this iſland there are plenty of oxen and buffaloes, goats, hogs, and deer; they have alſo elephants, bears, tygers, jackalls, monkeys, dogs, and hares; but no horſes, aſſes, ſheep, lions, or wolves, but what are imported by Europeans. Some of their deer are larger than our red deer, but there is another animal like them in all reſpects, except the colour, not bigger than a hare; it is grey, ſpotted with white. The beaſts this iſland is moſt famous for, are the elephants: thoſe that treat of their beaſts give us large deſcriptions of their make, their ſagacity, and the manner of taking them by a tame female, which having been taken notice of already, in treating of other Indian countries, I ſhall only obſerve that they are ſo very numerous in this iſland, that they do the husbandmen incredible damage, by breaking their trees, and eating and trampling down their corn, ſo that the country people are forced to watch their corn fields every night which lye near the woods, and are not ſecure in their very yards; they have much ado with lighted torches, and making a great noiſe to fright them away; ſometimes they ſhoot at them, and wound them with their arrows, but are often killed by the enraged elephant. Their bears and tygers are not near ſo troubleſom, for they ſeldom attack people here without provocation, and do no damage to their grain.

Their monkeys are very numerous alſo, and of ſeveral kinds, ſome of a dark grey colour, very large, with black faces and white beards from ear to ear, which make them reſemble old men.

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There is a ſecond ſort like the other, and as large, but milk white in their bodies and faces, neither of theſe are miſchievous; but there is a third ſort troubleſom enough, which about harveſt come in large companies, and do not only eat up a great deal of corn, but carry abundance away in their hands, and will plunder the gardens about their houſes: this kind of monkeys have white faces, and long hair on their heads like men's, but no beards.

There are alligators in ſome parts of the iſland, which have been deſcribed already in treating of other countries, and they have alſo a great variety of ſerpents, one kind Mr. KNOX ſpeaks of, of ſo monſtrous a ſize, that I muſt beg his pardon for repeating the ſtory after him, and it ſeems he had never ſeen any of them himſelf alive or dead, though he had lived above twenty years in the country. There are weak credulous people no doubt among the Indians, as well as in Europe, who love to hear and report incredible things, and as Mr. KNOX himſelf aſſures us, that the people of this iſland are pretty much given to lying, I cannot think he expected we ſhould believe the relation that was told him of a ſnake's eating a ſtag, horns and all; thoſe which Mr. KNOX himſelf ſaw, he tells us were of an ordinary ſize, about five or ſix foot long, and therefore I believe we may place the other monſters he mentions among the vulgar errors. Beſides ſnakes they have other vermin in abundance, ſuch as polecats, ferrets, weaſels, &c. and are ſo over-run with them, that they deſtroy all the wild rabbets, though there are ſome kept tame; and their cattle are frequently bitten with ſnakes and found dead.

Piſmires, it ſeems, ſwarm here, and ſting to that degree there is no bearing them; they devour alſo almoſt every thing they can come at, except iron and ſtone, and people can hardly ſet down a diſh of meat but it will be full of them. Mr. KNOX tells us, they run up the walls of their houſes, building arches of dirt as they go, and if an arch happens to break, they will all come down and aſſiſt in repairing it. The Cinglaſſes are very careful in looking after any thing they have of value, that theſe inſects do not ſpoil it: they diſcover where they climb up by theſe arches of dirt, without building which they never go up any thing. At a diſtance from houſes, theſe ants will raiſe hillocks five or ſix foot high, of a pure refined clay ſo hard and firm, that it will require a pick-ax to pull it down, and their neſts are contrived like a honey-comb; the natives uſe this clay to form their idols of, it is ſo fine; but as theſe inſects increaſe prodigiouſly, ſo they die in ſhoals; for when they are come to their full bigneſs and have wings, they iſſue out of an evening, after the going down of the ſun, in ſuch vaſt numbers, that they darken the ſky, and having flown out of ſight, in a little time they fall down dead, and the birds which are not gone to rooſt, frequently fly amongſt them, and pick up a great many. The poultry almoſt live upon theſe ants, and if it were not for this there would be no keeping them down, they multiply ſo faſt.

Their bees, one ſort of them, are like the common Engliſh bees, and build in hollow trees, or holes in the ground; they have a larger ſort of a brighter colour, and their honey much thinner, which makes their combs upon the boughs of trees, at a great height, ſo that they may eaſily be ſeen, and at the time of year, whole villages go out into the woods to gather the honey, which they come home loaded with; they will ſometimes hold torches under the bees till they drop from the trees, and boil and eat them, looking upon them to be very good food.

Here are leeches of a reddiſh colour, and about the bigneſs of a gooſe quill, which appear about the time the rains begin to fall, and in a little time the graſs and woods are full of them; they are at firſt as ſmall almoſt as a horſe hair, and creep up the legs of travellers, who always go without ſhoes or ſtockings, and make the blood run down their heels, and if there be any ſore they will be ſure to get to that; ſome therefore rub their legs with lemon and ſalt to make them drop off, and others have a flat ſtick to ſcrape them off, but others ſucceed them ſo faſt that it is almoſt in vain, and they moſt commonly let them alone till they come to the end of their journey; for though it makes their legs ſmart a little, this bleeding is reckoned very good for them. When they come to their houſes they rub their legs with aſhes, and ſo get rid of them at once.

There does not ſeem to be any want of poultry here, ſuch as hens, ducks, geeſe, turkeys; but it ſeems the King prohibits the people's keeping ducks, geeſe, turkeys, or pigeons tame, tho' he keeps them himſelf; they have alſo a black water fowl as big as a duck, which lives upon fiſh, which will dive and remain under water a great while, and at length come up at a vaſt diſtance: there is another fowl larger than a ſwan, which haunts the ponds and marſhes, and lives on fiſh.

Woodcocks and partridges there are ſome, but not many; and they have ſome wood pigeons, ſnipes and ſparrows, and abundance of wild peacocks and ſmall green parrots. There is the macowda alſo, which ſpeaks mighty plain when 'tis taught, it is about the bigneſs of a blackbird and of the ſame colour. There is another of a gold colour, very beautiful to look on, which may be taught to ſpeak; but the fineſt birds they have are of the bigneſs of a ſparrow, they are

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Mines. As for mines, I don't find they work any, except thoſe of iron, of which they have great plenty, and make pretty good ſteel. Diamonds and precious ſtones alſo, 'tis ſaid, their Prince has in abundance, but probably theſe might be imported formerly from Golconda, when they traded thither with their cinnamon; for if there had been any diamond mines in the country, the Portugueſe or Dutch would have diſcovered them long before this.

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Treats of the language, learning, books, and hiſtory of the Ceyloneſe.

Language. THE Cinglaſſes have a language peculiar to themſelves, but ſeem to have borrowed many of their words from their neighbours, the Malabars; however, theſe nations do not underſtand one another. They have alſo a learned or dead language, underſtood only by their Bramins or Prieſts, in which is written all that relates to the rites and ceremonies of their religion. Their common tongue, Captain KNOX tells us, is copious, ſmooth and elegant, but whether the Captain was a judge of languages, I will not take upon me to ſay; however, he was capable of obſerving, no doubt, as he has done, that in all their ſpeeches and addreſſes to their betters, there was a great mixture of compliment, and that they were ſo nice in the titles they gave to men and women, that they were varied at leaſt a dozen ways, according to the quality or circumſtances of the people they ſpoke to: and it was an unpardonable miſtake to give any perſon a wrong title or epithet when they addreſſed themſelves to them; and it ſeems their peaſants are as well

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The hiſtories of this iſland are recorded in their learned language, and contain rather fabulous accounts of their gods and antient heroes removed to heaven, whom they now make the objects of their worſhip, than afford any real inſtruction. Theſe records are kept by their Prieſts or Bramins, in a language unknown to the vulgar, and they are acquainted with no more of it than what is communicated to them in ſongs and ballads, which like the Indians on the continent, they are always repeating.

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As to their modern hiſtory, the Portugueſe diſcovered this iſland about the year 1505, under the conduct of LAURENCE D'ALMEIDA, but it was twelve years afterwards that they began to ſettle a trade and factories here. About the year 1550, they erected a fort near Columbo, at which the King was alarmed, and immediately laid ſiege to it, but the Portugueſe having got ſuch footing that it was very difficult to remove them, a treaty was entered into between the King of Ceylone and the Portugueſe, whereby that King was to deliver them a quantity of cinnamon yearly at a certain price, and there was ſo good a correſpondence between the two nations for ſome time, that an Ambaſſador was ſent to Portugal in the year 1540, and a very ſtrict alliance entered into, inſomuch that ſeveral of their Princes became Chriſtians, and put themſelves under the protection of the Portugueſe; but they behaving themſelves very cruelly and inſolently to the natives, and the Dutch General SPILBERGEN arriving on the coaſt about the year 1602, the Ceyloneſe entered into a treaty with the Dutch.

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However, SEBELD DE WEERT the Dutch admiral, who was ſent to the aſſiſtance of the King of Ceylone againſt the Portugueſe, in the year 1603, behaving himſelf very brutiſhly, and uſing that Prince more like a ſlave than a ſovereign, the Ceyloneſe were ſo enraged at it, that they cut the Dutch man in pieces, which put an end to all treaties for that time.

The Dutch finding their miſtake, that the Ceyloneſe would not be treated in that inſolent manner DE WEERT had uſed them, very ſubmiſſive letters were ſent in the name of Prince MAURICE and the States, to propoſe an alliance with the King of Ceylone in the year 1609.

In the year 1613, an alliance offenſive and defenſive was concluded between the King and the Dutch, whereby that Prince agreed to diſpoſe of his cinnamon, pearls, and precious ſtones, to no other European nation but them, but that there ſhould be an open and free trade for all Indian nations: permiſſion alſo was given the Dutch to erect a fort at Cottiar or Trinquemale, on the north-eaſt part of the iſland, but the Portugueſe ſoon beat the Dutch out of their fort, and maintained their poſſeſſion and their trade in Ceylone till the year 1636, when the Dutch were again invited into the iſland. The Portugueſe fleet before Goa being defeated by the Hollanders in the year 1638, the Dutch ſent a reinforcement to the aſſiſtance of their ally the King of Ceylone, whereupon the Portugueſe marched to the capital city of Candi, from whence the King retiring, they burnt and plundered the city, but were intercepted in their retreat by the King's forces, and moſt of their army cut to pieces. From this time their intereſt in the iſland declined apace, for the ſame year the Dutch and the Cinglaſſes ſat down before Batecalo, which ſtands about the middle of the eaſt-ſide of the iſland, and took it from the Portugueſe; then the Dutch renewed their alliance with the King of Ceylone, who was ſo much in haſte to extirpate the Portugueſe, that he engaged to be at the whole charges of the war, if the Dutch are to be credited, and the Dutch were to monopolize the trade of the iſland without paying any duties to his Majeſty; and purſuant to this agreement, the King immediately delivered a vaſt quantity of cinnamon into the hands of the Hollanders, in part of the charges the Dutch had been at. Soon after, the Portugueſe town of Point de Galle, their moſt ſouthern ſettlement in Ceylone, was taken by the Dutch; in the year 1655, the town of Caleture, about a day's ſail north-weſt of Point de Galle was taken by the Dutch. The ſame year the Dutch and the Cinglaſſes with their united forces, laid ſiege to Columbo on the ſouth-weſt part of the iſland, being the capital of all the Portugueſe ſettlements. This place the Portugueſe

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However, SEBELD DE WEERT the Dutch admiral, who was ſent to the aſſiſtance of the King of Ceylone againſt the Portugueſe, in the year 1603, behaving himſelf very brutiſhly, and uſing that Prince more like a ſlave than a ſovereign, the Ceyloneſe were ſo enraged at it, that they cut the Dutch man in pieces, which put an end to all treaties for that time.

The Dutch finding their miſtake, that the Ceyloneſe would not be treated in that inſolent manner DE WEERT had uſed them, very ſubmiſſive letters were ſent in the name of Prince MAURICE and the States, to propoſe an alliance with the King of Ceylone in the year 1609.

In the year 1613, an alliance offenſive and defenſive was concluded between the King and the Dutch, whereby that Prince agreed to diſpoſe of his cinnamon, pearls, and precious ſtones, to no other European nation but them, but that there ſhould be an open and free trade for all Indian nations: permiſſion alſo was given the Dutch to erect a fort at Cottiar or Trinquemale, on the north-eaſt part of the iſland, but the Portugueſe ſoon beat the Dutch out of their fort, and maintained their poſſeſſion and their trade in Ceylone till the year 1636, when the Dutch were again invited into the iſland. The Portugueſe fleet before Goa being defeated by the Hollanders in the year 1638, the Dutch ſent a reinforcement to the aſſiſtance of their ally the King of Ceylone, whereupon the Portugueſe marched to the capital city of Candi, from whence the King retiring, they burnt and plundered the city, but were intercepted in their retreat by the King's forces, and moſt of their army cut to pieces. From this time their intereſt in the iſland declined apace, for the ſame year the Dutch and the Cinglaſſes ſat down before Batecalo, which ſtands about the middle of the eaſt-ſide of the iſland, and took it from the Portugueſe; then the Dutch renewed their alliance with the King of Ceylone, who was ſo much in haſte to extirpate the Portugueſe, that he engaged to be at the whole charges of the war, if the Dutch are to be credited, and the Dutch were to monopolize the trade of the iſland without paying any duties to his Majeſty; and purſuant to this agreement, the King immediately delivered a vaſt quantity of cinnamon into the hands of the Hollanders, in part of the charges the Dutch had been at. Soon after, the Portugueſe town of Point de Galle, their moſt ſouthern ſettlement in Ceylone, was taken by the Dutch; in the year 1655, the town of Caleture, about a day's ſail north-weſt of Point de Galle was taken by the Dutch. The ſame year the Dutch and the Cinglaſſes with their united forces, laid ſiege to Columbo on the ſouth-weſt part of the iſland, being the capital of all the Portugueſe ſettlements. This place the Portugueſe

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defended very well for a whole year, under the disadvantage of a famine, and the want of many necessaries: however, the city of Columbo at length surrendered upon articles the eleventh of May 1656, and the Dutch took possession of it with their troops, excluding the King from any share in their conquests, tho' they had expresly stipulated to deliver Columbo into his hands, according to a letter, from that Prince to their General, translated and printed by the Hollanders themselves, which I shall here insert, to shew that the Dutch have no other right to this island, but what they gained by force and treachery.

The Letter of the King of Ceylone to the Dutch General, upon his taking possession of Columbo.

'OUR Imperial Majesty being very desirous to introduce the Dutch nation into our dominions, ADAM WESTERWORLD came on this coast with a squadron of ships, just as we had made our selves masters of Batecalo, when we thought fit to conclude a peace with him, which being confirmed by oath, was but slenderly observed by some officers afterwards: as for instance, by Captain BURCHART KOCKS, alias COQUE, (who was killed by a soldier at Puntegale) and commissary PETER KIEFT, who being sent as plenipotentiaries to our court, did confirm the before mentioned peace by oath, pursuant to which at their departure for Gale, they took along with them one of our * Dissauva's, in order to deliver into his hands the country of Mature; but at his coming there they found means to render the same ineffectual, by finding out certain difficulties, which made the said Dissauva return to our court to our great dissatisfaction. It was about that time that our beloved Director General did come into our kingdom from Holland, with full power to act as he should find it most suitable to our service, and to the establishment of a firm peace and friendship, pursuant to which he desired us to bury all past miscarriages in oblivion, promising at the same time, in the name of the Prince of Orange and the East-India company, full satisfaction for the same; as also that the fortresses of Negumbo and Columbo (when taken) should be delivered into the hands of our Imperial Majesty, and certain Hollanders to be allotted in the said places for our service. 'Tis upon this account that we sent our auxiliaries to assist our dearly beloved Hollanders in the taking of Columbo; which being taken, since they are become forgetful of their promise, and do continue to do so to this day, your Excellency is left at your own liberty to do what you think fit, till notice of this proceeding can be given to the Prince of Orange, and the honourable company: but I would have you remember, that such as don't know God and keep their word, will one time or other be sensible of the ill consequences thereof. I am sensible I have God on my side.'

* Generals.

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POSTSCRIPT.

'Two letters have been dispatched from our Imperial court: your Excellency has written to * GEORGE BLOEM, but without mentioning any thing relating to our service: your Excellency may write such frivolous pretences to whom you please, but ought not to impose them on our Imperial Majesty, it being in vain to alledge, that the Director General had received his instructions from Batavia; whereas he brought his full power along with him out of Holland: such sinister dealings as these create no small jealousy, so I cannot see with what face you can expect any farther credit from us; I have taken care to have this translated into Dutch, that you may have no reason to plead ignorance. GEORGE BLOEM shall stay here till I receive your answer, when I intend to send him back with a letter.'

Pretence the Dutch for not restoring Columbo.

The pretence the Dutch made for not delivering up Columbo to the King was, that General HULST, with whom that agreement was made, (and who was killed in the siege) had not a sufficient authority to make such an agreement; and that they must have an express order from the States General, before they could deliver it to the King, and this was their constant practice in the Indies; they would permit their Generals and Ambassadors to those Princes to stipulate any thing, in order to bring them into their measures, and when their ends were accomplished, pretend that their commanders had not full powers to treat, and by this artifice, getting those Princes to unite their forces with them, and let them into the possession of their strongest fortresses, they at length became masters of them and of their country. To proceed, GEORGE BLOEM, the Dutch interpreter at the King's court, being sensible he should be made a sacrifice upon his countrymen's breaking their articles, found means to make his escape to the Dutch camp, after which, the Hollanders had so little regard to their treaties with the King of Ceylone, that they fell upon his troops, plundered his baggage, and compelled him to retire to the mountains; these treacherous practices and notorious breach of faith in the Hollanders justly made that Prince their avowed enemy; he thereupon made peace with the Portuguese, invited them into his service, and frequently sallied out of the woods and cut off the cinnamon gatherers,

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gatherers, and diſtreſſed them to that degree, that they found themſelves under a neceſſity of courting his friendſhip again; accordingly they ſent him rich preſents, with a multitude of excuſes for their paſt conduct. They ſent alſo ſeveral Ambaſſadors to him, who were ſometimes guilty of the moſt abject flatteries; and at other times would make uſe of threats: but he was not to be moved by either; but detained moſt of their Ambaſſadors priſoners, and would have no correſpondence with ſo faithleſs a generation, whom he obſerved never regarded any treaties longer than their intereſt compelled them.

The firſt Ambaſſador the Dutch ſent to the King of Ceylone after this rupture having been detained many years, entered into the ſervice of this Prince, and had a conſiderable poſt conferred on him; but this being only with an intention to betray his counſels, as appeared by a letter the King intercepted, which was ſent him from the Dutch; wherein they thanked him for diſcovering an enterprize the King was about to undertake againſt ſome of their ſettlements, the King immediately ordered him to be put to death. But the King of Ceylone does not only detain the Ambaſſadors which are ſent him, but all Europeans whatever which fall into his hands, and has formed ſeveral companies of ſoldiers out of them. One reaſon of this may be, that his greateſt ſafety lyes in the defiles and paſſes of the mountains, which would be diſcovered to his enemies if he ſuffered the Europeans to return: and another may be the uſe that he makes of them, by inſtructing his people in military diſcipline, and improving them in ſeveral mechanick arts.

The French, obſerving what great advantages the Dutch made of the cinnamon trade, and finding there was no good underſtanding between the King of Ceylone and them, fitted out a fleet of fourteen ſail of large ſhips, under the command of Capt. DE LA HAY, on board of which they ſent an Ambaſſador to ſettle a treaty of commerce between the two nations, and about the year 1673, the fleet arrived at the port of Cottiar or Trinquemale, on the north-eaſt part of the iſland; from hence three gentlemen were diſpatched to the King to give him notice of their arrival; they were ſplendidly entertained at court, and every one of them preſented with a gold chain, a ſword inlaid with ſilver, and a gun, and were ſuffered to return to the fleet, and give an account of their reception; whereupon the Ambaſſador and ſix other gentlemen went up to the court with a deſign to reſide there till the fleet returned from the continent of India, whither it was alſo bound. The King did not only ſend great quantities of proviſion down to the fleet, to enable them to purſue their voyage, but aſſiſted the French in building a fort in the bay of Cottiar, thinking he had now met with an European ally that would be a match for the ungrateful Dutch. The French having erected their fort, and garriſoned it partly with Europeans and partly with the natives whom the King ſent them, ſet ſail for the coaſt of Cormandel, promiſing to return in a ſhort time, but whether they were deſtroyed by the Dutch, as was generally thought, or by ſtorms or other accidents, is uncertain; but they never returned again to Ceylone, as Captain KNOX aſſures us, who was then and long after in the iſland, and the Dutch ſoon poſſeſſed themſelves of the fort of Cottiar.

But to give ſome account of the tranſactions between the French Ambaſſador and that Prince: the Ambaſſador looking upon himſelf as the repreſentative of his great maſter LEWIS XIV. and expecting to be treated with the ſame honours Ambaſſadors are in Europe, committed ſo many errors that he perfectly defeated the deſign of his embaſſy, and of friends made them his enemies, and his nation as much hated as the Dutch themſelves. And firſt, he rode up from Cottiar on horſeback, which it ſeems is a privilege the King never allows any man; when he came within ſome few miles of the court, orders met him to remain where he was till a houſe was prepared in the city for his entertainment; ſome time after, notice was given that it was ready, and ſeveral noblemen were ſent to aſſiſt in bringing the preſent that was intended for the King, and to attend the Ambaſſador to his houſe: whereupon he entered the city on horſeback, which the noblemen endeavoured to diſſuade him from, aſſuring him that this was never allowed to any perſon; however he did not regard them, but rode on by the palace gate, which gave his Majeſty great offence, it being looked on as the higheſt inſult on an eaſtern Prince, to paſs by the gates of his palace without expreſſing a moſt profound reverence on ſuch an occaſion: however, no notice was taken of the matter at that time, but the Ambaſſador went forwards to his houſe without interruption, and was nobly entertained with proviſions ſent him from the King's palace three times a day.

The time being appointed for his audience, ſeveral of the nobility and great officers came to wait on him to court in the evening, whither he went by torch light: he waited it ſeems near two hours in the palace without being admitted to the King's preſence, which he took as ſuch an affront, that he reſolved to return to his houſe and not wait any longer for his Majeſty's coming out, notwithſtanding all the repreſentations which were made by the King's officers to the contrary; whereupon ſome elephants were placed at the gates to prevent him, but he laid his hand on his ſword, and let them know he was determined

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mined to make his way by them; the elephants thereupon were removed, and he was ſuffered to return to his houſe. The King no ſooner heard of this, but he ordered the Ambaſſador and all his retinue to be laid in irons and ſeverely beaten; and though he ſoon after ordered the reſt to be releaſed, the Ambaſſador himſelf remained in chains ſix months. They were afterwards ſuffered to live every one in his own houſe, and took up ſome one employment and ſome another; but whether they were ever releaſed from their captivity, I could never learn; but our countryman Mr. KNOX, who was there at the ſame time, having been detained priſoner twenty years and upwards, and made his eſcape at laſt through infinite difficulties, I aſſure my ſelf, a ſhort account of that gentleman's being taken priſoner, and his way of living in the country can't be unacceptable, eſpecially ſince it will very much conduce to our better underſtanding the country, and the manners and cuſtoms of that people.

An account of ſome Engliſh who remained priſoners in Ceylone 20 years.

The Anne galley in the ſervice of the Eaſt-India company, Captain ROBERT KNOX Commander, ſailed from the Downs in January 1657, to the coaſt of Cormandel, where having traded from port to port until the twenty eighth of November 1659, there happened a ſtorm while they were in the road of Maſulapatan, which ſo diſabled the ſhip, that ſhe was forced to go over to the bay of Cottiar or Trinquemale on the coaſt of Ceylone in order to refit. At their firſt coming into the bay they were very cautious how they went on ſhore, being under ſome apprehenſion of the inhabitants, but having gone backwards and forwards for about twenty days, and receiving no diſturbance from the natives, who brought them proviſions for their money, and told them they were welcome into their country, they looked upon themſelves to be in perfect ſecurity amongſt them.

The King receiving advice that an Engliſh ſhip was in the bay, ſent down one of his Diſſauva's or Generals with a preſent to the Captain, and offers of ſupplying him with ſuch proviſions as he wanted; but having decoyed the Captain with his ſon and fifteen or ſixteen more of his men aſhore, they were all made priſoners, and the Captain required to order his ſhip to come up the river; but the Captain on the contrary, being permitted to ſend two men on board, ordered the chief mate to take care of the ſhip and ſtand upon his defence, but excuſed himſelf to the Diſſauva that the ſhip's crew would not obey his orders; whereupon the Diſſauva deſired he would ſend his ſon (the author of this relation) which the Captain did, but with orders that the chief mate ſhould take charge of the ſhip and return to the coaſt of Cormandel, and leave them to ſhift for themſelves; but required his ſon to return to him again and not leave him in that wretched condition; which his dutiful ſon obeyed, though the beſt he could expect was a miſerable captivity in an unknown country. Theſe particulars the reader will agree deſerve to be recorded, for where ſhall we find ſo brave and faithful a ſervant as the Captain approved himſelf to be to his maſters the Eaſt-India company? or where ſo dutiful a ſon, who choſe to remain a priſoner, rather than abandon his father in diſtreſs?

After ſome time the Captain and his ſailors were conveyed up into the mountains of Conde Uda, and there every one quartered in a different village; except the Captain and his ſon, who were ſuffered to remain together; and the people of the place brought them ready dreſſed rice and herbs, and one diſh of fleſh, fiſh or eggs, but of the laſt diſh very ſparingly, being only deſigned to give a reliſh to the reſt. They had their choice alſo of the houſes in the village, but being generally low and dark; the Captain choſe a kind of caravanſera which was open to the air on the ſides, and there they gave him a cot or couch to lye on with a mat upon it, being a particular mark of reſpect, and his ſon had a mat to lye upon the ground, as their common people uſually do. The town, where they were quartered in, proved very unhealthful; the people in general falling ſick of an ague and fever, inſomuch that there were ſcarce any to make proviſion for the priſoners, and at length both the Captain and his ſon fell ſick of the ſame diſtemper, and though the old gentleman ſoon got rid of his ague, he fell into a deep melancholy, and died of pure grief within the compaſs of a year or thereabouts, and his ſon wrapping him up in his clothes and the mat he lay on, buried him by a wood ſide near the village called Bonder-coos-wat, in the province of Hotcourly, being about the middle of the iſland of Ceylone.

The King hearing of the Captain's death, ſent to enquire into the occaſion of it, and imagining it might proceed from his want of good proviſion, gave ſtrict orders for the taking better care of the ſon; whereupon he found his entertainment much better than at firſt.

The reſt of the Captain's crew, who were quartered in diſtinct villages, eat in the ſeveral houſes of the village where they were quartered by turns, where any one dined there he ſupped and lay that night upon a mat, as the reſt of the family did, and the next day removed to another houſe, as is uſual when the King commits a priſoner to the care of any village: they were after ſome time allowed greater liberties, and ſuffered to go from village to village and viſit their companions without reſtraint; for they were at that diſtance from the coaſt, and the paſſes in the woods ſo ſtrictly guarded, that it was almoſt impoſſible to make their eſcape: but finding that the inhabitants

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bitants had orders to make good provision for them till the King should send for them to court, they begun to look upon themselves as superior to their landlords, and would hector and domineer, and sometimes throw the pots of rice at their heads, when their provision did not please them; and their clothes being almost worn out, they compelled the people to let them have their rice undressed, half of which was enough for their food, and the rest they usually sold towards clothing themselves again: thus they lived several years, till they learned the way of knitting caps, which used to make them a little ready money; and finding themselves under the King's protection, they would complain to the magistrate if they met with any ill usage, and never failed to have their grievances redressed. They were permitted at length every one to have a house to himself, where they had hogs, and goats, and poultry about them; and some of them followed trades, or distilled arrack, while others were employed in husbandry, till at length they were sent for up to court, where they found several more of their countrymen. For about two years before Capt. KNOX and his company were made prisoners, thirteen other Englishmen belonging to the ship called the Persia Merchant, were cast away upon this island; these were all brought up to the city of Candi, where the King kept them several years, allowing them both clothes and victuals: two young fellows of them, viz. HUGH SMART and HENRY MAN, the King took such a fancy to, that he preferred them to great employments in his court, and frequently conversed with them familiarly concerning the manner and customs of the people of England, and the grandeur of the state, it being the time of the grand rebellion, and was particularly pleased to hear, that the English had beaten the Dutch at sea. But SMART, it seems, having had some conversation with the Dutch Ambassador, the King conceived such a jealousy of him, that he banished him to a village in the mountains, where he afterwards died. The other, HENRY MAN, for receiving a letter from a Portuguese, which he did not communicate to the King, was torn in pieces by elephants, as well as the person who sent it; so extremely jealous was that Prince lest his country and forces should be discovered to foreigners, that all manner of correspondence, by letters or otherwise, was prohibited under the severest pains.

In the year 1664, Sir EDWARD WINTER, Governor of fort St. George, sent a letter to the King to procure the release of the English captives, which was promised, but never complied with; on the contrary, the King used all means to induce them to enter into his service; but the terrible misfortunes their countrymen, SMART and MAN had met with, discouraged them from accepting the proposal. In the mean time there happened a rebellion at Candi; the King's palace was attacked, and himself obliged to fly to the mountains; whereupon the English lost their usual allowance, and for two or three months were in a starving condition, till the King had reduced the rebels and was settled on his throne again, when he sent them all to the country villages again, where they fell to managing their several trades and husbandry as before, and most of them married and had children, only Mr. KNOX and another lived together in one house, resolving to remain batchelors, till they should find an opportunity to make their escape. Mr. KNOX purchased a piece of ground for five dollars well planted with fruit trees, some land belonging to it to sow corn upon, and here he built him a more commodious house than he had before; and now the people looked upon them to be so well settled in the country, that they where suffered to travel whither they pleased without suspicion; but Mr. KNOX says, the want of a wife rendring him incapable of managing the farming affair, the women having the greatest share in that, he set up a kind of a usurious employment of lending out corn, to receive at the rate of fifty per cent. the following harvest, as was customary in that country; but he that follows this trade, he observes, runs a great hazard of losing his money, or being kept out of it a considerable time; for if he be not upon the spot when the debtor's field is ripe, and make his claim in due time, the other creditors frequently come and take all, and the borrower has no corn left to carry home: but if any one goes without his due he has cent. per cent. the next year for what is in arrear; but the interest never runs higher though the creditor is kept seven years out of his goods. After this, Mr. KNOX and his comrade took up a kind of pedling trade, buying goods in one part of the country and carrying them to another, by which means they hoped, in time, to discover the way to the sea coast and make their escape; but it was however several years before they could effect it: upon enquiry, finding that the passes towards the north were least guarded, they furnished themselves with a little cargo of what they understood was most wanted in that part of the country, viz. tobacco, pepper, garlick, combs, cutler's ware, &c. but there being no highways, only little, winding, intricate paths through the woods, they met with abundance of difficulty; however, they got almost to the utter limits of the King's country; but their stock being all disposed of, and having now no farther pretence for rambling, they were compelled to return back to their companions. Nine or ten times they went into this country afterwards with goods, but could not find an opportunity

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portunity to get clear off; and there being very little water thereabouts, and that which there was very bad, they uſually fell dangerouſly ſick upon their return. At length they were taught to take a leaf of bang (an intoxicating herb much uſed by the Indians) and having dryed the leaf and powdered it, and mixed it with ſome jaggory, or coarſe ſugar, to infuſe it into the water, which prevented all the ill effects of it, as probably the mixing brandy or ſpirits with it would have done. Three or four years they were prevented paſſing through the country by a great drought, which occaſioned ſuch a famine, that there was no poſſibility for a traveller to ſubſiſt.

However after many fruitleſs attempts to return to their native country, they at length ſucceeded, directing their march to Annurodgburro, a town that ſtands fartheſt to the north of any of the King of Candi's dominions, and adjoining to the country of Wanees, inhabited by the Malabars. Near Annurodgburro they met with a river, which they reſolved to keep along the ſide of till they came to the ſea, and the river being dry in many places, they travelled along the channel itſelf; this happened to be the river Molwat, which falls into the ocean on the north-weſt part of Ceylone, not far from the iſland and port of Manar, which is in poſſeſſion of the Dutch. As they travelled in the night they ſaw a wild elephant coming towards them, whereupon they ſtopped and made a fire and ſat about it till morning, and the monſter did not advance or attempt to hurt them; and I believe it is very ſeldom they hurt any people unleſs they are attacked; for Mr. KNOX tells us there were a great many of them in the country he travelled through, and that it was eaſy to diſcover where they were by their breaking and ſnapping the boughs and young trees, on which they feed. They alſo met with bears, wild boars, and buffaloes, but they all run away as ſoon as they ſaw them; and indeed were theſe wild beaſts as ready to fall upon people as ſome relate, it would be impoſſible to travel in theſe countries. We may obſerve alſo, that there is not that danger from ſerpents and ſcorpions as is generally apprehended, for in all the twenty years that Mr. KNOX was travelling about this ſland, he does not tell us he was once in danger of being bitten or ſtung by them; nor did they receive any damage from the alligators or crocodiles, of which he aſſures us there are great numbers in this river; he ſays indeed, that they uſually made fires round them in the night to ſecure them from wild beaſts; but I find a tyger, notwithſtanding this caution, came and ſtole away a piece of fleſh they had provided for themſelves, without doing the company any hurt; ſo that it ſeems to be rather a want of inclination in the brute, than their fires, which preſerved them. There are inſtances however, I do not doubt, where tygers have preyed upon men, but they are not very frequent, when they can ſatisfy their hunger otherwiſe. But to proceed, our travellers having paſſed the Malabars country, came at length to the fort of Areppa belonging to the Dutch, who ſent them to the iſland of Manar where they were kindly received, and afterwards gave them their paſſage to Columbo, where the Dutch Governor was very inquiſitive concerning the forces and policy of the King of Candi; in which Mr. KNOX having given him all the ſatisfaction he could, they were ſent to Battavia, and there met with a fleet ſailing for England, on board of which they embarqued and came ſafe again to their native country.

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Treats of the Prince's court, his forces and revenue, laws and puniſhments, coins, weights and meaſures.

THE King of Ceylone's palace, where he uſually reſides, is contrived more for ſecurity than ſhow, being in the moſt retired and inacceſſible part of the mountains, near the town of Digligyneur; the buildings are not contiguous, but within the compaſs of the walls are ſeveral diſtinct houſes or apartments ſo contrived, that it is never known in which of them he lyes. His great officers and generals themſelves guard the inner courts, and have their fixed ſtations every night where they muſt remain, not being allowed to hold any converſation with one another, and their troops lye without the walls. The guards next his perſon are compoſed of negroes or coffres, in whom he places a greater confidence than in his own people, and he ſends out parties at uncertain times every night, to ſee if the officers and centinels without are vigilant in their reſpective poſts.

He is attended chiefly by beautiful boys, whom his Diſſauva's or Governors take up in their ſeveral provinces and ſend to court, as they do young girls, who ſerve him for concubines or to dreſs the meat for his table; and Mr. KNOX tells us, when he was in the country, he ſent for all the handſom Portugueſe women, whether married or unmarried that could be met with, without diſtinction, and having made choice of ſuch as he ſaw fit, ſent back the reſt, or placed them in certain villages to be kept there till they were called for.

When he goes abroad his guards are very numerous, and among others he has a company of Portugueſe, and another of Dutch, under the command of officers of the reſpective nations, he is preceded alſo by drums, trumpets, and other wind

wind muſick, with the ſinging women, and has his elephants, led horſes, and huntſmen with their hawks, &c. in his train; and all this company aſſembled often by his Majeſty's order at the gates of his palace in expectation of his going out, when he has no ſuch deſign, which ſeems to proceed from that abundant care theſe Princes have of their perſons. When he eats it is by himſelf, ſitting on a ſtool with a little table before him covered with white callico. There are twenty or thirty diſhes brought into the room by perſons with mufflers before their mouths, and the King having a deep gold plate with a plantan leaf laid at the bottom of it, calls for what he likes, which is brought him alſo by a perſon muffled, that he may not breathe upon the meat.

When his ſubjects come into his preſence they fall three times upon their faces, and then do not ſtand but ſit upon their legs before him, and addreſs him in terms little inferior to thoſe they uſe in divine worſhip. One of their uſual expreſſions is, May your Majeſty be a God, ſtyling themſelves at the ſame time the limb of a dog, or ſome deſpicable animal not worthy to approach him; and when they go out of his preſence they creep backwards till they are out of ſight. His courtiers while they are in waiting, are not permitted to come near their wives or any other women, nor will he ſo much as ſuffer their wives to remain in the city, inſomuch that if they are taken with a woman while they are in his ſervice, it is capital.

This Prince manages moſt of his affairs by two great miniſters, ſtyled Adigars, to whom the ſubject may appeal from inferior Judges or Governors. Next to the Adigars are the Diſſauva's, or Governors of provinces, in whom is lodged the civil as well as military power; theſe are obliged to reſide at court and manage their reſpective governments by a deputy, called the Courlividani, who has ſeveral inferior officers under him; but there are ſome towns and villages in every province exempt from the juriſdiction of the Governor, as the King's demeſne lands and the poſſeſſions of the prieſts.

The King is abſolute, being reſtrained by no laws or cuſtoms from doing whatever he ſees fit. The lands are all holden of him by one tenure or other, ſome to ſerve him in his wars, others by their labours, and the reſt yield certain quantities of their manufactures, grain, cattle, or fruits. There are many villages where the King reſerves the whole product of the ſoil to himſelf, allowing the husbandmen a bare ſubſiſtence, and theſe towns are frequently beſtowed upon his courtiers or officers, who enjoy them as long as they retain their poſts. The reſt of the lands are hereditary, and deſcend from father to ſon, ſubject only to the like tenures their anceſtors held them by.

Three times a year the people bring up their rents to court, and every new-year's-day, all that have any poſts or offices in the government make preſents to their Prince, conſiſting of gold, precious ſtones, plate, arms, or callico cloth, and ſome of them bring money, but of this there is very little in the country. The great men endeavour to procure ſome valuable jewel, or other rarity to preſent his Majeſty, as the ſureſt way to their advancement, or at leaſt to ſecure what they are already poſſeſſed of. Beſides theſe annual rents and preſents, the King ſends for whatever he pleaſes from any of his ſubjects; and if his officers are pleaſed to appropriate any fruit trees or other product of the ground to the King's uſe, the proprietor dares not touch them; ſo that in effect, he commands the revenues and produce of all the lands in his dominions, whenever the exigencies of the government induce him to call for them.

Forces.

As to his forces, he has no ſtanding troops beſides his coffree-guards and ſome few Europeans. The common ſoldiers who hold their lands by a military tenure, mount the guard by turns, and are as numerous in proportion to the bigneſs of the iſland as our militia, and the Diſſauva's and Generals are always upon duty either in the field or about his palace. This militia is divided into regiments or bodies of about a thouſand men each, under the command of a Motterall or Colonel, and are all foot, there being no horſe in the iſland but what are imported hither. The King ſeldom truſts any one General with the command of the whole army, but they act in ſeparate bodies, which has ſometimes proved of great diſadvantage to his affairs in his wars againſt the Dutch; but he chooſes this as the leſſer evil, apprehending that if any one man ſhould be entruſted with the command, he might ſet up for himſelf.

The arms of the ſoldiers are broad ſwords, pikes, muskets, or bows and arrows; and they have ſome artillery, little field-pieces ſo light that three or four men will carry them on their ſhoulders. Their tents are made of tallipot leaves, which they ſet up with tent poles, in much the ſame manner our common ſoldiers tents are. They have no carriages for their proviſions or baggage, but every one carries his own, and when their proviſions are ſpent, they are permitted to go home for more; ſo that after the firſt month they have been in the field, the army is generally diſperſed all over the country to provide themſelves food; but the many Dutch and Portugueſe and other Europeans that are in this Prince's ſervice, have of late, it is ſaid, taught them better diſcipline.

It is not eaſy to bring them to a general engagement, unleſs they have an apparent advantage. They uſually retire when the Dutch invade any part of their country, till they have drawn them into

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into the defiles and difficult paſſes of the mountains, and here they often ſurprize the Hollanders, and cut them off when they think there is no enemy near them. When they have made a diſcharge, they think it no diſgrace to run up into the rocks and woods, where it is impoſſible for any European to follow them, and wait another opportunity till they find their enemy again entangled in the woods, when they never fail to renew the charge; and this kind of war they have carried on with the Hollanders for forty or fifty years paſt, coming down and ſurpriſing their people when they are buſy in peeling the cinnamon, and then retiring to their mountains, where the Dutch ſeldom find their account in following them. On the other hand, the Dutch having poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſea ports, have deprived the natives of all their trade, and rendered them a poor miſerable people. As for fortifications they have none but ſuch as are natural, unleſs we may eſteem their thorny gates ſuch, which they place upon all the roads and avenues to their country. Thoſe gates are made of a tree whoſe branches are ſet with thorns as long and thick as a tenpeny nail, and almoſt as hard; they are not made to ſhut as ours do, but to lift up as a ſhop window, and are ſuddenly let fall when they are cloſe purſued, being of the ſame uſe as a portcullis, for here they will make a ſtand and fire through them as well as from the thickets on the right and left, ſo that the ſhot and arrows ſometimes fly as thick as hail when there is not an enemy to be ſeen, and ſuch fights as theſe the Europeans are ſometimes engaged in with the Indians on the continent.

As to the laws of the country, it has been already obſerved, they have no other than the Prince's arbitrary will; but he never ſuffers his Governors to inflict capital puniſhments on offenders; this he reſerves always to himſelf, and tries offenders in a ſummary way without any tedious forms: thoſe who are in his opinion guilty muſt ſuffer, let proof be never ſo ſlight. It is enough for him to think a man guilty to deprive him both of life and eſtate, as has of late been the practice of ſome legiſlators in this quarter of the world. His elephants are frequently his executioners, breaking the bones of the offender, or cruſhing him to pieces, as they are directed: others are impaled, and ſome, whom he ſuſpects of conſpiring againſt him, are tortured, and their fleſh perhaps torn off with red hot pincers, which probably the Dutch taught them; and not only the criminal himſelf, but his father and his whole family are ſometimes put to death, or ſent into ſlavery, for his ſuppoſed tranſgreſſion. For ſlight offences the greateſt officers are often laid in irons, and afterwards reſtored to their poſts again; nor is it thought any diſgrace to have undergone this diſcipline: however, the moſt uſual way of puniſhing thoſe that are intended to be reſtored, is by baniſhing them to ſome diſtant village, where they remain confined till they are made ſenſible of their faults; and ſometimes they are forgotten, and it proves an impriſonment for life. CHAP. VI.

As to the ſucceſſion of the crown, it is hereditary, where the reigning Prince does not limit it in his life time; but he has the power, it ſeems, of appointing any of his children to ſucceed *him*, or of dividing his dominions amongſt them, if he ſees fit, as has been ſometimes practiſed in this iſland.

Coin they have but very little, as has been obſerved already; they uſually barter one commodity for another. The Portugueſe, when they were eſtabliſhed here, coined ſome ſilver which the Cinglaſſes call tangum maſſa, about the value of nine pence, which are ſtill current all over the country. There is another which the common people make themſelves in the ſhape of a fiſh hook, of finer ſilver than dollars; and a third which the King coins, being little thin pieces, ſeventy five of them make a piece of eight, or Spaniſh dollar; and theſe it is capital for any perſon to coin or counterfeit. Coin.

Their ſmalleſt weight is a collonda, ſix of which weigh a piece of eight, and twenty colonda's make a pollam, which is another weight. The uſual meaſure for cloth is the cubit, the leaſt corn meaſure is the potta, which is as much as a man can hold heaped in his hand; and four potta's is a meaſure, called bonder nellia or the King's meaſure: four meaſures make a courney, and ten courneys a pale, which is forty meaſures: four pale are an Ommounas, by which they uſually reckon their ſtock of grain. They do not puniſh people, it is ſaid, for making their meaſures too ſmall, but too large; for corn paſſing often inſtead of money, their uſurers make their meaſures as large as they can, that they may receive the more of their debtors when they are paid. Weights and meaſures.

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Treats of their religion, temples, idols, and ſolemn feſtivals.

THE Cinglaſſes worſhip one ſupreme God, the Creator of heaven and earth; they fall down alſo before the images of their ſaints or heroes, whom they ſuppoſe to have lived upon earth, and are now become angels or miniſtring ſpirits to the great Creator: but the principal of theſe inferor deities is their God BUDDOU, whom they believe came from heaven to procure the eternal happineſs of mankind, and aſcended to heaven from the top of that mountain which the Portugueſe call Pico de Adam, leaving the impreſſion of his foot there in the rock, which is now Religion.

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now become the object of their worſhip. They pay divine honours alſo to the ſun, moon, and other planets, believing they have a mighty influence on their fortunes. And every town and place it ſeems hath its titulary demon, whoſe power is ſuppoſed to be exerciſed only over the people of the place; beſides theſe, every particular perſon almoſt has his houſhold Gods, for whom they erect little chapels in their yards, placing lamps and ſtrewing flowers before them, and offering rice and other food to theſe little mediators, whom they addreſs every morning at leaſt; believing that the perſon whom this image repreſents, has a powerful intereſt in the court of heaven, and every one makes choice of thoſe they moſt affect, or as ſome ſay of ſuch as they moſt dread; for they believe there are wicked ſpirits whom God permits to afflict mankind with ſickneſs and other misfortunes, whoſe anger therefore they endeavour to avert by prayers and ſacrifices.

From what I can learn, there are neither prieſts or temples dedicated to the ſupreme God, but to the inferior deities only, of which there are three claſſes, and ſeveral orders of prieſts to officiate at their reſpective altars. The 1ſt, are the Tirinanxes or chief prieſts of the God BUDDOU, who live in his vehars or temples, to which great eſtates in lands are appropriated; theſe are always choſen out of the higheſt caſt or tribe, and are ſuperior to all other prieſts: the inferior prieſts of the God BUDDOU, are called Gonni, whoſe habit is the ſame with the Tirinanxes, namely, a yellow garment plaited like a veſt from the middle downwards, and a piece of the ſame cloth thrown over their left ſhoulder; both their heads and arms are bare and their heads cloſe ſhaved, but they wear long beards. They wrap alſo a large yellow ſaſh about their loins, and carry a round fan in their hands, faſtned to a ſtick, to ſhade them from the ſun.

The people bow down to the ground to them in the ſame manner they do before their images or their prince, and whatever houſe they viſit there is a white cloth laid upon a ſtool for them to ſit on, which is an honour only ſhewn to the Blood Royal, and their eſtates are exempted from taxes.

They are prohibited by their conſtitution to take up any ſecular employment, being devoted ſolely to the ſervice of their God. They are alſo debarred from having wives, or any commerce with women; nor muſt they drink wine, or eat more than one meal a day; and although they will eat fleſh (except beef and ſome other prohibited meat) they will have no hand in killing an animal, or even give their conſent to it: They are permitted to quit their order if they ſee fit, which ſome of them do for liberty to marry, and this is done without any other ceremony than pulling off the yellow garment, throwing it into the river, and waſhing themſelves from head to foot, after which they become perfect laymen. Theſe prieſts are frequently ſtyled ſons of the God BUDDOU, and their perſons looked upon as ſacred; inſomuch, that the King would be deemed an infidel and violator of their religion, if he ſhould preſume to call them to account for any crimes whatever, though it were a conſpiracy againſt his life: but I find one of their Kings did notwithſtanding execute ſome of theſe prieſts who were found in arms againſt him.

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The next claſs of prieſts are thoſe who attend the altars of other ſaints and heroes; their temples are called dewals, to which lands alſo are appropriated: theſe prieſts are taken alſo from among the Hondrews, the higheſt caſt, and which I take to be only another name for that which is called the Bramin caſt or tribe upon the continent; theſe are not diſtinguiſhed by their habit from the laity, except that their clothes are always clean, and that they waſh themſelves whenever they officiate: they are permitted to follow husbandry and other employments, their revenues falling very ſhort of thoſe of the prieſts of BUDDOU, and are not ſufficient to maintain them without work: they attend the ſervice of their temples however, morning and evening, and oftner if their revenue will enable them, when the people bring boiled rice and fruits to the door of the temple, which the prieſt takes and preſents before the idol; and after it has ſtood ſome time the prieſt brings it out again, and the muſick and ſinging women, whoſe buſineſs is to ſing and play before their idols, and the other ſervants of the temple, with the poor people who attend there, eat it up; but to theſe idols they never ſacrifice any fleſh.

The third order of prieſts are called Jaddeſes, and their temples covels, to which no revenues are appropriated, but every one that pleaſes builds one of theſe temples, and is himſelf the prieſt without any election or conſecration; theſe ſeem to be the prieſts of their evil genii, and therefore when the people are ſick they ſend for the Jaddeſe, and dedicate a cock to the demon they imagin the author of their misfortune; but the cock is kept ſtill by the owners till the prieſt thinks fit to ſacrifice him. Theſe genii the people alſo apply to as oracles, the prieſt perſonates a fury, and then the people look upon him to be inſpired, propoſe their queſtions, and receive his anſwers, as from infallibility itſelf.

Whatever they ſacrifice they never eat of themſelves, but it is uſually diſtributed among the ſervants of the temple, the muſick and ſinging girls, and the poor; and it is a common thing,

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it is ſaid, to dedicate their fruit trees to ſome demon to prevent their fruit being ſtolen, for then their neighbours will not touch them, imagining they ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed by the demon to whom they are dedicated, nor muſt this devoted fruit be given away to any that ask it, and before they eat of it themſelves, ſome of the fruit muſt be carried to the temple.

They do not aſſemble together for divine worſhip except at ſolemn feſtivals, but every one goes to the temple as his own occaſions or neceſſities prompt him. Wedneſdays and Saturdays indeed are the days they chooſe to apply themſelves to their deities, expecting then they will be moſt propitious to their prayers.

At the new moon either in June or July annually a ſolemn feſtival is performed, called Perakar, which laſts till the full moon. At this time in their principal cities, there are no leſs than forty or fifty elephants magnificently accoutred and hung with braſs bells, which march round the city and through the principal ſtreets. After theſe follow people dreſſed up like giants in memory of a race of men of this kind, who formerly, they tell us, inhabited the earth. Then come the drums, trumpets, and other wind muſick, dancing men and women who ſerve in their temples, in ſeveral companies; and after theſe, two prieſts mounted on a ſtately elephant covered with white cloth and rich trappings, one of theſe prieſts carries on his ſhoulders a painted ſtaff beautified with ſilk ſtreamers and ſtrings of flowers, and repreſents the Allout neur Dio, the GOD of heaven and earth, and the other prieſt ſits behind him, holding an umbrella over his head. On the right and left behind come two other elephants, on each of which are mounted two prieſts of the inferior deities, and after theſe follow the ſervants of the prieſts dreſſed in all their finery. Then come ſome hundreds of women of the beſt quality marching three abreaſt, the ſtreets all the way adorned with flags and penons, the branches of coco-nut trees, and lighted lamps, whether it be day or night, and the generals with their troops, and the great officers of ſtate cloſe the proceſſion, making the whole tour of the city twice, once in the day time and again in the night; and this they repeat every day from the new to the full moon. In the intervals there is nothing but ſinging, dancing, and ſuch ſports as are ſuitable to great feſtivals, none of the people exerciſing their trades or employments during this ſolemnity: but I ſhould have remembred, that before the proceſſion begins, all people make an offering to the prieſt.

There is another annual feſtival celebrated on the full moon in the month of November, at which time they plant long poles before their temples, which they hang full of lights to a great height, as they do alſo before the King's palace; this feſtival laſts but one night.

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At the new and full moon they offer ſacrifices to their God BUDDOU of rice and fruits; and on their new-year's-day in the month of March they perform a ſolemn feſtival to him, not in his temple, but either on the mountain called Hammalella, or elſe under a certain great tree; and to one or the other of theſe, the whole country look upon themſelves as under an indiſpenſible obligation of going annually with their wives and children, unleſs ſickneſs or ſome other accident prevent them.

This mountain lyes on the ſouth of the province of Hammalella, or Adam's peak abovementioned, being the higheſt ground in the whole iſland, where is the print of the BUDDOU's foot left, as they believe, when he aſcended into heaven, which therefore they worſhip and ſet lighted lamps all round it, and lay their ſacrifices on the top of the rock, where the impreſſion is as upon an altar. The ſacrifices are given to the Mahometan Faquirs, or Mooriſh Mendicants, who come from the continent at that time in expectation of them; this privilege being granted them formerly by one of the King's of Conde Uda.

The ſacred tree abovementioned ſtands on the north part of the King's dominions at Annurodgburro. This tree, it ſeems, has had the ſame fortune as the chapel of Loretto, to travel over ſea from one country to another, and at length planted itſelf at Annurodgburro, under the branches whereof the God BUDDOU uſed to repoſe himſelf, and about this place are the remains of temples hewed out of the rocks with incredible labour, and ſuch as the preſent generation imagin could only be effected but by that race of giants they annually commemorate.

It is eſteemed no ordinary piece of devotion to procure tempels to be built to the honour of the God BUDDOU and to offer ſacrifices to him; women of the beſt quality will ſend out their ſervants to beg the contributions of the people towards this ſacrifice, and others will carry his image about for the ſame purpoſe, to whom the people are very liberal, and when they receive any thing, they ſay, 'let the bleſſing of the Gods and the BUDDOU 'go along with you; may your corn ripen, your 'cattle increaſe, and your life be long, &c.

Others out of their abundant piety will order a temple or an image to be made, and go a begging for money to pay the builder or founder; before the eyes of the image are made it is not accounted ſacred, but thrown about the workman's ſhop as an ordinary piece of metal, but when the eyes are finiſhed the idol is complete, and it is removed from the workman's ſhop to the chapel, where it is to ſtand with muſick and dancing and ſacrifices.

They

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They have idols of monſtrous ſhapes and figures here as well as upon the continent, made of ſilver, braſs, or other metals, and ſometimes of clay, but thoſe in the BUDDOU's temples are the images of men, ſitting croſs-legg'd in yellow coats like his prieſts, repreſenting certain holy men, who, as tradition goes, were teachers of virtue, or benefactors to mankind.

There are a prodigious number of idol temples of all kinds diſperſed over the country, ſome of them built of hewn ſtone, and of excellent workmanſhip, which muſt have ſtood for many ages, the preſent generation being perfectly ignorant of this kind of architecture, inſomuch that they know not how to repair their decays. There is one at Vintane 130 foot in circumference, and of a very great height; the form is oval at the bottom, and ariſes to a point like a pyramid, being gilded on the top. The ſtructure of theſe temples ſeems to be the ſame with the Pagoda's on the Indian continent, and, like them, are ſuppoſed to be built or hewn out of rocks by a race of giants; but if I may be permitted to offer a conjecture, I ſhould think they were built during the reigns of ſome mighty monarchs who once had all this part of the world under their dominion, and who hoped to eternize their own memories, as well as advance the honours of the gods they worſhipped, by building or working theſe ſurprizing ſtructures; and this opinion is ſupported by a univerſal tradition in every country of the Indies, that they were once all provinces of the empire of China; and what renders that ſtill more probable, is the building that prodigious wall againſt the Tartars, of above twelve hundred miles in length, which ſtill remains entire; thoſe Emperors who could effect ſo prodigious a work, would make no difficulty of building the nobleſt Pagoda's we find in India without the help of giants, or the magick art to which the vulgar aſcribe the workmanſhip of theſe, and every thing elſe that is beyond their own power or contrivance.

As to the Chriſtian religion, there are many Portugueſe diſperſed through the King's dominions who profeſs it, being invited thither on the breach between the King and the Dutch, upon their refuſing to deliver up Columbo to his Majeſty. Other European nations are alſo allowed the free exerciſe of their religion, but there are no Chriſtian churches in the kingdom of Conde Uda, or the mountains: the Portugueſe had built ſeveral in the great towns, and the flat country near the coaſt, eſpecially in Jaſnapatan, ſome few of which the Dutch make uſe of, and the Portugueſe who remain in their territories of others; but there are not ſo many, probably, as when the Portugueſe were maſters of the country; for in other parts of India, where they have driven out the Portugueſe, they hardly keep up one church in ſeven, their hearts ſeem to be much more ſet upon making their fortunes than making proſelytes; and it cannot be ſuppoſed religion ſhould appear very amiable, or be like to meet with great ſucceſs, where its profeſſors are ſo little influenced by its precepts, and make truth and juſtice, and every moral virtue give place, when they come in competition with their intereſt; who by force and fraud, and breach of faith, have uſurped the dominion of every place and people that were not able to reſiſt their arms, or appriſed of their treacherous deſigns.

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Treats of their marriages, and the condition of their women and children, and of their funerals.

Marriages.

THE marriages here, as in all other Pagan countries, are uſually made by the parents while their children are very young, without conſulting them in the matter; but care is taken, as in other parts of India, that the married couple be of the ſame caſt or tribe. When all things are concluded, and it is thought proper for them to cohabit, the young fellow carries, or ſends, his wife a piece of callico of ſix or ſeven yards in length, and a flowered linen waiſtcoat; if the man carries them himſelf they ſleep together that night, and appoint a time for the ſolemnization of the wedding, or bringing the woman home to her husband's houſe. The day before he takes her from her father's, he comes thither with his friends in the evening, bringing ſweet-meats and other proviſion with him, and they have a ſupper ſuitable to their condition, when the bride and bridegroom eat together and ſleep in the ſame apartment. The next day they have a dinner, after which the proceſſion begins from the wife's father's to the husband's houſe, the wife always going before the husband at theſe ſolemnities: ſome few days after, their friends and relations make them a viſit, bringing proviſions with them, and rejoicing on the happy occaſion, but I do not perceive the prieſt is called in ſo much as to bleſs the marriage; one reaſon whereof may be, that theſe contracts are not looked upon ſo indiſſoluble at Ceylone as in this part of the world; but if the parties, after they have tried one another's tempers, think fit, they are at liberty to part and match elſewhere, and this they will ſometimes do two or three times over, before they fix on thoſe they like; but as they give with their daughters portions of cattle, ſlaves, money, &c. theſe or an equivalent muſt be returned with the woman, and the male children are allotted to the man, and the girls to the woman; and although no man is allowed but one wife, it is a common thing, it is ſaid, for a woman to have two husbands, and

CHAP. VIII.

thoſe brothers, who keep houſe together, and the children acknowledge both for their father. Where their daughters are grown up and unmarried, they make no ſcruple of letting young fellows lye with them, in hopes they will take them off their hands and make them their wives.

And ſo complaiſant are the men after marriage, that if a friend come to their houſe, beſides the reſt of his entertainment, they will offer him their wife or daughter to ſleep with them, eſpecially if he be of better quality, or a ſuperior caſt, though at the ſame time it would be an unpardonable crime to proſtitute either to a man of lower rank, and the lying with a man's wife without his leave is deemed ſo hainous an offence, even here where they allow ſo great liberties, that the husband is indemnified if he kill both the adulterer and adultereſs, if he takes them together.

The women make no ſcruple of procuring abortion here, and are very dextrous at it; they have no midwives at their labours, but the good women of the neighbourhood perform that office. The child no ſooner comes into the world, but the aſtrologer or cunning man is conſulted, whether it be born under a lucky planet, or in a good or evil hour; and if the latter, they expoſe and ſtarve it, or throw the child into a river, or elſe give it to ſome body elſe; for though it will prove unhappy to the parents, it may, in their opinion, be lucky to a ſtranger notwithſtanding: and many people, who are afraid of a charge of children, diſpatch them under pretence they are born under an ill planet. How barbarous ſoever this practice may ſeem to be, it does not appear to me to be near ſo cruel, as the putting out children to the common nurſes about London, whom the citizens may be morally ſure will diſpatch them, though not ſo ſuddenly as the Indian mothers, yet as certainly, and by much more painful and lingring deaths; for not one of theſe nurſe children in ſeven, it is ſaid, lives to be three years old, and thoſe that do ſurvive the hardſhips they ſuffer at their nurſes are generally poor, lame, ricketty creatures, who in miſery ſuſtain a wretched life, which if it had been in their choice, they would never have known. But to return to the Cinglaſſes, they give their children what names they pleaſe, to diſtinguiſh them by in their infancy, which they are not called by when they grow up; but by the name of the family or place they belong to, or the employment or office they hold.

Funerals. When a perſon of condition dies his corps is laid out and waſhed, and being covered with a linen cloth, is carried out upon a bier to ſome high place and burnt; but if he was an officer who belonged to the court, the corps is not burnt till the King gives orders for it, which is ſometimes a great while after. In this caſe his friends hollow the body of a tree, and having bowelled and embalmed the corps, they put it in, filling the hollow up with pepper, and having made it as cloſe as poſſible, they bury the corps in ſome room of the houſe till the King orders it to be burnt. The corps is laid upon the wood three foot high, and more wood heaped upon it, and if it be a perſon of diſtinction, there is an arch built over it adorned with colours, ſtreamers, and penons, and the whole conſumed together in the flames. The aſhes are ſwept up together, and the place being fenced in, they make a kind of arbour over them. As for the poorer people, they uſually wrap them up in the mats they lay on, and attended by two or three friends, bury them in the woods without any farther ceremony, laying their bodies eaſt and weſt, as among Chriſtians; but they have no particular burying places.

Some days after they ſend for a prieſt to the houſe of the deceaſed, who ſings ſeveral anthems and prays for the repoſe of his ſoul. The women who are preſent let looſe their hair, wring their hands, and uſe all the moſt paſſionate exclamations they can think of for the loſs of their relation, enumerating all his good deeds, and bewailing their own unhappy condition that they muſt be forced to live without him; and this they repeat morning and evening for ſeveral days, the men ſtanding by ſighing and groaning all the while, like ſo many Quakers at a ſilent meeting. But however ſorrowful they may ſeem, we are told it is all grimace, and the wife's firſt care is to provide herſelf another husband, not being under thoſe ſevere laws the Indians on the continent are of being condemned to a perpetual widowhood, or burning themſelves with their husbands; on the contrary, the government of Ceylone is ſo indulgent to widows, it is ſaid, that it requires no taxes of them.

CHAP. IX.

Treats of the Maldiva Iſlands.

ABOUT five hundred miles ſouth-weſt of Ceylone and cape Comorin lye the Maldiva iſlands, ſo called from Mala the chief of them, which is the reſidence of their King; they extend from the ſecond degree of ſouth latitude to the ſeventh degree of northern latitude, ſtretching north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt. Their number is very uncertain, ſome reckoning them a thouſand and others twelve thouſand, but as many of them are only little rocks, or ſpots of ſand that appear juſt above water, which ſcarce deſerve the name of iſlands, theſe are probably not reckoned into the number by ſome travellers, which may occaſion the difference among our writers. They are almoſt ſurrounded with rocks and ſands, and are not to be approached by ſhipping but in three

40 45 50 55

BLACK SEA

Megrelia

Amarchia

Ofas Kim

Akelzikh

Trapesond

PART of TURKY in ASIA

Erzerum

Euphrates R.

Mr Ararat

Cars

Eriyan Lake

Cars R.

Chenear

Schamkur

Ganjea

IRAN

Chmiazin

Monast.

Erivan

ARMENIA

Aly

Mt Caucasus

CIRCASSIAN TAR.

Terki

Ga ri

Tulen

Chatalet I.

Dagistan

Tzentzeni

CAS

Derbent

CHIRVAN

Schamachi

Baku

SE

Berda

Bilagan

Blaxsiyan

Julpha

Aras R.

Jun

Van Lake

Maiand

ADERBEITZAN

Tauris

Arsebil

GI

Lengevkunan

Resco

Asterol

Lexabath

Kazarof

Van

Betlis

Diarbeck

Amadia

Bir

DIAR-

BECK

Mousul

Irbil

Schirwan R.

Roumi Lake

Mount Elwent

Ebher

Caswin

Elwent

Kisilosun R.

Sultania

Alterabat

Mazanderan

TABRISTAN

Firuzcuh

Farhaun

Dannojan

Hamadan

Sava

Com

Syacheun

Kashan

Chulpnigan

IRACK AGEM

Ispahan

Yesd

Zenderud R.

Tulpha

Farsistan

Mesopolis

Tab

Mesehat Ali

Gidida

ARABIA

Bagdad

Anna

Euphr

Courne

Persian

Wasset

The Plane of Wasset

Schoustar

AN IRACK

Ahuaz

CHUSISTAN

Elmalis

Aragian

Bandar Rick

Dorgestan I.

Schiras

FARS

Basra

Tarron

Larr

Ormi

Bandar

GULPH of BASSORA

Schat R.

Ide shader

El-Catif

BAHARAIN I.

Almasla

Catana

Persian now Pas. Euphrates by the Arabs.

Ballora

P. of ARABIA DESERTA

35

30

25

0 60 120 180 240 300

English Miles

PERSIA.

Agreable to

Modern History.

By

H. Moll *Geographer.*

60 65 70 *D. East from London*

40 35 30 25

HE
I.

IAN

Unknown Coast

Schafar stan
Anberdost
Cath
Oxus R.
USBECK
TARTARY
Oxus R.
Herat R.
Mearne
Nasa
Amol
Mazanderan R.
A Sandy Desart
PERSIA
ABATTEMENT
Balch
Georgab or Murgrond
Zarchas
STAN
Meshed
Nixabour
Teerior
Bamian
Gaur
Balch
Mt
Parvan
Cabulstan
HORA
Zuzen
Herat Tex.
Gazna
Mimend
Birtz Koh
Parra
Candahor
Cabul
Herat
SABLUSTAN
Griez
Candahor
Arrouchage
Beksabath
Joilak Reyan
Desart of Sigistan
Bust
Colbocoran Mt
Serenges Tac
Basbirud
Sinaroud
Lafa L.
Sigistan
Salem
SIGISTAN
Hindemend R.
Bardin
Kobin
Zara Lake
Kerman
Fahrig
Dam
KERMAN
Tubaran
Desart of 10 Days Journey
MAKERAN
Kondabel
Gombroon or Bander Abassi
Mina
Sandy Desart
Kir
Firabuz
Makeran
Ilmen R.
Issus
Tiz
Ermasil
Guadel
Kaur Andabil
Diul
Tata
Pirum
Cacha
Gulph of Ormus
PERSIAN SEA
Oman
Indus R.
Part of INDIA or the MOGULS Dominions
Duckee
Buckor
Sindi and
Badne
Tatta
GUZARAT

CHAP. IX.

or four places: they are generally flat low land. The monſoons and currents ſit here as they do near the Malabar coaſt, and their ſeaſons are the ſame. They were probably peopled from Arabia, being of the ſame complexion with that people, and their religion Mahometiſm, while their neighbours of Ceylone and the Malabar coaſt are Pagans, and their complexion much darker. They are all under the government of one Prince, and divided by our geographers into thirteen provinces. The channels between many of the iſlands are fordable, and not a ſtone's caſt over; many of them are barren and uninhabited, and I do not find there is any rice or corn upon any of them. What they are moſt remarkable for is their coco-trees, which ſerve them for meat and drink, cordage, building, and many other uſes, which have been already enumerated in treating of other countries. The little ſea-ſhells alſo, which we call blackamoors teeth, are gathered here in vaſt quantities, and ſerve inſtead of coin for little matters almoſt all over India. They have alſo plenty of good fiſh, which with their roots and coco-nuts are their principal food. As for fleſh I do not find they have more of this than they have of corn, but it is ſaid, they get ſome rice from Bengal in exchange for their ſhells. Ambergreece is ſometimes found among theſe iſlands, but it is certain they are not yet known to produce any thing of value ſufficient to induce any European nation to ſettle amongſt them. This being all I could collect of certainty of theſe iſlands; the reader will excuſe me if I do not ſpin out the deſcription of them into ſeveral ſheets, as ſome of my predeceſſors have done.

CHAP. IX.

THE PRESENT STATE OF PERSIA.

CHAP. I.

Treats of the name, ſituation, and extent of this empire, the provinces it is divided into, and of the air, climate, and ſeaſons: as alſo of the rivers, ſeas, and iſlands belonging to Perſia.

CHAP. I.

The name.

THIS kingdom probably takes its name from the province of Perſis, now Fars, or from Perſepolis, the capital city of this province, and ſeat of the empire, when ALEXANDER conquered DARIUS. The claſſicks ſay it derives its name from PERSEUS, the ſon of JUPITER and DANAE; and others from PERSES, a nobleman of this province who raiſed himſelf to the throne by his extraordinary merit. Some again will have it derived from Paras, which ſignifies a horſeman, the Perſians being famous for their horſemanſhip, and all their troops ſerve on horſeback.

CHAP. I.

The bounds of the kingdom.

The boundaries of this kingdom are generally ſaid to be India, or the Mogul's dominions towards the eaſt; the ocean, and gulph of Perſia, or Boſſora, towards the ſouth; the Turkiſh empire towards the weſt; and Circaſſia, the Caſpian ſea, and the river Oxus (which river divides it from Usbeck Tartary) towards the north: and this would be a pretty juſt deſcription, if the boundaries of the Mogul's dominions on the eaſt, and

CHAP. I.

and the Turkiſh empire on the weſt were once ſettled. Thoſe who make the river Indus the eaſtern boundary, and the Tigris the weſtern boundary, are certainly in the wrong, becauſe ſeveral provinces of India lye to the weſtward of Indus, and ſome provinces of Turkey extend to the eaſtward of the river Tigris. It muſt alſo be remembred, that part of the coaſt of Arabia on the ſouth of the gulph of Boſſora is under the dominion of the King of Perſia. But the bounds of this empire will be better underſtood from the deſcription of the reſpective provinces.

The extent.

As to the extent of it, the moſt ſouthern part of Perſia lying in 25 degrees north latitude, and the northernmoſt part in 45 degrees, we may very well reckon it to be twelve hundred miles from north to ſouth; and the weſtern part of it lying in 45 degrees of longitude (reckoning from the meridian of London) and the moſt eaſtern part in 67, the length and breadth is pretty near equal; and were it not for the Caſpian ſea, which divides the north-eaſt parts of Perſia from the north-weſt, the form of the country would be almoſt ſquare. Mr. CHARDIN makes it to contain 35 degrees of longitude, and then it would be much longer than broad; but he muſt certainly be under a very great miſtake in extending it 13 degrees beyond our beſt accounts.

Provinces.

There are ſcarce any two geographers which agree either in the names, number, or ſituation of the Perſian provinces. I ſhall comprehend them all in twelve diſtricts, and ſhew the different names they have been, and are called by at this day, and where other writers name two, or more, in the bounds of one of theſe, take care to mention them both in the book and map, that the reader may not remain in any doubt concerning them.

The twelve provinces are, Choraſſan, Sabluſtan, Sigiſtan, Makeran, Kerman, Fars, Chuſiſtan, Curdeſtan, Erack-Agem, Gilan, Aderbertzan, and Shirvan.

As I am travelling weſtward, I ſhall deſcribe thoſe firſt which lye in my way from India, and are contiguous to it, beginning from the north.

Choraſſan.

I. Choraſſan, (in which I include Eſterabad or Khemu though ſome make them diſtinct provinces) is bounded by part of India towards the eaſt; by the river Oxus, which divides it from Usbeck Tartary, on the north-eaſt; the province of Sabluſtan on the ſouth; Gilan and Erack-Agem on the weſt, and the Caſpian ſea on the north-weſt. This province contains part of the antient Bactria, and the chief towns are Herat, Meſchid or Thus, Nixabour, Eſterabad, Aria, Marne, Indion, and Zarchas.

Sabluſtan.

II. Sabluſtan, (in which I comprehend Gaur and Candahor) is bounded by Choraſſan towards the north; the province of Cabul, in India, towards the eaſt; the province of Sigiſtan towards the ſouth, and the province of Erack-Agem towards the weſt. The chief towns are Gazna, Buſt, Beckſabath, and Candahor.

CHAP. I.

Sigiſtan.

III. Sigiſtan, ſaid to be the antient Drangiana, is bounded by Sabluſtan on the north, the province of Multan in India towards the eaſt; the province of Makeran on the ſouth, and part of the province of Kirman towards the weſt. The chief towns are Sigiſtan, Kobin, and Maſtich.

Makeran.

IV. Makeran, ſuppoſed to be the antient Gedroſia, is bounded by Sigiſtan on the north; by the provinces of Buckor and Tata in India towards the eaſt, the ocean towards the ſouth, and the province of Kerman towards the weſt. The chief towns are Makeran, Paſſir, and Geſt.

Kerman.

V. Kerman, antiently Carmania, is bounded by the provinces of Sigiſtan and Makeran towards the eaſt, the ocean towards the ſouth, by the province of Fars towards the weſt, and by a deſert, in the province of Erack-Agem, towards the north. The chief towns are Kerman, Darabegerd, (the antient Paſſagardi) where was the ſepulchre of CYRUS the Great, Chabis, Salem, Tubaran, and Jaſques.

Fars.

VI. Fars, or Farſiſtan, the antient Perſis, in which I comprehend the diſtricts of Lar and Ormus, is bounded by Kerman towards the eaſt; the gulph of Perſia, or Boſſora, towards the ſouth; the province of Chuſiſtan towards the weſt, and the province of Erack-Agem towards the north. The chief towns are Schiras, which lyes in the latitude of 29 degrees 50 minutes, about thirty miles ſouth-weſt from Perſepolis, whoſe magnificent ruins are the wonder of every traveller, and of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. Lar, about a hundred miles to the ſouthward of Schiras, Gombron, or Bander, Abaſſi, in 27 degrees 30 minutes north. Ormus, which ſtands on a ſmall iſland of the ſame name, in the gulph of Perſia, over-againſt Gombron, and about ſix miles from it. Bander Congo, which ſtands alſo on the gulph of Perſia, about thirty miles weſt of Gombron. And here it may not be improper to take notice of a little territory belonging to the kingdom of Perſia, which lyes on the other ſide of the gulph, on the Arabian ſhore. The chief towns whereof are Elcatif, from whence this ſea ſometimes takes the name, and Catena.

Chuſiſtan.

VII. Chuſiſtan, the antient Suſiana, is bounded by the provinces of Fars and Erack on the eaſt; the gulph of Perſia on the ſouth; by the territory of Boſſora on the weſt, and the province of Curdeſtan on the north. The chief towns are Suſter, or Schouſter, ſaid to be the famous Shuſhan, where AHASUERUS made that magnificent feſtival on taking ESTHER to his bed. 2. Elmais. And 3. Banderick, now a ſmall town on the ſea-coaſt.

VIII. Cur-

Curdeſtan.

VIII. Curdeſtan, antiently Aſſyria, (of which the weſtern part belongs to Turky, and the eaſt to Perſia) is bounded by Erack-Agem on the eaſt, Chuſiſtan on the ſouth, Turkiſh Curdeſtan on the weſt, and Adirbeitzan on the north. The chief towns whereof are Arnova, Courmebud.

Erak

IX. Erack, or Irack-Agem, ſo called to diſtinguiſh it from the Arabian Erak, is the antient Parthia, now reckoned the principal province of the empire, being of a very large extent, and almoſt in the center of the Perſian dominions, and the province where the capital city ſtands. It is bounded by Adirbeitzan and Gilan (the antient Hyrcania) on the north, the province of Choraſſan on the eaſt, Chuſiſtan and Farſiſtan on the ſouth, and Curdeſtan on the weſt. The chief towns are 1. Iſpahan, the metropolis of the kingdom, in 32 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, and the 50th degree of longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London. 2. Casbin, or Caſwin, where the antient Arſatia ſtood, in 36 degrees odd minutes. 3. Com, ſituate in 34 degrees 30 minutes. 4. Sava, almoſt in the midway between Casbin and Com. 5. Hamadan, about a hundred miles north-weſt of Com. 6. Caſham, about ſeventy miles north of Iſpahan. 7. Yeſd, about a hundred and five miles to the eaſtward of Iſpahan.

Gilan.

X. Gilan, or Kylan, (in which I comprehend Mazenderan or Tabriſtan) is the antient Hyrcania, and bounded by the Hyrcanian, or Caſpian ſea, on the north, the province of Choraſſan, (or Bactria) on the eaſt, the province of Erack-Agem, or Parthia, on the ſouth, and Adirbeitzan on the weſt. The chief towns are, 1. Reſcod. 2. Gilan, ſituate in 38 degrees north latitude, and two hundred miles eaſt of Tauris. 3. Mazanderan, a hundred miles farther eaſt. 4. Aſherol, within two miles of the Caſpian ſea. 5. Tabriſtan. 6. Ferabat.

Adirbeitzan.

XI. Adirbeitzan, or Adirbajon, the ſouth part of the antient Media, is bounded by the province of Shirvan on the north, by Gilan, and part of the Caſpian ſea on the eaſt, by Erack-Agem and Curdiſtan on the ſouth, and the river Aras, or Araxis, which ſeparates it from part of Georgia on the weſt. The chief towns are, 1. Tauris, or Tabris, ſuppoſed to be the antient Ecbatana, formerly the ſeat of the Median and Perſian monarchs, and eſteemed little inferior to Babylon it ſelf, either for its antiquity or magnificence. It lyes in 38 degrees odd minutes of north latitude, and is about four hundred miles north-weſt of Iſpahan. 2. Ardevil, or Ardebil, ſtands about thirty miles eaſt of Tauris. 3. Sultania, ſix days journey to the ſouth-eaſt of Tauris, in 36 degrees 30 minutes, north latitude.

Shirvan.

XII. Shirvan, or Schirwan, in which I conclude Dagiſtan, and the Perſian Georgia and Armenia, is bounded by Circaſſia, and the Muſcovite dominions, on the north; the Caſpian ſea on the eaſt, Adirbeitzan towards the ſouth, and by Turkiſh Armenia and Georgia towards the weſt. The chief towns are, 1. Derbent, or Debircan, which ſignifies an iron gate, being a very ſtrong paſs between the mountains and the Caſpian ſea, in 42 degrees north latitude. 2. Schamachie, about fifty miles to the ſouthward of Derbent. 3. Baku, which ſometimes gives name to the Caſpian ſea, and ſtands a little to the ſouthward of Schamachie. 4. Teflis, or Cala, the capital of eaſtern Georgia, which ſtands in 44 degrees of north latitude, and 48 degrees of longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London. 5. Erivan, or Irvan, lyes in 40 degrees odd minutes, upon the river Sargi, near the borders of Armenia. 6. Gangea, which lyes between Erivan and Schamachie. 7. Nackſivan, or Naziwan, one and twenty leagues ſouth of Erivan. This was antiently the capital of an Armenian province, and the natives have a tradition, that the city was built by NOAH, when he firſt came out of the ark: the word nackſivan ſignifying a ſtation for ſhips. 8. Tarku, the capital of Dagiſtan. Laſtly, Old Julpha, which is now nothing but a heap of ruins, the Armenian inhabitants being tranſplanted to Iſpahan, near which they have a conſiderable town, and are become the greateſt merchants in the Perſian dominions, if not in the whole world, having their agents and factors in almoſt every country in Aſia and Europe.

Air and climate in the middle of Perſia.

Perſia extending from the 25th degree of latitude to the 45th, the longeſt day in the ſouth is thirteen hours and a half, and in the north above fifteen hours. In ſo great an extent of country it is very natural to ſuppoſe, that the air and ſeaſons are very different, as in fact we find them to be. In the middle of the kingdom their winter begins in November and continues till March, with ſevere froſts and ſnow, which falls in great quantities on their mountains, but not ſo much in the champain country; from the month of March till May the wind is uſually high, and from thence to September they have a calm ſerene heaven, without ſo much as a cloud; and though it be pretty hot in the day time, the refreſhing breezes, which blow conſtantly morning and evening, as well as in the night, make the ſummer very tolerable, eſpecially ſince the nights are near ten hours long. The air is ſo pure, and the ſtars ſhine with that luſtre, that one man may know another very well by their light, and people travel much more in the night than the day. In this part of Perſia there are very ſeldom any hurricanes or tempeſts, and very little thunder and lightning; nor is it ſubject to earthquakes: and the air is ſo extremely dry in the fair ſeaſon, that you will not find the leaſt dew or moiſture on a-

CHAP. I.

ny thing that is laid abroad all night, or even on the graſs, and it very ſeldom rains in the winter. No country is more healthful than the heart of Perſia, as appears by the hale complexion of the natives, they are ſtrong and robuſt, and generally enjoy a conſtant ſeries of health. As to foreigners who come thither, it is a common obſervation, that thoſe who are healthful at their arrival continue ſo, and that thoſe who are ſick ſeldom recover.

In the ſouth of Perſia.

The air in the ſouthern part of Perſia, particularly about Gombron, is very unhealthful in the ſpring and fall: our European factors never paſs a year without a dangerous fit of illneſs, which frequently carries them off. It is an ordinary thing for two of them to agree, that if one die the ſurvivor ſhall poſſeſs the other's fortune. Nor is this any great prejudice to their relations; for if a man leaves private truſtees, or makes the company his executors, the heir of the deceaſed will meet with great difficulties in recovering the teſtator's effects. The months of June, July, and Auguſt, are healthful enough, but ſo very hot, that both natives and foreigners get up into the mountains at that time. The hot winds which blow from the eaſtward over a long tract of ſandy deſerts are ready to ſuffocate them, and ſometimes there happens a peſtilential blaſt, which ſtrikes the traveller dead in an inſtant. It rains but very ſeldom here any part of the year, and the water they ſave then is very unwholeſom.

Hot winds.

It is a common obſervation, that thoſe countries which lye near the tropicks are much hotter than thoſe under the line; which is held to proceed from the ſun's remaining longer near the tropicks, than it does near the equator; and the days being of a greater length in ſummer about the tropicks than under the line; which are no doubt very ſubſtantial reaſons. But there is alſo a great deal to be aſcribed to the nature of the ſoil, and the ſituation of the country, where the winds blow over large ſandy deſerts, heated like an oven, and eſpecially between the mountains, which reflect the heat from one ſide to the other, and there are no refreſhing breezes or ſhowers to cool the air, as there generally are near the line; no wonder that thoſe countries are much hotter than any that are under the equator, as thoſe about the gulph of Perſia certainly are. And this is probably one reaſon that the antients never diſcovered any country in ſouthern latitude, they found it ſo exceſſive hot about the tropicks, that they imagined if they ſhould proceed much farther ſouth, the heats would have been intolerable, and it was, it ſeems, a received opinion, that part of the torrid zone was not habitable. Whereas we find that the heats under the line are not ſo great as in many countries the antients were acquainted with.

That all countries in ſouthern latitude were uninhabited till within ſome hundred years paſt, ſeems very incredible, eſpecially in Africk, where no ſeas intervened to prevent a diſcovery; but on the other hand, if people had travelled into the ſouthern parts of Africk, it is equally ſtrange that none ſhould ever return again, from whom the antients might have received an account of theſe countries, and informed them at leaſt that they were habitable.

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The heat of the winds.

But to return to the hot winds, as the wind is nothing elſe but the air in motion, and the air muſt receive a great addition of heat from the reflection of the burning ſands; it is no more wonder that the wind ſhould blow warm at noon day, when it has paſſed over a parched country for ſeveral hundred miles, than that thoſe which come from the ſea, or from ſome frozen climate, ſhould prove cool. That ſome people may have been ſuffocated by theſe hot winds, as travellers tell us, I ſhall not diſpute, but muſt obſerve, that I never knew one inſtance of it in ſeveral years that I was in India, where the hot winds alſo blow annually in May and June. But the chilling cold winds that happen in the night, ſometimes after an exceſſive hot day, have been very fatal to Europeans, who have lain expoſed in the open air. There have alſo been inſtances of people who have loſt the uſe of their limbs, and ſome of them their lives, by one ſudden peſtilential blaſt, as well at ſea as aſhore. A gentleman now living, who held one of the moſt conſiderable poſts in India, under the Eaſt-India company, had the uſe of his limbs taken away after this manner, he ſays, a company of ſix or ſeven of them were drinking a glaſs of wine on board, when two of them were ſuddenly ſtruck dead, and the others taken with a kind of dead palſy, that for his own part he had no more feeling in his limbs than a board; but when he was carried aſhore, the Indian phyſicians ordered him to be ſtretched out on the ſcorching ſand at noon, for ſeveral days ſucceſſively, placing an umbrella over his head only, and two or three ſervants were ordered to rub and pinch his fleſh in every part for ſome hours: and though he was ſo very bad that when one of them ſtood upon his breaſt he did not feel him at firſt; yet by chafing and rubbing him with oils in the ſun, and bathing and pinching of him in this manner for ſeveral days, he came at length to his feeling, and the uſe of his limbs, except one hand, which he ſtill wants the uſe of in a great meaſure. This accident happened between thirty and forty years ago, and the gentleman is now fourſcore, in a good ſtate of health, which he has enjoyed ever ſince.

The air in the north of Perſia.

I proceed now to enquire into the temperature of the air in the north part of the Perſian dominions;

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nions; and it ſeems the provinces of Georgia, Shirvan, and Adirbeitzan, are very dry and warm in the ſummer, but ſubject to ſtorms and tempeſts in the winter; and as ſevere froſts for ſix months as any countries on the continent in the ſame latitude: but as this part of Perſia is very mountainous, there is frequently a vaſt difference between the air on the north and the ſouth ſide of the mountains, and in a few miles travelling people think themſelves in a different climate; but however cold the mountains in the north may be they are extremely healthful. On the contrary, the flat country of Gilan and Mezenderan, which lyes upon the Caſpian ſea, and was the antient Hyrcania, is very damp, full of ſtinking moraſſes and unhealthful; inſomuch that the inhabitants in the ſummer retire into the mountains, all the water they have being foul and corrupted in the hot ſeaſon, and here, and in Choraſſan, it is ſaid, earthquakes are very common.

It is obſervable, that there is no country in the world of ſo large an extent as Perſia, where there are ſo few navigable rivers: there is not ſo much as one river in the heart of the country that will carry a boat of any burthen, and you may travel ſeveral days journey without meeting with any water whatever, in ſome parts. The river Oxus indeed, which divides Perſia from Usbeck Tartary, is a large ſtream, but as there are no branches of it that ariſe in the Perſian dominions, it is of little uſe to them. The rivers Kur and Aras, antiently called Cyrus and Araxes, which riſe in the mountains of Arrarat, and run through Georgia, Shirvan, and Adirbeitzan, and having joined their ſtreams, fall into the Caſpian ſea, are much the moſt conſiderable rivers in the Perſian dominions. However, there are ſeveral ſmall rivulets which fall from the mountains, and are conveyed by ſubterraneous channels, or otherwiſe, to their principal cities.

Water being ſo ſcarce in Perſia, there is no place where they husband it better, or have more ingenious contrivances to convey it to their cities, and into their corn fields and gardens. This is the care of the government, and there is a great officer in every province, who has the charge of the conveyance and diſtribution of the waters.

They turn all their little rivulets and ſprings to ſuch parts of the country as they are moſt wanted: they dig wells alſo of a prodigious depth and breadth, out of which they draw the water with oxen, in great leathern buckets, which being emptied into ciſterns, is let out as there is occaſion, for the ſervice of the country. They have alſo vaſt ſubterranean aqueducts, through which they convey water twenty or thirty leagues to the places aſſigned. Theſe are two fathom high, and arched with brick; and at every twenty paces diſtance there are large holes like wells, which were made for the conveniency of carrying on the arch, without working underground too far, and the more eaſy repairing them. The diſtribution of the river and ſpring water is made one day to one quarter of the town, and another day to another, as occaſion requires, when every one opens the canal, or reſervatory, in his gardens to receive it, for which every garden pays a certain ſum yearly to the government, particularly about Iſpahan; and as it is very eaſy for one to divert his neighbour's water into his own channel, this is a fraud that is ſeverely puniſhed. They give a greater rate for river water, than they do for the ſpring water, which is not found ſo proper for their grounds.

Beſides the ocean, there are two ſeas belonging to Perſia, one on the north and the other on the ſouth-weſt, viz. The Caſpian ſea, and the gulph of Boſſora, or Perſia, which have been mentioned already. The Caſpian ſea is about a hundred leagues in length, from north to ſouth, and ninety leagues in breadth, and has near a hundred rivers running into it, of which the chief is the Wolga, at the mouth whereof ſtands Aſtracan; but this ſea has no communication with any other, and though ſo many rivers fall into it, there is no viſible way it diſcharges itſelf of its waters, but they remain always of the ſame height, and neither ebb nor flow. It is navigated chiefly by the Muſcovites, who lye on the north ſide of it, and the late CZAR was cutting a channel between the Wolga and the Don, or Tanais, whereby he propoſed to open a communication between the Euxine and Caſpian ſeas; but I think this project is ſuſpended at preſent. As to the Perſians, they ſeldom apply themſelves to navigation, and have few veſſels upon this ſea. But they are not altogether ſo negligent of the gulph of Boſſora, upon account of the pearl fiſhery there, of which they are very jealous, it being reckoned the beſt in the world: they are maſters here of both ſides of the gulph, as well as the iſlands. The pearl fiſhery lyes near the iſland of Baharem; of the reſt of the iſlands in the bay the moſt famous is Ormus, ſeated at the entrance of this ſea, and about thirty miles in circumference, which, while the Portugueſe were maſters of, they commanded the pearl fiſhery, and all the trade of Perſia, and had built one of the moſt elegant cities in Aſia upon it. There is nothing now upon the iſland but an indifferent caſtle, which the Perſians keep poſſeſſion of, only to prevent other nations inſulting them, as the Portugueſe did formerly, the trade being removed to Gombron, from which it is about two leagues diſtant. The iſland itſelf never produced any thing but ſalt, which grows in a ſolid cruſt, two inches deep, upon the ſurface

Iſlands;

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face of the ground, and the hills appear at a diſtance as if they were covered with ſnow; nor is there a drop of freſh water upon the iſland but what is preſerved in ciſterns. The Portugueſe fetched moſt of the water they uſed from the continent.

About an hundred years ago the King of Perſia, by the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh Eaſt-India company's ſhips, reduced this iſland to his obedience, and expelled the Portugueſe; for which the company were allowed great advantages in trade, and half the cuſtoms of Gombron, which, it is ſaid, amounted to about forty thouſand pounds per ann. for fifty years ſucceſſively. The Perſians afterwards took the whole cuſtoms themſelves, and allowed the Engliſh company three or four thouſand pounds per ann. as an acknowledgment of their ſervice at Ormus. The Engliſh were deprived of their ſhare of the cuſtoms, under pretence they did not protect the Perſian trade againſt the Portugueſe and Arabs, as they ſtipulated to do; but the ſum of three thouſand pounds odd money per ann. was paid till the preſent civil war. Near Ormus are two other ſmall iſlands, the one called Kiſmiſh, and the other Lareca: the former of which is ſaid to yield abundance of wheat, and to be as fruitful as Ormus is barren. There are ſeveral other iſlands diſperſed over this ſea, but none of any note beſides.

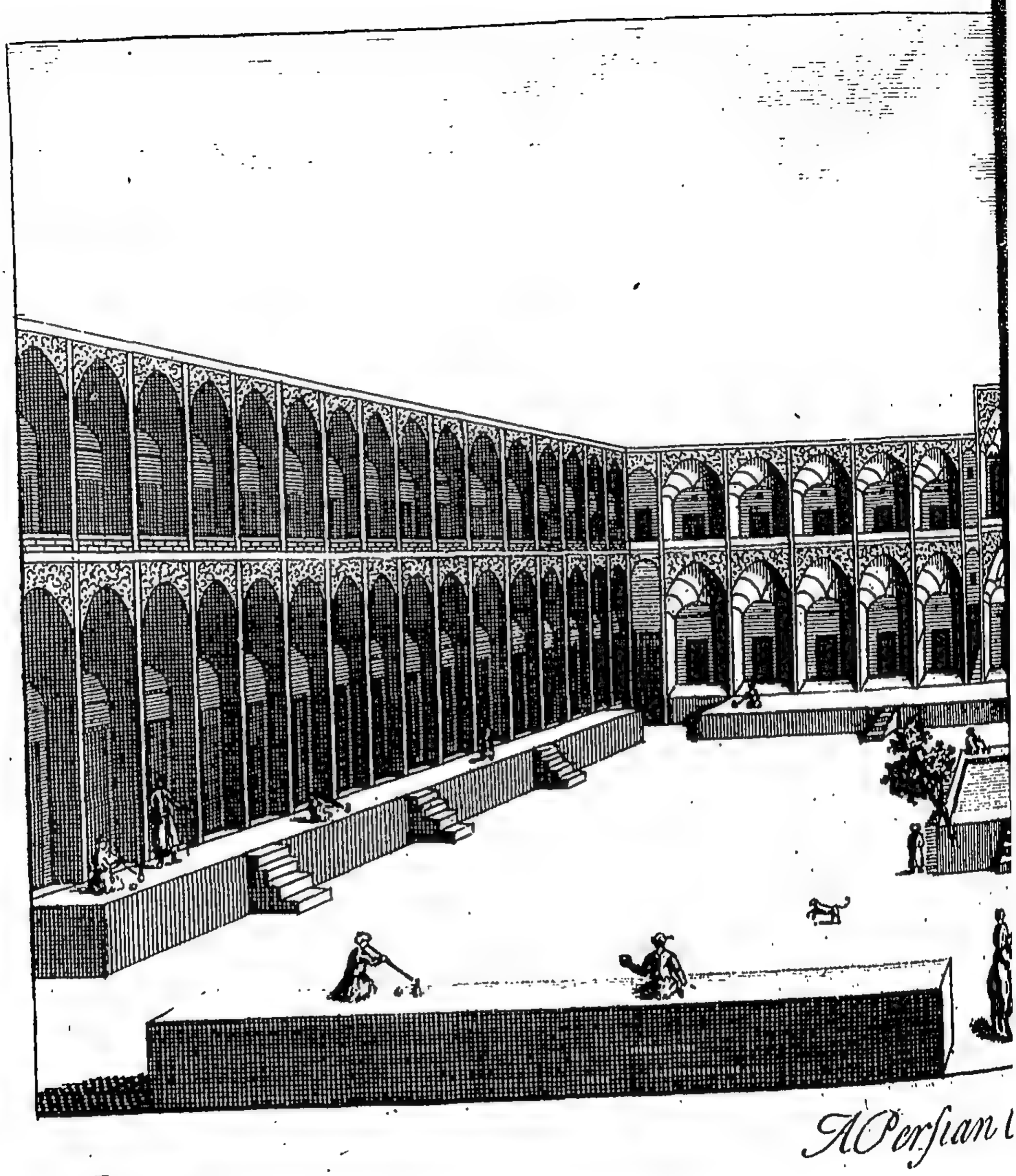
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Contains a deſcription of their principal towns, of their buildings publick and private, and the furniture of their houſes.

Houſes of the quality.

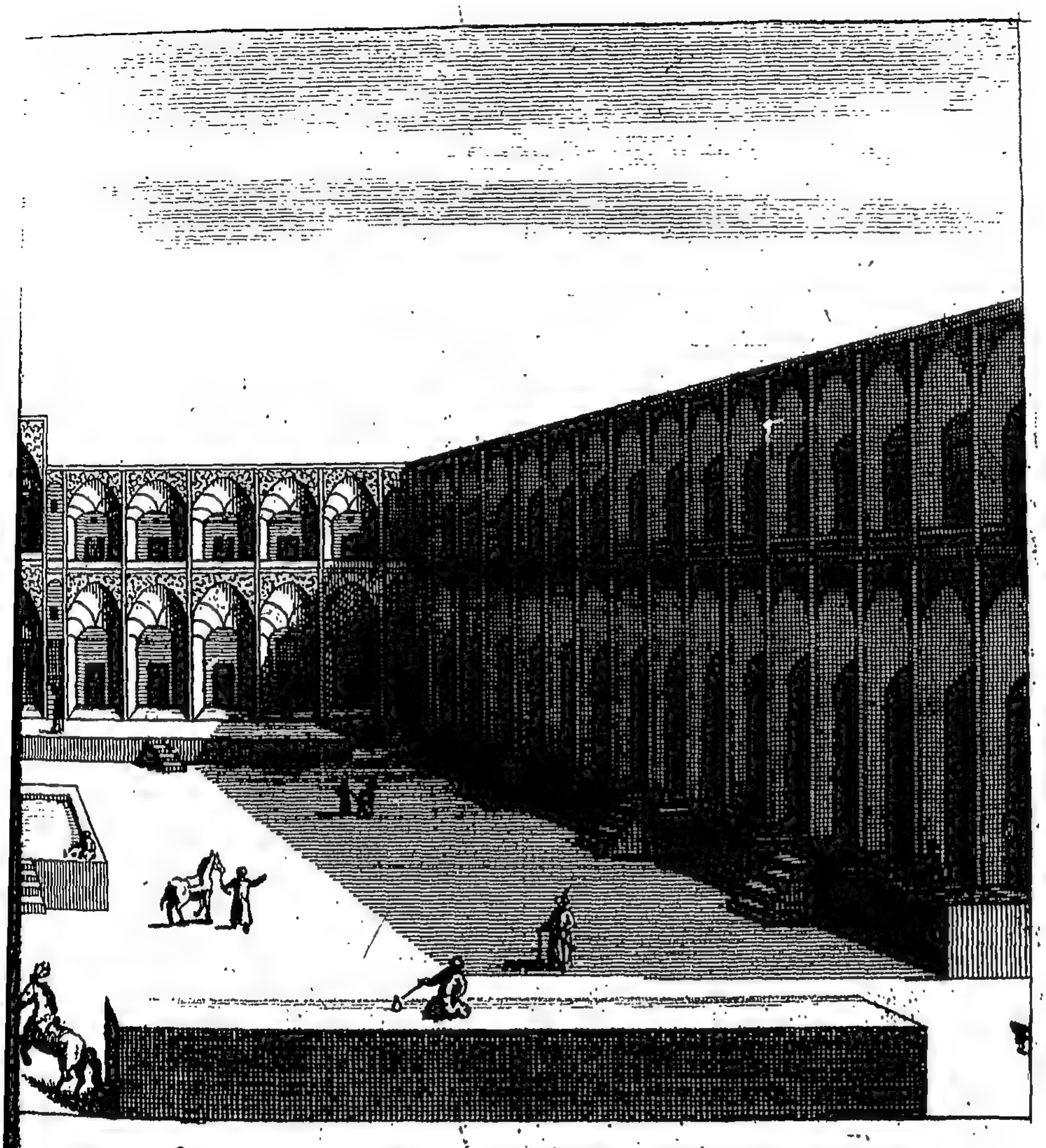
THE houſes of perſons of quality are generally built in the middle of a fine garden, and make little or no appearance to the ſtreet: you ſee nothing but a dead wall, with a great gate in the middle, and perhaps, a skreen, or wall within the gate, to prevent people looking in; ſo fond are they of privacy and retirement, far from the method of building here, where we lay our ſeats as open as poſſible, and ſeem to intimate we can have no enjoyment in the fineſt palaces, but what reſults from the admiration of the crowd that paſſes by our gates. Another thing that the Perſians differ from us in is, that they ſeldom have more than one floor, which is laid out in this manner: in the front of the houſe ſtands the virando, being a litte piazza, or cloyſter, open before, where they ſit and tranſact their ordinary affairs, beyond this is a large hall eighteen or twenty foot high, which is uſed at great entertainments, or on any ſolemn occaſions: on the farther ſide of the houſe is another virando, or piazza, with a baſon or fountain of water before it, beyond which runs a walk of fine trees, as there does alſo from the ſtreet to the houſe: at each corner of the hall is a parlour, or lodging room, (for it ſerves for both purpoſes indifferently) between thoſe parlours on the ſides, there are doors out of an hall into an open ſquare ſpace as large as the rooms at the corners; there are alſo ſeveral doors out of the hall into the virando, or piazza, before and behind the houſe, ſo that in the hot ſeaſon they can ſet open nine or ten doors at once in the great hall, and if there be any air ſtirring they will have the benefit of it. In ſome palaces there is a handſome baſon, and a fountain playing in the middle of the hall, which contributes ſtill more to the coolneſs of the place. The walls of their houſes are built ſometimes of burnt bricks, but more commonly of bricks dried in the ſun. The walls are of a conſiderable thickneſs, and the roof of the great hall is arched, and five or ſix foot higher than the other rooms about it. The roofs of the buildings on every ſide of the hall are flat, and there is a pair of ſtairs up to the top, where the Perſians walk in the cool of the day, and ſometimes carry up a mattreſs and lye there all night, there being a wall or balluſters all round the top of the building. As for the kitchens and other offices, they are at a diſtance on the right or left; and it is obſervable that all their rooms, except the hall, ſtand ſeparate, and there is no paſſage out of one into another, but only from the hall: chimneys there are ſome; but uſually inſtead of a chimney, there is a round hole about four or five foot broad, and a foot and half deep in the middle of the room, in which a charcoal fire is made, and the place covered with a thick board, or table, about a foot high, ſo cloſe that no ſmoak can get out, and over that table is thrown a large carpet, under which they put their legs in cold weather, and ſit round, there being a paſſage for the ſmoke by pipes laid under the floor.

The doors of the houſe are narrow, and ſeldom turn upon hinges as ours do; but there is a round piece left at the top and bottom of the door, which are let into the frame above and below, on which they turn; and the very locks and bolts are frequently made of wood. As to their furniture, it conſiſts only in carpets ſpread on the floor, with cuſhions and pillows to lean on, and at night there is a mattreſs brought to ſleep on, and a quilt or two to cover them, but very ſeldom any ſheets are uſed. As to their ſervants they lye about in any paſſage upon mats, and take up very little room. The floors of the rooms are either paved, or made of a hard cement, on which they lay a coarſe cloth, and over that a carpet. The ſides of ſome of their rooms are lined with fine tiles, not unlike the Dutch tiles, about a yard high, and the reſt of the



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Caravanseras

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the wall painted, or hung with pictures. The reader may from the deſcription I have given, form a tolerable notion of a Perſian houſe, but for his farther ſatisfaction I have given directions for drawing an exact model of one of them. As for thoſe of the inferior people, it cannot be expected they can be like thoſe already deſcribed in every particular; but they endeavour to come as near their betters as they can, and their princes palaces ſeem to be built much after the ſame manner, only more lofty and magnificent. I proceed now to deſcribe ſome of their principal towns, and firſt Iſpahan.

Deſcription of Iſpahan.

Iſpahan, or as it is pronounced Spahawn, is ſituated in thirty two degrees, forty min. north lat. and the fiftieth degree of longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London. It ſtands in a fine plain, almoſt ſurrounded with mountains, which lye about two or three leagues from it, and the form is pretty near oval. The river Senderhout runs by it at about a mile diſtance; but there are ſeveral channels and pipes above the town, which convey the water from it into canals and baſons, for the ſervice of the court and city. The town is without walls, and about ten or twelves miles in circumference. Thoſe who extend it ten leagues take in the town of Julpha, and ſeveral others, for which I ſee no manner of reaſon, for Julpha lyes a mile from Iſpahan, and on the other ſide the river, and can no more be reckoned a part of the city, than Kenſington a part of Weſtminſter. If we ſhould take in all the villages within the weekly bills, poſſibly the circumference of London would be little leſs than ſome travellers reckon Iſpahan. There were formerly twelve gates to the town, but four of them are now cloſed up, the others are always open; as for the walls which ſome gentlemen mention, it is probable there was a mud-wall formerly, but a merchant who lately came from thence aſſures me that there is no part of the wall viſible at preſent. There is an old caſtle, it is true, without artillery, run to ruin, which is no more tenable than the town.

The ſtreets of Iſpahan are for the moſt part narrow and crooked, and either exceeding dirty or duſty, for ſcarce any of them are paved, and though there are no coaches or carts, yet all people of any faſhion riding through them with great trains of ſervants, renders the paſſage not very pleaſant.

The royal meydan.

There are however ſome very fine ſquares in the town, particularly the royal ſquare, or meydan, into which there opens two of the palace gates. On the ſides of this ſquare, which is one third of a mile in length, and more than half as much in breadth, are buildings much like the New Exchange in the Strand, with ſhops on both ſides, where every particular trade has a quarter aſſigned, and there is a ſecond ſtory where the mechanicks have their working ſhops. There ſeems to be little difference between theſe exchanges and ours, but that thoſe of Iſpahan have no windows, but great openings at proper diſtances to let in the light, and people ride through them as along the ſtreets. In the middle of the ſquare there is a market for horſes and cattle, and all manner of goods and eatables are expoſed to ſale; tho' the great SHAW ABBAS, who built the ſquare, deſigned it for manly exerciſes, and particularly thoſe of horſemanſhip, and handling the bow and lance, at which no people are more dextrous than the Perſians. On that ſide of the ſquare next the palace there is a fine row of trees planted, and a handſome baſon of water, and ſome great braſs guns which were taken from the Portugueſe at Ormus, ſerve to make a ſhow. There ſtands a great moſque at the ſouth end of the ſquare, and another moſque on the eaſt ſide, over againſt the great gate of the palace, ſeveral ſtreets in Iſpahan are covered and arched over, which makes them pretty dark, and this ſeems to be peculiar to the Perſian towns. In the Indies, it is true, the tradeſmen have little piazza's before their houſes, where they expoſe their goods to ſale, but then there are wide ſtreets before them; but here in ſome places there is no other ſtreet but theſe covered ways through which people ride. Another thing they ſeem to be particular in, is, that their houſes and ſhops are never in the ſame place, and it is a common thing for a tradeſman to go half a mile in a morning to the bazar or market place, where his ſhop is; and in the night time they lock up their valuable goods in cheſts and counters, and the reſt they leave packed up, ſometimes in the open ſquare, and it is very rare any thing is loſt, ſo careful are the watch appointed to guard their market places, or ſo very little given to thieving are the people in this part of the world; and no doubt, the ſpeedy and exemplary puniſhments inflicted upon pilferers, is one great means to deter them from it. As to foreign merchants, they lodge their goods in the publick caravanſera's about the city, which ſerve them alſo inſtead of inns for lodging and diet; but there is this difference between an inn and caravanſera, that every perſon finds his own bedding and cookery in the caravanſera, whereas in our inns we have not that trouble. There are two things however that renders a caravanſera preferable to an inn: one is, that a perſon is not ſubject to the extortions of an inn-keeper, but buys his proviſion at the beſt hand; and the other is, that let the merchant take up never ſo many rooms he ſhall not be diſturbed in them, and pays but a trifle for his warehouſe or lodgings, and upon the road he pays nothing. There are not it ſeems leſs than 1500 of theſe publick caravanſera's in Iſpahan, which have been

Covered ſtreets.

Caravanſera's.

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built by charitable people for the uſe of ſtrangers: moſt of them are built after one model, and differ only in the dimenſions. There is a handſome portal at the entrance, on each ſide of which are ſhops, from whence you enter into a ſquare, about which there is a cloyſter, or piazza, and within are lodging rooms and warehouſes for goods: there is alſo ſtabling, and conveniencies for horſes, and other beaſts, on the outſide, or they may be brought into the ſquare and faſtened there, as is frequently done upon the road, where there is danger of robbers. As to taverns there are none at Iſpahan, their religion prohibiting wine. However, ſome of the Perſians will drink pretty plentifully in private. There are very handſome coffee-houſes in the principal parts of the town, where people meet and talk politicks, tho' they have no printed papers in them, and there we meet with ſome amuſements peculiar to the country, as the harangues of their poets, hiſtorians and prieſts, who hold forth and get a crowd about them, as Dr. BYFIELD, of comical memory, uſed to do in the coffee-houſes about the Exchange and Temple-Bar, and it ſeems they expect a ſmall preſent from their audience for their inſtructions.

Coffee-houſes.

Palace.

The buildings of the palace, with the gardens belonging to it, take up above a league in compaſs. The two gates which come up to the royal meydan or ſquare, are one of them called Alicapi, and the other Doulet Cuna: over one of them is a gallery, where the Sophi uſed to ſit and ſee martial exerciſes performed on horſeback. No part of the palace where the court reſides comes up to the royal ſquare, but having entered the principal gate, there is a hall or court on the left hand, where the Vizier and other Judges adminiſter juſtice on certain days, and on the right are rooms where offenders are allowed to take ſanctuary. From hence to the hall, where the King uſually gives audience, is a handſome walk: it is a long room, well painted and gilded, and ſupported by forty pillars: it is divided into three parts, one a ſtep higher than the other, on which the great officers ſtand according to their rank. As to hereditary nobility there is no ſuch thing in Perſia. On the third aſcent is the royal throne, raiſed about a foot and a half above the floor, and about eight feet ſquare, on which is ſpread a rich carpet, here the King ſits croſs-legged upon ſolemn occaſions, having a brocade cuſhion under him, and another at his back; as to the reſt of the apartments of the palace, and particularly the haram, or womens apartment, neither foreigners or natives can give an exact deſcription of them, none being permitted to enter but the eunuchs: but in general I underſtand, that they conſiſt in ſeparate pleaſure-houſes diſperſed about the gardens, much of the ſame form with the houſes firſt deſcribed; and that their great beauty conſiſts in the fine walks, fountains, and caſcades about them: beyond the gardens his Majeſty has a large park walled in, where the Ladies hunt, and take their pleaſure with the Prince.

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In this city are above a hundred and fifty Mahometan moſques, or temples, covered with domes or cupolas, which appearing through the trees that are planted almoſt all over the town in the ſtreets and gardens, afford a noble proſpect, but the common buildings are ſo low that they are hardly diſcerned by one who takes a view of the town on the outſide.

Moſques.

All Chriſtians being prohibited to enter their moſques, or even to come within their courts under ſevere penalties, it is not eaſy to meet with a particular deſcription of them. However, ſome travellers tell us, they have taken a view of them in diſguiſe, and particularly of the great moſque in Iſpahan, by way of eminence called the King's, or becauſe it was built by one of their Kings.

There is a gate which leads to this moſque covered with ſilver plates: through this you proceed to a court with a piazza or cloyſter on each ſide, where the prieſts lodge who belong to the moſque. Oppoſite to the great gate are three large doors which open into it: the five iſles the moſque is compoſed of are beautified with gold and azure: in the middle is the cupola, ſupported by four great ſquare pillars: the iſles on the ſides are lower than that in the middle, and born up by thick columns of free-ſtone, two great windows towards the top of the middle iſle gives light to the whole moſque: on the left hand towards the middle, ſtands a kind of pulpit with ſtone ſteps to go up to it: the bricks and tiles on the outſide of the building are painted with various colours after the manner of Perſia, and the floor of the moſque is covered with carpets, all people putting off their ſhoes as they enter it: there are no ſeats, or pews, as in the Chriſtian temples, or any kind of imagery or pictures.

Another Engliſh gentleman gives us this account of the moſque at the ſouth end of the royal meydan: the outſide he ſays is ſtone, and the form round it is divided into iſles, and the walls lined fifteen foot high with white poliſhed marble, and in the middle of the ſquare before the moſque is a large baſon where they waſh themſelves before they enter the temple: the moſques have moſt of them cupola's with ſteeples or towers whither the Molla's go up to ſummon the people to their devotions, making no uſe of bells.

The numerous hummums, or bagnio's in this city, are another ſubject of the travellers admiration, ſome of theſe are ſquare buildings, but moſt of them globular. The ſtone of which they are built is uſually white, and well poliſhed, the tops are covered with tiles painted blue. The inſides

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are divided into many cells, or chambers, ſome for pleaſure, and others for ſweating; and the floors are laid with black and white marble. The Perſians bathe almoſt every day looking upon it to be extremely healthful, and an effectual remedy for cold or aches, and many other diſtempers.

Charbag.

But what is admired as much by foreigners as any thing about Iſpahan, is the Charbag, being a walk above a hundred yards wide, and extending a mile in length, from the city to the river Zenderhoud: on each ſide are planted double rows of trees, and in the middle runs a canal, not continued upon a level, but at every furlong diſtance the water falls into a large baſon, and forms a caſcade, and the ſides both of the canal and baſons are lined with hewn ſtone, broad enough for ſeveral men to walk a breaſt upon them. On each ſide of this walk are the royal gardens, and thoſe of the great men, with pleaſure-houſes at ſmall diſtances, and all together form as agreeeble a proſpect as can be imagined.

At the end of this walk is a bridge over the river Zenderhoud, which leads to the town of Julpha, there are alſo two other bridges, one on the right, and the other to the left, by which the neighbouring villages have a communication with the city, and which moſt of our travellers are pleaſed to call its ſuburbs, though they are diſtant a mile from Iſpahan, and on the other ſide the river.

Bridges.

Theſe bridges are taken notice of for the oddneſs of the architecture, for it ſeems on each ſide, both above and below, are arched paſſages, thro' which people ride, and walk, from one end of the bridge to the other, as in the covered ſtreets of the city, and at little diſtances, there are openings to receive the light. The arches of theſe bridges are not very high, there being no veſſels to paſs under them; for this river is not navigable any more than the reſt of the Perſian ſtreams. It is true, in the ſpring, on the melting of the ſnows in the mountains, it makes a pretty good appearance, being almoſt as broad as the Thames at London, but at the latter end of the ſummer the channel is exceeding narrow and ſhallow; inſomuch that there is not water enough for the gardens which belong to the city: to ſupply the want whereof, they have abundance of wells about Iſpahan of very good water for all uſes.

Julpha.

On the ſouth ſide of the river Zenderhoud ſtands the town of Julpha, being inhabited by a colony of Armenians, tranſplanted hither by the great SHAW ABBAS. This town is about two miles in length, and not much leſs in breadth, being for the moſt part better built, and the ſtreets wider than thoſe of Iſpahan; but the trees that are planted in the ſtreets, and the large gardens they have about their houſes, make it appear more like a country village than a town. There are Georgians, and ſeveral other Chriſtians inhabit here as well as Armenians, and there are ſome convents of Europeans, but no Mahometans. This colony has flouriſhed prodigiouſly ſince they were ſettled here by SHAW ABBAS, being now the moſt conſiderable merchants in the world, and we meet with them in almoſt all countries of Aſia and Europe. The King at firſt provided them with ſtocks to trade with, and took a ſhare of their gains; ſo that they were little better than the King's factors: but they now only pay an annual tax to the government, and are allowed to purchaſe eſtates, which is a privilege no other Chriſtians enjoy.

The Engliſh Eaſt-India company have a handſome houſe in Iſpahan for their factors, the model whereof is the ſame with the houſe firſt deſcribed, but ſince the late civil wars the uſurpers have ſo haraſſed and oppreſſed them, that the company have ordered their ſervants to retire from thence; they have alſo withdrawn moſt of their ſervants from Gombron, and made Boſſora (at the bottom of the gulph of the ſame name) their principal factory on that ſide. The territory of Boſſora is governed by its own Prince, but tributary to the Grand Seignior, the city ſtands on the Tigris, two days journey below Bagdat.

Schiras.

The city of Schiras, or Sheraz, as we pronounce it, lyes about two hundred miles to the ſouthward of Iſpahan, in twenty nine degrees, fifty minutes of north latitude, and is uſually reckoned the ſecond city of the kingdom. It is the capital of the province of Fars, or the antient Perſia; ſome will have the name derived from CYRUS the Great, there being a tradition that he was buried there; others ſay it is derived from ſherab, which in the Perſian tongue ſignifies a grape, becauſe that fruit abounds in this place; and others from the word ſheer, which ſignifies milk; but as it is not very material from whence the name is derived, ſo I believe it is impoſſible to determine at this day. The town is ſeated in a pleaſant fertile valley, about twenty miles in length, and ſix in breadth, and has a rivulet running through it, which in the ſpring has the appearance of a large river, and ſometimes encreaſes to ſuch a torrent as to bear down the houſes in its way; but in the ſummer is almoſt dry. There are no walls about the place, nor does it contain above four thouſand houſes at preſent: the compaſs of it is reckoned to be about ſeven miles, but then it is to be conſidered, that much the greateſt part of this ſpace is gardens. The publick buildings taken notice of, are the Viceroy's palace, the moſques, bagnio's, the vaulted ſtreets, and caravanſera's, which being of the ſame model as thoſe of Iſpahan, do not need a particular deſcription here, only it is obſervable, that they let moſt of their

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their buildings run to ruin, as in other towns of Perſia: every generation chooſing to build new houſes, rather than uſe thoſe of their anceſtors. It is remarked alſo that there is no place where the Mahometan ſuperſtition prevails more than here, there being a moſque or temple to every twenty houſes almoſt; their domes covered with blue varniſhed tiles, make a pretty appearance among the trees: here is alſo a college, where the liberal arts are ſtudied, of which I ſhall ſay more under the head of learning.

The ſtreets of Sheraz are for the moſt part narrow and duſty, but there are ſome broad ones with canals, and baſons faced with ſtone: but what Sheraz is moſt remarkable for, is the fine gardens and vineyards about it. The cypreſs trees, of which their walks are chiefly compoſed, are the talleſt and largeſt that are any where to be found, and grow in a pyramidical form; intermixed with theſe are ſeveral broad ſpreading trees, and all manner of fruits, as pomegranates, oranges, lemons, cherries, pears, apricots, dates, &c. None of theſe are planted againſt walls, as with us, but ſtand in the allies, and ſometimes irregularly, as in a wilderneſs. They have alſo abundance of ſweet flowers of various colours, but not planted in that regular order as in the gardens of Europe. Their vineyards and wines are preferable to any in Perſia, and the canals, caſcades, fountains, and pleaſure houſes in their gardens are not at all inferior to thoſe of Iſpahan. The King's garden here is no leſs than two thouſand paces ſquare, and ſurrounded with a wall fourteen foot high, but of late years the gardens, as well as the buildings of Sheraz, have been pretty much neglected.

The ruins of Perſepolis.

Thirty miles to the north eaſt of Sheraz, are found the nobleſt ruins of an antient palace or temple, that are now to be ſeen on the face of the earth: even Rome itſelf, as it is ſaid, has nothing comparable to theſe venerable remains of antiquity. The place at this day is called Chilmanar, or forty pillars.

Mr. HERBERT ſays it was built upon a mountain of dark coloured marble, and the ſteps hew'd out of the ſolid rock; but others who have viewed it more narrowly ſince, obſerve that the ſteps are compoſed of large ſtones, fifteen or ſixteen foot in length, and of ſuch a thickneſs, that ſix or ſeven ſteps are cut out of one ſtone, the whole being ſo artificially joined that they appear to be but one piece, which might eaſily occaſion Mr. HERBERT to miſtake.

It is ſeated at the north eaſt end of that ſpacious plain, where Perſepolis once ſtood, and generally held to be part of the palace of DARIUS, who was conquered by ALEXANDER the Great. The front of this palace ſtood towards the weſt, and was about five hundred paces in length, the whole taking up near threeſcore acres of ground. The aſcent to it is by ninety five ſteps, thirty feet in length, and twenty inches broad, but not more than three inches deep, ſo that a horſe may eaſily go up or down them. The ſtair caſe divides as you aſcend, one branch winding to the right, and the other to the left, each having a wall on one ſide, and a marble balluſter on the other, afterwards both branches turn again, and end at a ſquare landing place, from whence you go into a portico of white marble twenty foot wide. On it are carved in baſs relieve two beaſts as big as elephants, but their bodies like horſes, and the feet, and tails of oxen. Ten feet farther ſtand two fluted columns of whitiſh ſtone, about ſixty feet high, beſides their capitals and baſes, and as thick as three men can fathom: a little farther ſtand two other pilaſters, carved like the firſt, only that the beaſts on the latter have wings, and mens heads. Beyond this portal, or hall, is ſuch another double ſtair caſe, leading to the upper rooms twenty five feet broad, but incomparably more beautiful than the former; for on its walls are carved in baſs relieve a kind of triumph, conſiſting of a great train of people in diſtinct companies, carrying ſome banners, and others offerings, and after all comes a chariot drawn by ſeveral horſes, with a little altar upon it, from whence the fire ſeems to aſcend. On the other ſide are carved wild beaſts fighting, and among others a lion and a bull are cut with great exactneſs, and ſo hard is the ſtone, that to this day the moſt curious part of the workmanſhip is preſerved.

On the top of the ſecond ſtair-caſe is a ſquare place, which has been ſurrounded with columns whereof ſeventeen only are now ſtanding, but there are a hundred pedeſtals: thoſe that are left are of red and white marble fluted, ſome of them ſixty, and others ſeventy foot high, and twelve of them near three fathom round. Theſe ſome antiquaries imagine ſupported the temple of the ſun. On the ſame floor, near thoſe columns is a place fifty foot ſquare, encloſed with walls ſix or ſeven foot thick, of a much finer marble than any that has been yet mentioned, and ſo wonderfully carved, that it would take up ſeveral days to view all the figures: which way ſoever a man turns himſelf in this ſecond floor, there appear figures cut in bas and half relieve. Here you ſee men fighting with lions, and in another place a man holding a unicorn by the horn, in a third, you ſee the figures of giants, and in a fourth, a Prince giving audience to his people, or Ambaſſadors, and numberleſs other ſcenes. Here are alſo abundance of inſcriptions, in laſting characters, which have been tranſcribed, and brought into Europe, but none of them underſtood at this day by the learned, any more than they are by the people of the country: this glorious palace or temple, with the whole city of Perſepolis,

lis, the nobleſt and wealthieſt city in the world, was burnt to the ground by ALEXANDER the Great, about the year of the world 3724. at the perſuaſion of LAIS the Athenian harlot, 'tis ſaid, in revenge for the towns the Perſian Emperors had deſtroyed in Greece.

The next town I deſcribe is Gombron, being a port the moſt reſorted to of any in the Perſian dominions, and where the Engliſh Eaſt-India company have had a factory above three hundred years: they are indeed entitled to half the cuſtoms of this place, by virtue of the treaty already mentioned, in conſideration of their aſſiſting SHAW ABBAS to reduce Ormus; but of late years they have received the annual ſum of 1000 Tomans, or 3333 l. 6 s. 8 d. in lieu of it. After the conqueſt of that iſland Gombron received the name of Bander-Abaſſi, which ſignifies the port of Abbaſs, that Prince removing the trade hither; and give me leave to obſerve once for all, that in Perſia, and ſome other kingdoms to the caſtward of it, a port is called Bander, and the chief officer of the port the Shaw Bander.

Gombron. Gombron is ſituate in 27 degrees 30 minutes north lat. about three hundred miles from Schiras. It is two or three miles in compaſs, and ſtands on a level ground cloſe to the ſea; the country almoſt every way riſing inſenſibly for ſome miles, without any conſiderable hill, except towards the north: near this town is the narrowеſt part of the gulph of Perſia, or Boſſora. The coaſt of Arabia lying oppoſite to it, at about ten leagues diſtance, but it does not ſeem to be farther over than from Dover to Calais: beſides the natives, it is inhabited by Engliſh, Dutch, Portugueſe, Arabs, Jews, Armenians, Banians, and ſeveral other nations, of which the Armenians and Banians are much the greateſt merchants. It has a wall towards the land, but in a ruinous condition, and towards the ſea there are three ſmall forts, mounted with five guns each, and a platform of eight. There is alſo a caſtle mounted with five and thirty guns for the ſecurity of the road. The houſes in many of the ſtreets are tumbling down, the people having the ſame humour here as in other parts of Perſia, to let thoſe of their anceſtors drop, and erect new ones for themſelves, in which it ſeems there is ſomething of ſuperſtition, for if the perſon who inhabited a houſe before was in their opinion unhappy, they are apprehenſive that the like ill-fortune will attend the perſon who ſucceeds him.

The beſt houſes are built of ſtone, brought from the iſlands of Kiſhmee, or Larrak, but they are generally of bricks hardned in the ſun. They have ſometimes two ſtories, and a wooden contrivance on the top of the houſe, to ſtrike the wind down into the lower rooms. Theſe machines are about ten foot high, and at a diſtance look like little towers. The houſes belonging to the Engliſh and Dutch Eaſt-India companies are as well built as moſt in the town; but the Engliſh factors, as has been hinted already, are removed moſt of them to Boſſora, at the bottom of the gulph in the Turkiſh territories.

The next town I ſhall take notice of is Tauris, ſituate in 38 degrees odd min. north lat. ſuppoſed to be the antient Ecbatana. It is called by the Turks and Perſians Tabriz, and was the metropolis of Media. DIODORUS SICULUS is of opinion it was founded by SEMIRAMIS, who with incredible labour brought the water thither from the mountain Orontes, a branch of Taurus; while JOSEPHUS aſſures us, that it was built, or at leaſt a royal palace in it, by the Prophet DANIEL. It was formerly beſt known by the name of Ecbatana, and was then in its greateſt ſplendor. The antients obſerve that it was 15 miles about, and had walls ſeventy cubits high, and fifty broad, with many noble palaces, but there is now little or nothing remaining, either of the walls or palaces. However, Tauris is ſtill a conſiderable town, being about five miles in circuit, populous, and a place of very great trade, but not near ſo populous as ſome late accounts have made it. If the inhabitants, men, women, and children, amount to fourſcore thouſand, it is as much as they can, notwithſtanding our common newswriters have lately found two hundred thouſand men in this city capable of bearing arms: nor has there, during the late civil war, I may very ſafely affirm, been an army raiſed of forty thouſand men, either by the Prince, or the Uſurper: and I queſtion whether both of them together have ever had ſo great a force in the field at once. Tauris.

Tauris, like moſt other cities in Perſia, ſtands in a plain ſurrounded by mountains, from whence there falls a ſmall ſtream, which runs through the middle of it; but on the melting of the ſnows it is encreaſed into a mighty torrent. Here are ſeveral noble meydans, or ſquares, one of them almoſt equal to the royal meydan of Iſpahan: they have alſo their covered ſtreets, or exchanges, where abundance of rich merchandize is expoſed to ſale, and their moſques and bagnio's are much after the model of thoſe in other cities already deſcribed.

The city of Tauris has often changed its maſter, ſometimes the Turk, and at others the Perſian has poſſeſſed it: but as the citizens always ſeem moſt enclined to the Perſians, the Turks have ſeveral times burnt and plundered it in a dreadful manner: but the great SHAW ABBAS, ſomewhat above a hundred years ago, drove the Turks out of this part of Perſia, from which time Tauris remained in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the

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Perſians till laſt ſummer, when the Turks ſurprized that city again, exerciſing their uſual cruelties on the miſerable inhabitants. Tauris ſtands about four hundred miles to the northward of Iſpahan, which the caravans uſually travel in four and twenty days.

From the towns and buildings already deſcribed, it will be eaſy to form a judgment of the reſt; I ſhall mention therefore but one city more, and that is Teflis, before I proceed to another head.

Teflis.

Teflis, as has been obſerved already, is the capital city of Georgia, but under the dominion of the Perſians, and inhabited chiefly by Chriſtians: inſomuch that 'tis ſaid, there is not one Mahometan moſque in the place, except that of the caſtle, though there are no leſs than 14 Chriſtian churches. It is ſituate in 44 degrees of north lat. on the river Kur, or Cyrus, at the foot of a mountain: it is not of a very large extent, but elegantly built. On the ſouth ſide, on the declivity of the mountain ſtands the caſtle, once a place of ſtrength, but hardly tenable at preſent, and will probably ſoon fall into the hands of the Turk, or Muſcovite, if they be not poſſeſſed of it already. It is a Biſhop's ſee, and has a handſome cathedral, built in form of a croſs. The other churches belong partly to the Georgians, and partly to the Armenians. Theſe as well as the other publick buildings are built of ſtone, as their bazars, caravanſera's, bagnio's, &c. which are after the ſame model with thoſe in other towns of Perſia.

CHAP. III.

Treats of the genius and temper, the ſtature, complexion, ſhape and habits of the Perſians; with their food, liquors, entertainments, diverſions and ceremonies; and of their roads, travelling and carriages.

Genius and temper.

THE Perſians are generally acknowledged to be men of bright parts, and abundance of vivacity, fond of glory, and to excel their neighbours of India in point of courage, inſomuch that the Mogul prefers them to the greateſt poſts, both in his court and army, as has been ſhewn already in treating of that country; and as they were obſerved antiently to be of all men the moſt civil and obliging, they retain the ſame diſpoſition to this day; eſpecially towards foreigners, who muſt admire their hoſpitality and benevolence: they are far from being guilty of that brutiſh behaviour towards Chriſtians, as the Turks are: what they ſeem to be moſt juſtly and univerſally charged with, is their vanity and profuſeneſs in their clothes, their equipages, and number of ſervants. As to voluptuouſneſs in eating and drinking, this does not appear to me to be their vice, at leaſt we are much more guilty of it in Europe; for the greateſt part of their food is rice, and fruits, and garden ſtuff: they have not any great variety of fleſh, neither have they many ways of dreſſing it: pilo ſeems to be the ſtanding diſh, even among thoſe of the beſt quality. And as for ſtrong liquors, though they drink them now and then by ſtealth, drunkeneſs is very far from being common here; liquor is never forced, and every man may retire from an entertainment without ceremony, when he ſees fit, without a breach of good manners.

CHAP III.

Another charge againſt the Perſians is, that they are much addicted to women; and the proof which is brought for it is, that they have ſeveral wives and concubines; but whether any other people would not have as many, if their laws permitted them, is a queſtion, eſpecially if they were taught as the Mahometans are, that the enjoyment of women will conſtitute a great part of their happineſs in the next world, as well as this. Surely thoſe nations may with more reaſon be charged with laſciviouſneſs, who break through all reſtraints, civil and religious, and fly at the whole ſex, even the wives and daughters of their moſt intimate friends and acquaintance. But if it be true, that the Perſians admire boys, and that every great man has his ganymede, this indeed they are juſtly to be deteſted for; however this ſeems to intimate that they have leſs reſpect for the fair ſex than they ought, and contradicts the former charge. But to proceed, no people, it is ſaid, have a greater genius for poetry, inſomuch that there is not a feſtival or entertainment made, but a poet is introduced, and deſired to oblige the company with his compoſitions; and theſe gentlemen are often found with a crowd about them in coffee-houſes, and other publick places of reſort.

The Perſians are by ſome people looked upon to be very covetous; but by this they muſt mean covetous in getting; for as to keeping and hoarding up money, they are generally abſolved from it. They only get that they may ſpend, and when they have furniſhed themſelves with an equipage, houſe and gardens, ſuitable to their mind; they rather lay out their money in building caravanſera's, moſques, and on other publick occaſions, than let their money lye by them; inſomuch that ſome travellers obſerve, that there are no people in the world that take leſs thought for to morrow. A man who happens to have eight or ten thouſand pounds befall him, ſhall in a few weeks lay it out in purchaſing wives and ſlaves, clothing and furniture, without conſidering where he ſhall meet with a ſupply, and in two or three months after you will ſee him diſpoſing of them again for ſubſiſtence. This Mr. CHARDIN aſſures us he has ſeen a thouſand inſtances of.

Theſe



The Habit of a Persian Man *The Habit of a Banian of India* *The Habit of a Persian Woman*

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A Persian of Quality Mounted — from an Original — Vol I. Page 377.

These people, it is obſerved, have a great command of their paſſions: they are not eaſily moved, and when they are, it never proceeds to a duel, and very ſeldom to blows. The quarrel generally ends in ill language, and perhaps ſome hearty curſes; and to ſum up all, they call one another Jews or Chriſtians.

They are of a very inſinuating addreſs, and a moſt obliging behaviour; few European nations are more polite. And notwithſtanding Mr. CHARDIN has branded them with inſincerity and hypocriſy, I find gentlemen of very good credit, who have lately been in the country, aſſuring us, that they are fair and punctual in their bargains, and treat foreigners with much humanity. That they are meek, peaceable, modeſt, grateful, generous, enemies to fraud, and courteous and affable to Chriſtians as well as others.

Stature, &c. of the Perſians.

The Perſians are perſonable men, of a good ſtature, well ſhaped, clean limbed, and of agreeable features; and in Georgia, and the northern provinces, of an admirable complexion: towards the ſouth they are a little upon the olive. However, the great men having had their wives and concubines chiefly from Georgia and Circaſſia for a hundred years paſt, the breed is very much mended in the ſouthern provinces. Their eyes and their hair are generally black, and they wear only one lock on the crown of their heads, like other Mahometans, by which they expect MAHOMET will lift them up to paradiſe. As to their beards, the King, and the great officers of ſtate, and ſoldiery, wear only long whiskers on the upper lip, which, joined to a tuft of hair on the upper part of their cheeks, grow to a very enormous ſize, inſomuch that ſome of them, it is ſaid, are near half a foot long. Their mollah's, and religious people wear their beards long, only clipping them into form, and the common people clip their beards pretty ſhort; but none of the Perſians ſuffer any hair to grow upon their bodies.

Turbants.

They wear large turbants on their heads, ſome white, and others ſtriped with red, or other colours, and the great men have flowers of gold and ſilver woven or worked in the cloth. They have alſo a ſcull-cap under their turbant, and all together does not weigh leſs than ſeven or eight pounds, ſometimes a great deal more. Next to their skins they wear a ſhirt (if it may be ſo called) of coloured ſilk or callico, generally blue, which they ſeldom or never waſh till 'tis worn out: this ſhirt has an open boſom, but neither neck nor wriſtbands, and is made cloſe to the arm: they have alſo a pair of breeches, or rather drawers, cloſe before, they reach half down their legs: their ſtockings are made of woollen cloth, but not at all ſhaped to the leg: over the ſhirt they wear a waiſtcoat, and upon theſe a coat, with cloſe ſleeves, and buttons and loops before, tied with a ſaſh, this is wide at bottom, and hangs like a bell a little below their knees; beſides this they put on another coat frequently without ſleeves, the uppermoſt coat being ſhorteſt; and in the winter time over all they have another looſe coat, lined with furs: inſtead of ſhoes they have piqued ſlippers turned up at the toes, and made of Turkey leather, which are neither tied nor buckled; and when they ride, they have boots of yellow leather; their bridles, ſaddles, and houſen are immoderately fine, being almoſt covered with gold; the houſen is ſo large that it almoſt hides the hinder part of the horſe, and whether on foot, or on horſe-back, they wear a broad ſword and crice or poniard. Their Ladies have alſo, 'tis ſaid, a poniard.

The garb of the women is not very different from that of the men's, except it be that the women neither wear turbants on their heads, nor ſaſhes about their waiſts, and their coats, or veſts, reach almoſt down to their heels. If ever they go into the ſtreets, which women of quality ſcarce ever do, they have a white vail, which covers them from head to foot. The girls wear a ſtiffened cap upon their heads, turned up like a hunting cap, with a heron's feather in it, their hair being made up in treſſes, and falling down their backs to a very great length; and the quality have pearls and jewels interwoven and mixed with their hair. The married women comb their hair back, and having bound it about with a broad ribbon, or rich tiara ſet with jewels, which looks like a coronet, let the reſt of their hair fall gracefully down their ſhoulders, than which there cannot be a more becoming dreſs. As for gloves, neither men nor women ever wear them, but their arms and fingers are uſually full of rings and bracelets.

As black hair is the moſt common, ſo it is in moſt eſteem, and the thickeſt and broadeſt eye-brows are thought the fineſt; the women if their eye-brows be not black will colour them, and are pretty much given to paint their faces; they rub their hands and feet alſo with an orange coloured pomatum. Some will have feathers ſtand upright in their tiara, and others have a ſtring of pearls, or precious ſtones faſtened to it, which hangs down between their eye brows: they wear alſo jewels in their ears, and rows of pearls fall down their temples as low as the neck, and in ſome provinces, bordering on India, they have jewels in their noſtrils, which to the Europeans do not ſeem very becoming, for hanging down to the mouth it makes them look as if they had hair lips, but the Ladies of Iſpahan never wear theſe noſe jewels. Their necklaces are either gold or pearl: they fall upon the boſom, and there always hangs a little golden box to them, filled with moſt reviving perfumes.

CHAP. III.

As the clothes both of men and women are of the richeſt flowered and brocaded ſilks, it appears that dreſs is no inconſiderable article in Perſia, and here people of mean fortunes endeavour to vie with the quality, and will have fine clothes though they want food. An ordinary turbant, it is ſaid, cannot be purchaſed under ten pounds, and they frequently give twice as much, and they muſt have variety of them, leſt, as our women ſay, they ſhould be known by their clothes. Their ſaſhes alſo are brocaded, and coſt from twenty to a hundred crowns, and over this they have frequently another of camel's hair, of which the workmanſhip is ſo curious that it ſeldom coſts much leſs. Thoſe who wear ſables, which they will not be without if they can purchaſe them, ſeldom pay leſs than a hundred pounds for a cloſe bodied coat; all this, with the rich furniture and equipage they have when they ride out, (which they do almoſt every day, if they go but a ſtone's throw) muſt amount to a vaſt ſum, and this 'tis obſerved keeps them exceeding poor. However, as there are no where more handſome perſonable men, finer horſes, or richer equipages to be ſeen, the Perſians are allowed to make as ſplendid a figure as any people whatever: poverty may prey upon them at home, but they are loaded with gold and jewels when they come abroad; and as they have almoſt always a clear ſun-ſhine, and a bright heaven, theſe caſt a more than ordinary luſtre on their perſons, and their finery is ſet off with the greateſt advantage. Our European merchants find themſelves under a neceſſity of conforming to all theſe expenſive cuſtoms at Iſpahan, in order to preſerve their credit, and manage their affairs to advantage; and were it not that they uſually acquire fortunes to ſupport an equipage, the accuſtoming themſelves to ſuch a gallant appearance might be of ill conſequence to them when they return home.

Their food and liquors.

Early in the morning the Perſians uſually drink a diſh of coffee. About eleven they go to dinner, when they eat melons, fruit, ſweetmeats, cheeſe curds or milk, but their principal meal is in the evening, when you may depend on a diſh of pilo, which is boiled rice well buttered and ſeaſoned, with a fowl, a piece of mutton or kid ſerved up with it; they have an excellent way of boiling their rice all over the eaſt, the water is perfectly dried away by that time the rice is enough, after which they ſeaſon it with ſpices, and mix ſaffron or turmerick with it, giving it a yellow, or what other colour they think fit; but, as has been obſerved already, there is very little variety, either in their food, or way of dreſſing it: if they have a large joint it is baked inſtead of being roaſted; but their uſual way is to cut their fleſh into little ſlices, and ſpitting or ſcuring them together, roaſt them over a charcoal fire, and whether they boil or roaſt it is always done to rags, or it would be impoſſible to pull the meat to pieces with their hands, as they do without either knives or forks; pork is never eaten here any more than veal, nor do they eat hares or other animals prohibited to the Jews. Beef is eaten but ſeldom: they do not deal much in veniſon, fiſh or wild fowl: they dreſs only plain diſhes, being ſtrangers to haſhes, ragouts, and other compounds, and ſeldom have any other ſauce than a ſlice of lemon, or ſome pickles. Bread they have ſome baked in thin cakes the moment they uſe it, but eat much more rice. They uſe no beaten pepper, only whole, and not abundance of ſalt in their ſeaſoning, nor is there any brought to table: meat is never ſalted up before it is dreſſed, as with us. They uſually kill their meat and fowls the ſame day they uſe them, and ſet by nothing till the next to be eaten cold. They ſit down croſs legged at their meals, and a cloth is ſpread upon the carpet. Then ſome perſon, who has the proviſion before him, diſtributes rice and fleſh to the company. They uſe no ſpoons, except for ſoup and liquids, but take up their rice by handfuls, like the people of India. They ſeldom ſit above half an hour at table. They waſh both before and after their meals, making uſe of their handkerchiefs to wipe on inſtead of a towel. The common people of Iſpahan ſeldom dreſs their food at home, but when they have ſhut up their ſhops of an evening go away to the cooks, of which there are great numbers in that city, and buy pilo for their families. The cooks have kettles, or coppers fixed in brickwork in their ſhops, and ſtoves, over which they dreſs moſt of their meat, making ſcarce any uſe of chimneys. It is remarkable of the Perſians, that they are ſo far from ſhutting their doors at their meals, that they invite every one to eat with them who happens to come to their houſes then: they to this day remember the hoſpitality of ABRAHAM, and obſerve that if he had not been of that hoſpitable temper, he probably had miſſed of the honour of entertaining three angels: and as has been obſerved, they ſet by nothing, but if any meat is left they give it to the poor.

When a perſon makes an entertainment, it is uſually a ſupper, notwithſtanding which the gueſts generally come at nine or ten in the morning, and ſpend the whole day at the place they are invited to. They diſcourſe, they ſmoke, eat ſweetmeats, and paſs away the time with a thouſand amuſements; ſometimes they hear heroick poems repeated in honour of their Prince; ſometimes the ſinging women are introduced, who ſing, and dance, and play, and ſhow a thouſand antick tricks to divert the company; and if any of the gueſts are diſpoſed to withdraw with any of thoſe

dancing

dancing girls, they are ſhewn into a private room, and when they return no body takes any notice of it. When ſupper is ſerved up, the ſon, or ſome relation of the maſter of the houſe takes the management of the feaſt upon him, and helps the gueſts to their meat: they generally provide a variety of ſherbet on theſe occaſions, their uſual drink being nothing but fair water, and even this it ſeems they drink with ice; it is the employment therefore of abundance of people about Iſpahan in the winter ſeaſon to heap vaſt quantities of ice together, and keep it in repoſitories under ground all the ſummer, when they ſell it to great advantage.

Wine, as has been intimated already, is made in ſeveral provinces of Perſia, but the Armenians, and other Chriſtians drink the greateſt ſhare of it. The officers of the ſoldiery will indeed ſometimes indulge in this liquor, and other people drink it as they pretend for their health, but that is not common; much the greateſt part of it is tranſported to the neighbouring countries, or drank by the Chriſtians, who are diſperſed through the Perſian dominions. But thoſe who abſtain from wine out of conſcience, becauſe it is prohibited by law, raiſe their ſpirits, however, with opium, bang, poppy-ſeed, and other intoxicating ingredients: mankind ſeem generally to confeſs that they cannot ſuſtain the cares and inquietudes of life, without ſome ſuch expedient: what is tobacco, ſo univerſally taken, but an opiate which lulls men into a pleaſing dream? It is not the ſmell or taſte ſure that we are enamoured with. To proceed, the Perſians, like other eaſtern nations, take pills of opium, which ſome of them gradually increaſe to ſuch a doſe as would deſtroy half a dozen Europeans. Within an hour after they have taken the pill it begins to operate, and a thouſand pleaſant ſcenes preſent themſelves to their imagination; they laugh, and ſing, and ſay abundance of humorous things, like men intoxicated with wine; but after the effect of it is gone off, they find their ſpirits exhauſted, and grow penſive and melancholy till they repeat the doſe again; and ſome, we are told, have made it ſo neceſſary to them, that they cannot live without it. There is alſo a decoction of the ſeed of poppies ſold in moſt cities of Perſia; and in theſe houſes you will ſee people eating and talking as ridiculouſly as men uſually do when they are drunk: as long as they keep to the letter of the law, and abſtain from wine, it is no matter how much they diſorder themſelves, they think they ſhall never be accountable for that; when, if there was any reaſon in prohibiting the uſe of wine, it muſt be to prevent people's playing the fool, and deſtroying their healths, which we ſee done as effectually by an opiate.

As the Parthians have for many ages been famous for the uſe of the bow and their horſemanſhip, ſo there are no exerciſes at this day, which the young gentlemen of that province, and indeed of Perſia in general, endeavour more diligently to accompliſh themſelves in. Their greateſt Kings have thought fit to come into the meydan, before the palace, at certain times every week, to be witneſſes of the addreſs and activity of their ſubjects, and frequently themſelves contended for the prize.

They begin with teaching the young pupil to bend the bow, firſt a weaker, and then a ſtronger; afterwards he is taught to ſhoot forwards, backwards, ſideways, and almoſt in every poſture: they are exerciſed for ſome time in ſhooting upwards into the air, to ſee which of them can ſhoot higheſt, after this they bring them to ſhoot at a mark, and to deliver their arrows ſteadily without ſhaking. The arrows for theſe exerciſes have blunt iron heads, but thoſe for ſervice are ſhaped like the point of a ſpear.

The next thing they teach their pupil is to mount a horſe cleverly, to have a good ſeat, to gallop with a looſe rein, to ſtop ſhort, and turn ſwiftly to the right or left, upon the leaſt ſignal, without being diſordered in their ſaddle. They teach them alſo to play at a game almoſt like bandy on horſeback; every gentleman has a ſhort bat in his hand, and a ball being thrown amongſt them they ride after it, and ſtooping almoſt to the ground ſtrike it in a full career, and he, who ſtrikes it oftener before it comes to the end of the mall, wins the prize. They are taught alſo to manage the ſabre, or back ſword, and to throw the lance: the ſtaff they throw by way of exerciſe is without iron, and about five foot long, and with theſe they engage on horſeback, and though there be no ſpear at the end, frequently give one another very dangerous wounds. When they have gone through their exerciſes, they are permitted to ſhoot for the prize in the royal meydan before the King and court. In this ſquare is erected a high pole, like the maſt of a ſhip, and upon it is ſet a cup, ſometimes of maſſy gold, eſpecially if the King, and great officers deſign to ſhoot at it, as they frequently did, till the laſt unactive reign. Thoſe, who contend for the prize, ride full gallop with their bows and arrows in their hands, and when they are got a little beyond the pole, without ſtopping or turning their horſes, they bend themſelves backward either to the right or left, and let fly their arrows at the cup, and he who brings it down gains abundance of honour. No wonder therefore the Perſian troops have been as much dreaded when they retreat as when they charge; poſſibly as they are thus conſtantly practiſed in ſhooting backwards, they may take their aim better this way than any other.

Rural ſports.

Thus much for their martial exerciſes; as to rural ſports, their manner of hunting, or rather courſing, ſeems as particular as the other. They have grey-hounds it ſeems much like our Iriſh grey-hounds, but the ſtags and antelopes they courſe are ſo very fleet, that the dogs cannot come up with them without the aſſiſtance of their hawks: of theſe they have various kinds brought from Circaſſia, Muſcovy, and the northern part of the empire: theſe hawks are taught not only to fly at partridges, quails, rabbits, hares, &c. but even at deer and wild beaſts; and to bring them up to it, they take the skin of one of theſe beaſts, and having ſtuffed it out, faſten a piece of fleſh on the head of it, with which they feed the hawk, drawing the ſtuffed skin along upon wheels at the ſame time to uſe them to fix themſelves on the head while it moves. When they have uſed the young hawk to this for ſome time, they carry him to the ſport with an old ſtanch hawk that is uſed to the game: the dogs being let go, the hawks are ſoon after thrown off, who faſten upon the noſe of the deer, and ſtriking their talons into his fleſh, keep beating their wings about his head, that he cannot ſee his way, and gives opportunity to the dogs to come up and ſeize him: the gentlemen uſually carry a little kettle drum at their ſaddle-bow to call off their hawks; ſome of them it is ſaid have formerly been taught to fly at men. Mr. CHARDIN tells us, that the Governor of Tauris, whom he was particularly acquainted with, uſed to divert himſelf with this ſport, not ſparing his friends ſometimes; that one day he let his hawks fly at a gentleman, and they tore his face and eyes in that manner that he died of it, which the King being acquainted with, reſented it ſo far that he turned out the Governor.

When the King, or the great Omrahs go a hunting, the country people for ten or fifteen leagues round are ordered to drive all the wild beaſts, and game, into a certain place, which is ſurrounded with ſtrong nets and fences, and when they have thus encloſed them, every one of the company ſhoots at which he pleaſes, and they make a terrible ſlaughter of them; there are often ſeveral hundred killed at one of theſe hunting matches, but they uſually ſtay till the man of the beſt quality in the field comes up and diſcharges an arrow, after which every one diſcharges as faſt as he can, there being generally a ſtrange medley of deer, antelopes, wild hogs, wolves, foxes, hares, &c. all drove in a crowd together. As for hounds, and hunting by the ſcent, they know nothing of it, and indeed their country ſeems to be too dry for this kind of ſport, if they had dogs which were fit for it: but they frequently bring up the leopards and panthers to hunt the game, or rather ſurprize it; for they creep from one cover to another, till they can jump upon their prey, as a cat does upon a mouſe, but never run after it in a continued courſe.

Gaming.

As to gaming, the Perſians are not much addicted to it, and ſome of the moſt ſcrupulous look upon the games of chance to be unlawful: however, there are thoſe who play at cards, dice, tables, cheſs, and other games not in uſe amongſt us. The King, and people of quality alſo divert themſelves with the fights of wild beaſts ſometimes, as is practiſed in India. As to their jugglers, tumblers, and rope-dancers, with whom the common people amuſe themſelves in Perſia, it is not worth taking up our readers time with the rehearſal of their tricks, eſpecially ſince ours in Europe do not ſeem to fall any thing ſhort of them at preſent.

Saluta. n.

The uſual ſalute in this country is by bowing the body a little, and clapping the right hand to their breaſt, but they never ſtir their cap or turbant: before the King, the Viceroys of provinces, and other great men, they bow their faces three times to the ground when they approach them. As to Europeans, if they are not clothed in the Perſian dreſs, they expect their hats, and the ſame reverence they ſhew to men of quality in their own country.

Upon any occaſion of mourning, or rejoicing, the Perſians do not fail to viſit one another, and people of condition always expect the compliments of their dependents on ſuch occaſions. They are introduced into a large hall, where coffee, and tobacco is ſet before them, with which they amuſe themſelves till the great man appears; as ſoon as they ſee him every man riſes up and ſtands in his place; having bowed to them, as he paſſes by every one bows much lower to him again; and after he has taken his ſeat, he makes a ſign to the company to ſit. If the maſter of the houſe be already in his hall, the viſiter comes in ſoftly, and ſtepping to the next vacant place, ſtands gravely with his feet cloſe together, and his hands acroſs, till the maſter of the houſe beckons to him to ſit down: but if a perſon receives a viſit from his ſuperior, he riſes as ſoon as he ſees him, and meets him half way, and ſometimes receives him at the gate, if he has notice of his coming; and in ſhort, the reſpect ſhewn is generally proportionable to the quality of the perſon, as it is with us; but they differ from us in this, that they place thoſe on the left hand for whom they have the greateſt reſpect. They ſit croſs legged themſelves, yet they have frequently ſtools brought for Europeans of quality who viſit them.

Travelling and carriages.

There are no wheel carriages in this country, but all people travel upon camels, horſes, mules, or aſſes. The women, who are to be concealed as much as poſſible, are put into a ſquare wooden machine,



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machine, of which they hang one on each ſide of a camel; they are about three foot deep, and juſt large enough for one to ſit down in, and over head are three or four hoops, like thoſe which ſupport the tilt of a waggon, with a cloth thrown over them. Their aſſes it ſeems are much larger, and nimbler than ours, and will trot ten miles at a pretty good rate; but they are very obſtinate, and unlucky, and frequently throw their riders. People uſually travel in this country with the caravan, conſiſting of four or five hundred camels, beſides other beaſts, and there is no place where they travel with greater ſecurity, and leſs expence, there being caravanſera's at proper diſtances, where they have their lodging gratis, and purchaſe proviſion at the beſt hand; and though the roads are frequently ſteep and mountainous, yet ſuch care is taken in laying bridges, and cauſways, and to level and enlarge the ways, that a traveller ſeldom meets with any difficulties but what are eaſily ſurmounted. Here are no general poſts, but if any perſon has letters to ſend, he diſpatches a ſhatir, or footman with them on purpoſe, who will travel a thouſand miles in eighteen or twenty days, and not ask more than twenty pence, or two ſhillings a day for his trouble: they carry with them a bottle of water, and a little bag of proviſion, which ſerves them thirty or forty hours: they generally leave the high road, and croſs over the country the neareſt way. There are families which make this their only employment, and breed their children up to it, practiſing them to run from their infancy.

The King and all the great men have ſeveral of theſe ſhatirs or footmen in their retinue; but before a man can be admitted one of the King's footmen he muſt give a very extraordinary proof that he does not want heels or breath; for he muſt run from the great gate of the palace, called Aly Capi, to a place a league and half from the city, twelve times in one day, and every time bring an arrow along with him, which is delivered him by thoſe who ſtand at the end of the race, to ſhew he has run the whole courſe; and this he performs between ſun riſe and ſun ſet, in thirteen or fourteen hours at moſt, being no leſs than a hundred and eight miles. It is always ſome favourite ſervant of the King's who is admitted to this honour. On the day of trial the elephants and horſemen are drawn up in the royal ſquare, with the muſick, drums, and trumpets ſounding, as if it was ſome feſtival; all the great men make preſents to the ſhatir, and ſeveral of them ride the courſe with him, to ingratiate themſelves with the Prince, and the mob attend him, every time he returns, with their ſhouts and acclamations. The Chams, and Viceroys, who admit of a ſhatir into their ſervice, make him run the ſame number of miles, and they are careſſed, and preſented by all their dependents in the ſame manner the King's ſhatirs are, though not ſo largely, it muſt be preſumed; for it is an ordinary thing to ſee the King's ſhatir preſented with above a thouſand pounds on ſuch an occaſion.

CHAP. IV.

Gives an account of the preſent civil war in Perſia, and depoſing the late King Shaw Sultan HOSSEIN.

Civil war in Perſia.

AS we ſeem to have been in nothing more in the dark, than as to the preſent ſtate of affairs in Perſia, I have made it my buſineſs to wait on ſome gentlemen lately come from Iſpahan, to inform myſelf concerning the riſe and progreſs of the rebellion there; and I was really ſurprized, as I believe every one who reads this relation will be, to find how much we have been impoſed upon for ſome years paſt.

The late Sophi, Shaw Sultan HOSSEIN, ſucceeded his Father Sultan SOLYMAN, anno 1694. This Prince choſe to live an indolent unactive life among his women in the haram, leaving the adminiſtration of the government entirely to his miniſters, who placed and diſplaced whom they ſaw fit, oppreſſed the ſubjects with taxes and impoſitions, though in a time of a profound peace, and ſetting every thing to ſale, a general corruption ſpread itſelf through the whole magiſtracy, and juſtice was as often bought and ſold as any other commodity; the publick buildings were neglected, and even the ordinary exerciſes of the young nobility and gentry, which uſed to be performed in the royal preſence, were diſuſed; hunting and all rural ſports were laid aſide, while one part of the people were employed in devouring and preying upon their fellow ſubjects; and others, following the example their Prince had ſet them, ſpent their whole time in the harams with their women.

Among others who were diſplaced for want of a bribe, or preſent, as it is called in Perſia, ſuitable to the expectation of the miniſtry, the famous MEREWEYS was one. This gentleman was originally a Tartar, at leaſt he commanded four or five hundred tents on the utmoſt bounds of the Perſian empire towards Usbeck Tartary, where the Perſians live in hords as the Tartars do on the other ſide of the river Oxus, moving from place to place with their tents as they can find proviſion for their cattle. MEREWEYS underſtanding that he was removed only to make way for another who had outdone him in preſents, made uſe of all his friends, and raiſed ſuch a ſum as in a ſhort time procured him to be reinſtated in

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his command. However, he was ſo impoveriſhed by this laſt preſent, that he found himſelf in very uneaſy circumſtances; and taking advantage of the weakneſs of the government, and his diſtance from court, he determined to ſeize on the neighbouring province of Candahor and ſet up for himſelf; accordingly he communicated his deſign to his friends the Tartars, who promiſed to aſſemble their troops, and aſſiſt in the enterprize; but the city of Candahor being a frontier towards India, and a pretty good body of troops uſually quartered thereabouts, he was in doubt whether he ſhould be able to carry the place by force, whereupon he had recourſe to this ſtratagem. When he received his firman or commiſſion to reinſtate him in his command, he pretended alſo that he had received a commiſſion to ſucceed the Governor of Candahor in that province, and accordingly marched that way with his troops; when he came within a mile or two of the town, he ſent to the Governor to acquaint him with his pretended commiſſion: whereupon he knew that the Governor, as is uſual in thoſe caſes, would come out to meet him, as he accordingly did; but after ſome compliments paſſed, MEREWEYS, who had poſted his men ſo as to prevent the Governor's retiring into the town, fell upon his guards and cut them to pieces, and marching forward to Candahor, had the gates opened to him before the city was apprized of what had happened.

The province of Candahor, formerly belonging to India, MEREWEYS had no farther views at this time, than the erecting it into an independent ſtate; but this he could not expect to accompliſh, without forming ſome powerful alliances: in order therefore to protect himſelf againſt the forces of the Perſian empire, which he had reaſon to expect would be ſuddenly brought down againſt him, he diſpatched an Omrah to the Mogul's court, to give advice of his ſucceſs, and to propoſe an alliance againſt Perſia, the antient enemy of India. This was joyfully received by the Mogul, who began now to entertain hopes of recovering the province of Candahor, and reſtoring it to his dominions again, which would be no hard matter to effect, if he could make MEREWEYS dependent on him. He ſent him therefore all imaginable aſſurances of his affection; offering him what number of troops he thought fit to ſupport him, giving him at the ſame time the title he then aſpired to, namely, that of Prince of Candahor.

The Perſian miniſtry, receiving advice of the ſurprize of Candahor by MEREWEYS, detached a body of four or five thouſand horſe to endeavour to reduce him; but MEREWEYS having been joined by the Usbeck Tartars, and ſome others, who in hopes of meeting with glorious plunder in Perſia, every day came into him, did not ſhut himſelf up in Candahor, but attacked the Perſians in their march, and defeated them. This ſucceſs made him begin to extend his views, and he ſeemed now to aim at a revolution: he diſpatched therefore his emiſſaries into all the provinces, and even to Iſpahan itſelf, who complained loudly of male-adminiſtration, the oppreſſions, and perſonal vices of the Sophi, whom he inſinuated was unworthy to command the true believers.

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The miniſtry were now ſufficiently alarmed, but they had diſobliged ſo many of the great Chams and Omrahs, that they knew not whom to truſt; ſhould they aſſemble them with their troops to make head againſt this formidable rebel, they were under apprehenſions they would join with him, at leaſt in expoſing their adminiſtration, and perhaps demand their heads as an atonement for their crimes. On the other hand, if they ſuffered him to march forwards without oppoſition, they knew the conſequence would be no leſs fatal. They diſpatched another General therefore, whoſe ſkill and fidelity in military affairs they had a great opinion of, to attend the motions of MEREWEYS, and awe the country at leaſt, that they ſhould not go over to him, or ſupply him with proviſions: but this detachment had no better ſucceſs than the former, being ſurprized by MEREWEYS, and moſt of them cut to pieces. And in theſe two engagements he furniſhed his followers with arms and accoutrements, who were at firſt little better than a naked rabble: and he began now to talk of advancing to the capital city of Iſpahan; but as there was a vaſt extent of country between Candahor and Iſpahan, and his troops did not yet amount to more than eight or ten thouſand horſe, he thought proper to ſtrengthen himſelf by an alliance with the Grand Seignior firſt, and to put the city of Candahor into a condition to reſiſt any attempt that might be made upon it in his abſence. His negotiations at the Port ſucceeded to his heart's deſire, and the Baſſa of Bagdat was immediately ordered to aſſemble an army, and march to the frontiers of Perſia. And now MEREWEYS began to throw off all diſguiſes, and ſtyle himſelf Protector of the kingdom of Perſia, and to prepare for his march to Iſpahan; but in the midſt of all his projects, when he had ſwallowed the whole world in his imagination, death put a period to his views.

This had probably diſcouraged his adherents, and been fatal to the cauſe, if he had not left a ſon behind him equal, if not ſuperior to him in every reſpect: his name is MAHAMOOD. This gentleman, being conſcious of the great reputation his father had gained by the ſurprize of Candahor, and the victories he had obtained, thought fit to conceal his death, and to tranſact all affairs in his father's name, till his own reputation ſhould be eſtabliſhed. Accordingly all things went on

on as if MEREWEYS was alive: the preparations for marching to Iſpahan were continued, new forces were raiſed, and alliances cultivated, as if no ſuch accident had happened.

The Turk, and the Muſcovite, did not fail to make their advantages of theſe diſtractions in Perſia. The Muſcovites ſurprized Derbent, and Tarki, which lay next them on the weſt ſide of the Caſpian ſea; and afterwards extended their arms into Gylan, or the antient Hyrcania, all along the ſouth coaſt of the ſame ſea. The Turk on the other hand took poſſeſſion of Hamadan, and ſeveral other frontier places, finding little or no oppoſition. The Perſian miniſtry were now in the utmoſt conſternation, not knowing which way to turn themſelves, and what added to their misfortune was, that the treaſury was entirely exhauſted.

They came however to this reſolution at length, to let the frontiers ſhift for themſelves, and to aſſemble an army of eight or ten thouſand horſe about Iſpahan, to oppoſe the Uſurper, of whom they received repeated advices, that he was in full march for that capital. MEREWEYS died at Candahor, as has been ſaid already: his ſon MAHAMOOD had the command of the army when it marched to Iſpahan. The King, when he underſtood the Uſurper's army was in the neighbourhood of his capital city, and that the people were in general diſcontented with the adminiſtration, propoſed to his Omrah's to reſign his crown, and ſet his eldeſt ſon upon the throne; which was generally approved: but the poor young gentleman, who had never been out of the ſeraglio, and was ſufficiently frighted with the repreſentation the eunuchs made of the ſtrength and power of the Uſurper, declined the offer, looking upon it that he was only ſet up to be made a ſacrifice. The ſecond ſon, Sultan THAMAS or THOMAS, was not altogether of ſo puſillanimous a ſpirit; but was contented to ſucceed his father on the throne, and put himſelf at the head of the army, which encamped in that fine walk called the Char Bag, between Iſpahan and Zulpha: Here the army lay ſome time, and an engagement between the Royal troops, and the Uſurper was daily expected: Shaw THOMAS in the mean time endeavoured to diſcover how the great men and officers ſtood affected to his cauſe, and among others he ſent to the Engliſh factory, reminding them of the privileges they had enjoyed in Perſia under his anceſtors; and let them know that he expected all the aſſiſtance they could give; and in ſhort, things had ſo good a countenance, that it was expected he would have driven the Uſurper from the neighbourhood of Iſpahan: when news was brought one morning that Shaw THOMAS with ſome few of his friends had left the army the night before, and was fled no body knew whither. Whereupon the officers of the Royal army, as well as the citizens, thought of nothing elſe but making their peace with the Uſurper, and inviting him into the town, which he ſoon after took poſſeſſion of, making the old King, and the whole court his priſoners. And this MAHAMOOD effected with ſo ſmall a force as ſix or ſeven thouſand horſe in the month of February 172⅞. His father MEREWEYS, of whom we have heard ſo much of late, being dead ſome time before. But to proceed, MAHAMOOD finding an empty treaſury, and being under a neceſſity of raiſing more forces for the ſupport of his uſurpation, confiſcated the goods of all thoſe who were not in his intereſt; he alſo cut off the heads of the prime miniſter, and ſome others, who for ſeveral years had been fleecing the people, whereby he repleniſhed his coffers, and at the ſame time gained a general applauſe: men ſeldom conſider the juſtice of the cauſe in theſe caſes, but never fail to rejoice when they ſee their oppreſſors puniſhed.

The old King was ſoon after ſent under a guard to Candahor, and the Uſurper took poſſeſſion of the Royal palace: money was extorted from the foreign merchants, eſpecially the Engliſh, inſomuch that the factory is in a manner ruined, and I am credibly informed that the Eaſt-India company have ſent to their factors to get away as well as they can.

Sultan THOMAS, who took the road of Tauris when he left Iſpahan, aſſembled a body of horſe, and made a ſhew of oppoſing the Turk which drew many of the Perſians over to his party; but the Turks were ſo much ſuperior to him that he could do little towards ſtopping the progreſs of their arms, and the towns, being for the moſt part without walls or garriſons, became an eaſy conqueſt to the Grand Seignior's forces: if they met with that oppoſition at Tauris, as is pretended, it muſt be from a raw undiſciplined mob, there could not be any conſiderable body of regular troops in the action; for I am credibly informed there has not been an army of ten thouſand men aſſembled together by the Perſians ſince the beginning of the war; and if the Turks have murdered the inhabitants of Tauris after their uſual manner, it is poſſible they would juſtify themſelves in it from the pretended reſiſtance they met with. But by the way I muſt obſerve, that the numbers of the ſlain muſt have been very much magnified, there not being a hundred thouſand ſouls in Tauris, including men, women and children. As to the Uſurper's being defeated by Shaw THOMAS, that cannot be true, if he was in the action at Tauris, as the accounts from Turkey relate; and beſides, the laſt letters from Perſia tell us, that MAHAMOOD has tranſplanted ſeveral thouſand families from the province of

Candahor to Iſpahan. and ſo eſtabliſhed his affairs as it will not be an eaſy matter to remove him.

CHAP. V.

Treats of their home trade, manufactures and mechanick arts; and of their foreign trade, navigation, weights, coins, port-duties and price of goods at Gombron.

Tradeſmen. EVERY trade has a head or warden appointed by the government, who ſees the rules and orders relating to the profeſſion duly obſerved. Whoever intends to ſet up a trade goes to the warden and regiſters his name and place of abode; and no enquiry is made who was his maſter, or whether he underſtands the buſineſs or not; nor is there any reſtraint laid upon them that they ſhall not encroach upon any other profeſſion; for inſtance, the braziers are at liberty to make ſilver veſſels, as they frequently do, without being in danger of a proſecution from the ſilverſmiths. Neither do they take apprentices for a number of years, but hire their ſervants and allow them wages from the firſt day they entertain them. Every trade almoſt is bound to work for the King whenever he requires it; and thoſe who are not, pay an annual tax to the government for an exemption.

Mechanick arts. The carpenters, it is obſerved, are but very indifferent artiſts, and the reaſon thereof may be, that they have but little timber in Perſia, and uſe but very little in their buildings. Their joiners and turners are ſomething more expert in their profeſſions, and they lay on their lacker and varniſh very nicely. The braziers and tin-men work well with their hammers, files, and turning inſtrumens. Moſt of the veſſels and implements uſed in their kitchens are made of copper tinned. They have neither iron, braſs, nor pewter in their kitchen furniture.

Their armourers make very good broadſword blades, and damask them as well as any European. The barrels of their fire-arms are not amiſs, they make them very ſtrong, and as thick at the muzzle as the breech. Their ſtocks are but ill contrived, being thin and light at the butt end, and not fit to clap to a man's ſhoulder; and for locks to their guns, or any other locks that have ſprings, they do not pretend to make them, any more than they do watches or clocks, which they either purchaſe abroad, or employ European workmen to make for them. Knives, razors, ſciſſars, and ſome other cutlary ware, they make very well; and little ſteel mirrors, which they uſe inſtead of looking-glaſſes; they are almoſt all convex, and the air is ſo perfectly dry that they ſeldom ruſt or grow dull. The art of making looking-glaſſes they do not underſtand, but have them from Europe. However they have a manufacture of glaſs which ſerves for windows and bottles; the glaſs of Sheraz is the beſt in the country. As the uſe of the bow is what the Perſians value themſelves much upon, there are no where better bows made; the chief materials are wood and horn, with ſinews bound about them; they are painted and varniſhed, and made as fine as poſſible. The bow-ſtring is of twiſted ſilk, of the bigneſs of a gooſe quill, their quivers of leather embroidered or worked with ſilk.

Embroidery they are as well verſed in as any thing, eſpecially the gold and ſilver embroidery, either on cloth, ſilk, or leather: they cover their ſaddles and houſens almoſt with embroidery, and their ſtitching of the leather is much beyond any thing we do. Their ſaddles are made after the Morocco model, and the ſtirrups mighty ſhort; they have a kind of breaſt-plate to them, and where we uſe braſſes about our furniture, their men of quality have gold.

The leather which we call Turkey leather, from its coming to us through that country, is uſually made in Perſia. The ſhagreen alſo comes from thence, which is made of the skin of an aſs's rump, according to Mr. CHARDIN. The tanners dreſs their coarſe skins with lime, and uſe no bark, but ſalt and galls inſtead of it.

The making earthen ware is another manufacture the Perſians excel in; it is much beyond any thing the Dutch do of this kind; and ſome ſay almoſt equal to China ware. The places where it is chiefly made are Sheraz, Metzed, Yeſd, and Kirman; and mending of glaſs and earthen ware is a particular trade in Perſia: they will drill holes through them, and faſten the pieces together ſo, that a broken bowl or plate will hold liquids as well as it did at firſt.

Their gold wire drawers and thread twiſters are artiſts alſo in their way: Mr. CHARDIN aſſures us they will draw a piece, weighing a drachm, to the length of three hundred Perſian ells, (five and thirty inches making an ell). Their lapidaries, the ſame author tells us, (who was himſelf a jeweller) underſtand the grinding of ſoft ſtones and cutting them pretty well. Their dying is preferred to any thing of that kind in Europe, which is not aſcribed ſo much to the artiſt as to the air, which being dry and clear, gives a livelineſs to the colours, and fixes them.

The Perſian taylors work very neatly; and as the men's clothes are made of the richeſt flowered and brocaded ſilks, they are fitted exactly to their bodies without the leaſt wrinkle; and their ſewing is incomparably beyond that of our workmen, as the fine materials they work on require it ſhould. They work flowers alſo upon their carpets, cuſhions, and window curtains, ſo very nicely

ly that they look as if they were painted. With the taylors we muſt not forget to mention their barbers, who are no leſs excellent in their way; for they will ſhave the head almoſt at half a dozen ſtrokes, and have ſo light a hand that you can ſcarce feel them; they uſe only cold water, and hold no baſon under your chin, as with us; but have their water in a cup about the bigneſs of a little china diſh: after they have ſhaved a man, they cut the nails of his feet and hands with a little iron inſtrument, like a bodkin, ſharp at the end; then they ſtretch his arms and rub and chafe his fleſh, which is an amuſement that the Europeans, as well as the natives, are pleaſed with in theſe hot countries.

The goldſmiths in Perſia are mere bunglers; what they do beſt is the filligreen-work; they alſo make ſtone rings, and engrave pretty well, but do not underſtand enamelling. As to watches and clock-work, or any thing which requires ſprings, I have already obſerved, they do not pretend to it.

Manufactures. Silks are the principal manufacture of the country, ſuch as taffaties, tabbies, ſattins and ſilk mixed with cotton, or camel and goats hair, brocades and gold tiſſue; of the ſingle brocade there are a hundred ſorts; the double are called duroy, or two faces; becauſe both ſides are equally good; they are the richeſt that are to be met with any where: and the gold velvet which is wrought in Perſia is admirable; all their rich ſtuffs have this good property, that they are very durable; the gold or ſilver does not wear off, or tarniſh, while the work laſts, but keeps its colour and brightneſs. The fineſt looms for theſe ſtuffs are at Iſpahan, Caſhan, and Yeſd. Thoſe for carpets are chiefly made in the province of Kirman; what are uſually called Turkey carpets are indeed Perſian; but obtained that name from being brought to us by way of Turkey. The camel hair ſtuffs are made in Carmania, it is mighty ſoft and ſmooth, and almoſt as fine as beaver-wooll: but the ſtuffs they make with it are not ſtrong. Camlets and ſilk and worſted druggets are made in the ſame province. Goats-hair ſtuffs are made in Hyrcania, and near the gulf of Boſſora. There is ſome callico cloth made in Perſia, and they know how to paint and ſtain it; but it is not comparable to the Indian callicoes.

Of merchants. A merchant is a very honourable profeſſion in Perſia, and the more ſo, becauſe there is no ſuch thing as hereditary nobility, which deſcends from father to ſon: as to thoſe in great poſts, their honours and their profits terminate with the office, and their lives and fortunes are both in perpetual hazard, eſpecially under a weak or cruel Prince. The trader ſeems more independent than any other ſubject, and notwithſtanding the government be deſpotick, they are uſually encouraged, becauſe they bring in a conſiderable revenue to the crown: and another thing is, the greateſt Miniſters do not think the buſineſs of a merchant beneath them, even the King himſelf, within theſe few years, has had his factors and agents in the neighbouring kingdoms, and exported ſilks, brocades, carpets, and other rich goods; and his agents at the Mogul's court, and elſewhere, have frequently had the character of Ambaſſadors conferred upon them, when indeed their buſineſs was chiefly traffick.

Trade is carried on in Perſia generally by brokers and ſtock-jobbers, who are a very cunning ſubtle generation; after they have agreed and talked over the matter at the ſeller's houſe, (for there is no exchange for the rendezvous of merchants) they agree about the price upon their fingers, putting their hands under a cloth; the fingers end, it ſeems, ſtands for one, the bent finger for five, and the ſtrait for ten, the hand open for a hundred, and if ſhut a thouſand; and they keep ſo even a countenance all the while they are tranſacting the affair, that it is impoſſible for a ſtander by to gather any thing from the circumſtances.

But notwithſtanding the Mahometans are the governing part of the country, they are not the greateſt foreign traders. The Armenian Chriſtians, and Banians of India, have much the beſt ſhare. The Mahometan Perſians trade from one province of their own country to another, and to India pretty much; but the Armenians manage the whole European trade: one reaſon whereof is that the Mahometans do not care to go into Chriſtian countries, becauſe they cannot there obſerve the cuſtoms their religion preſcribes, for their law it ſeems forbids them to eat fleſh, killed or dreſſed by a man of a different religion, or drink out of the ſame cup with him, and even prohibits the touching of perſons in ſome circumſtances, whom they look upon to be polluted. Another thing, which is a diſadvantage to their trade, is, that the taking up money at intereſt is unlawful, though they are at liberty to make what advantages they can in buying and ſelling. But the buſineſs of trade never entered into the thoughts of their lawgiver: he lived in a part of the country where they dealt chiefly in herds of cattle, as a certain traveller obſerves, and he did not foreſee the advantages his diſciples might make by foreign trade and merchandize. The government therefore find themſelves under a neceſſity of protecting and encouraging their Chriſtian ſubjects, as they value their foreign trade, and the revenue it brings in; and Chriſtians, it is obſerved, live much eaſier and happier under the Perſian government, than in many Chriſtian countries, where the people are of different ſects and perſuaſions, and as a conſequence of this the Chriſtians of Perſia, eſpecially

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towards Georgia, are a very conſiderable body, the great town of Julpha alſo by Iſpahan, is inhabited altogether by Chriſtians.

The ſtaple commodity of Perſia, as has been obſerved already, is ſilk, raw and wrought, of which great quantities are exported to India, Turkey, and Muſcovy, and formerly the Engliſh and Dutch took a great deal off their hands, but little or none at this day. They export alſo camels hair, goats wooll, leather, wines, diſtilled waters, dried and preſerved fruits, piſtachio nuts, dates, &c. And they ſupply India with abundance of fine horſes, at a very great rate, forty or fifty pounds being but an ordinary price for a horſe there.

The Arabs maſter of the iſlands in the Perſian gulph.

As to pearls, which this country was once ſo famous for, I cannot learn that there is any quantity of them to be had there at preſent. There was, it's true, one of the fineſt pearl fiſheries in the world in the gulph of Perſia ſome few years ago, but the Perſians have of late loſt the dominion of that ſea, and of all the iſlands in it, except Ormus, and that was vigorouſly attacked by the Arabs, who conquered the reſt; and whether it be in theirs or the Perſians hands at preſent I am not certain.

I have ſaid in the beginning of this hiſtory, that this ſea, and the iſlands in it, and the coaſt of Arabia about Elcatiff, was ſubject to the Perſians; and this account I had from a gentleman who came from Gombron about twenty years ago, and it ſeems the Perſians were actually maſters of them at that time: but the Arabians, taking advantage of the late indolent reign, have made themſelves maſters of one iſland after another, and even of Baheren itſelf, and that part of the coaſt of Arabia which the Perſians poſſeſſed: And here it was they uſed to fiſh for pearls.

The Perſian miniſtry, about the year 1718, did make an attempt to recover thoſe iſlands, and in order to it procured the Viceroy of Goa to aſſiſt them with four men of war: but the Perſian General, it ſeems, was bribed by the Arabs, and had very near betrayed the Portugueſe ſhips into their hands; and though he failed in that, yet never providing any land forces to aſſiſt in that expedition, the Arabs remain in poſſeſſion of them. The Portugueſe ſquadron, however, came to an engagement with the Arabian fleet, and it proved one of the moſt obſtinate encounters that has been ſeen in that part of the world: one of the Arabian ſhips was ſunk, and the Portugueſe were ſo ſhattered that they were glad to retire to their ports, and appeared no more in that ſea. The Arabs, it ſeems, have ſhips of the greateſt force of any nation, on the other ſide the cape of Good Hope, ſome of their men of war carrying no leſs than fourſcore guns.

Engliſh trade in Perſia.

I come now to give an account of the trade of the Engliſh Eaſt-India company with Perſia, and I have intimated already, that they had till the preſent civil war two conſiderable factories in that kingdom: one at Iſpahan, and the other at Gombron, in the mouth of the gulph of Perſia or Boſſora: the head of each factory was called their agent, and lived in as great ſtate as noblemen. The agent at Iſpahan, at the commencement of the civil wars, was Mr. PHILIPS; he had with him three or four Engliſh factors, and a retinue of no leſs than thirty or forty ſervants, natives of the country: their houſe ſtood in the middle of a fine garden, and was elegantly built, after the manner of the Perſian palaces.

Their horſes, ſervants, and equipage, when they went abroad, were equal to an Omrah's: their furniture ſhone with gold, or rather was covered with it. The ſtate of the Gombron agent was not altogether ſo grand, but his advantages were equal, as will appear hereafter; but before I give an account of the privileges of the Engliſh company's ſervants, I ſhall ſay ſomething of the trade of the company in Perſia, which ſeems of late years to have been reduced to a very narrow compaſs.

The company carry ſcarce any thing to Perſia but Engliſh cloth, nor does this turn to any great account, the Turky company being able to ſupply that part of the country where it is chiefly vended, at a much cheaper rate: in return for cloth, the company bring back goats wooll, as it is commonly called, which is the ſoft down that grows under the hair next the skin, and is uſed chiefly by hatters: of this I am credibly informed the company bring away every year about a thouſand bags, every bag weighing a hundred weight; and if they do not meet with a ſufficient return in this, they take the balance in abaſſes and chequeens, or elſe in gold bars, of which great advantage is to be made; and as they have not ſufficient freight of their own, they take in freight of the Armenians, Banians, and Moors, and other private traders, when they return to Surat, and generally a great number of paſſengers for that country. The Perſians have not a ſhip in the gulph, or indeed any where elſe, but freight all their goods for India, as Mr. LOCKYER informs us, on Engliſh or Dutch veſſels, and the captains and officers were formerly guilty of great extortions. They would make a merchant pay a conſiderable ſum for a place on the deck to ſleep on: the room between two guns they let out at thirty or forty rupees, (a rupee is 2 s. 6 d.) and the mates would have two or three hundred rupees each for their cabin, which are but juſt big enough for two or three people to ſit in: but the company have taken that matter under their conſideration, and regulated the price to the ſatisfaction of the merchants: and in purſuance to their directions,

tions, the chief and council always agree with the commanders before-hand, for such conveniencies as the merchant requires. The great cabbin, in a ship of four hundred tuns, is usually let for a thousand rupees, which being taken up by twenty or thirty substantial merchants, is not thought much, and is indeed a trifle to what used to be squeezed out of them; even the long-boat itself used to be farmed out formerly. The searching the passengers little parcels at their going ashore, Mr. LOCKYER observes, was another thing that used to disoblige them highly; and which the Dutch, who understood the sweet of transporting these merchants and their effects, never troubled them about; which made them better affected to the Dutch than the English. And here I cannot but reflect on the insolence of some of our sea officers, even towards gentlemen of their own nation, who happen to be passengers on board them: and as for a Moor or Banian merchant, they have no more respect for them than so many dogs. But nothing can be more barbarous than their usage of the poor laskars, or Indian sailors, who assist in bringing their ships home, when they have lost their English sailors by sickness or desertion: one Captain particularly I knew, who beat and abused the laskers unmercifully; and when they represented to him that this usage would not go unpunished in the next world, whatever it did in this, he would laugh at them; and by way of jest, when one of these poor fellows died, he ordered a letter to be written and put into his mouth, directed to some of his friends, who had gone before him, wherein he endeavoured to shew his wit, but in such a barbarous strain as made all men abhor him. Another great hardship on these laskars is, that, when they have brought an India ship to England, care is not always taken to send them to their country again; but we see them sometimes begging about the streets; and as they come out of a hot climate, it is much if they do not perish in the winter season. Such practices as these may with much more reason give the Indians occasion to call us savages, than we have to denominate them such.

But to return from this digression, the gains that are made by the English East-India company in carrying the effects of the Armenians, Moors, Banians, &c. from Gombron in the gulph of Persia to Surat in India, is one great branch of the company's profit, as Mr. LOCKYER has observed; and he says they rarely send a ship from Gombron to Surat but she is as deep laden as she can swim, full of passengers, and has a vast quantity of treasure on board, sometimes to the value of two or three hundred thousand pounds: insomuch that he looks upon the English ships going from Persia to India, in October and November annually, to be the richest vessels on that side the world. The orders and regulations the East-India company made, in relation to this voyage, in the year 1704, were as follow, viz.

'That as often as any ship of ours is let to 'freight, to or from Persia, our council on the 'place take care an agreement be made before 'them, of which they are to be judges, that it 'be reasonable what the Captain shall be allowed 'for the passage and accommodation of such Armenians, Persians, or other passengers; and to 'that end they are to send a proper person on 'board each ship, to see their accommodations 'be as they ought. That when the passengers 'return, the said council inquire whether the 'Captain has complied with his agreement; and 'if he has failed in any part, they must take 'care such passengers have justice done them; 'and that the council on the place, from whence 'the ship proceeds, advise those, that reside 'where she is consigned unto, with the terms 'of such agreement. If when this is done, the 'Captains shall treat those passengers unreasonably, or will not do them that justice the council shall award, let the council protest against 'such commanders, for their injustice and failure; 'and therein specify the damage the company 'sustains by the loss of freight, occasioned by 'such discouragements to the freighters, or their 'vakeels, or servants; or the hazard that may in 'probability happen thereon; and the council 'have then so far done their part; and we shall, 'upon notice, which must be sent us from time 'to time, do the rest. Although we must farther put you in mind, that you have by charter-party, liberty to displace commanders when 'just reason offers: and if their oppressions are severe, we know no better reason to displace them 'than the curing such a growing evil.'

Freight from Gombron to Surat.

Merchants freighting their goods on English or Dutch ships, at Gombron, for Surat, pay the following rates, viz.

	Shahees
Almonds per bale, containing 120 to 140 maund tabrees, — — —	100
Bulgar hides per bale, qt. 100 ditto, —	340
Broad cloth from Europe per bale — —	320
Carpets per bale, qt. 100 m. ta. ——	300
Cloves per bale, qt. 20 ditto, ——	80
Dates dry per bale, qt. 140 ditto, —— —	100
Fish-skins per ditto, —— —— ——	200
Galls of all sorts, dit. qt. 120 to 140 m. t. —	80
Lapis tutiæ per chest, qt. 100 ditto. ——	100
Passengers, each —— ——	200
Pearl seed per double chest, qt. 40 ditto, ——	180
Pearl single, ditto, qt. 25 ditto, ——	120
Pearl and treasure, one per cent.	
Pistachio nuts per bale, qt. 120 to 140 m. t. —	100

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	Shahees
Raiſins of all ſorts per bale, qt. 120 to 140 dit.	80
Roſewater per cheſt, qt. 30 ditto ——	36
Roſewater per ditto, qt. 25 ditto ——	32
Ruinus per bale, qt. 20 ditto — — —	44
Salob per bale, —— —— ——	80
Sweet ſeeds per bale, qt. 50 —— ——	60
Timaches leather per bale, qt. 100 ——	320
Yopangees per ditto, qt. 100 —— ——	300
Zera per bale, qt. 100 —— —— ——	80

out of the ſhops. Eatables, and all ſorts of fruit, as rice, raiſins, prunelles, almonds, onions, &c. are ſold by the maund copara of 7 ¾ l. in the factory, and from 7 ¼ to 7 ½ in the bazar. Fine goods, as gold, ſilver, musk, acheen, camphir, bezoar, coral, amber, cloves and cinnamon, oils, dyed China ſilk, &c. are ſold by the miſcal, ſix of which are commonly counted an avoirdupois ounce: its juſt weight is 2 dw. 23 gr. 24 d. ps. troy. The maund ſhaw is two maund tabrees, uſed at Iſpahan.

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Price currant at Gombron, 1705.

Perſia Goods, viz.

Price of goods at Gombron.

Almonds 4 ſha. 5 co. per maund cop.
Almonds ſmall from Iſpahan 28 ſha. ditto.
Amoniacum 6 ſha. 5 co. per maund tab.
Apricots dry'd without ſtones, 9 ſha. ditto.
Aſſafœtida head 4 ſha. ditto.
Brandy Perſia 140 ſha. per cheſt.
Coffee head 20 to 25 ſha. per maund tab.
Galbanum head 16 ſha. ditto.
Galbanum belly 14 ſha. ditto.
Galbanum foot 10 ſha. ditto.
Gum tragant 4 ſha. 5 co. ditto.
Lapis tutiæ 7 ſha. ditto.
Piſtachio nuts 13 ſha. ditto.
Prunella's 8 ſha. per maund cop.
Raiſins black 5 ſha. ditto.
Raiſins new Kiſmiſh 5 ſha. ditto.
Raiſins red 2 ſha. ditto.
Roſe-water 120 ſha. per cheſt.
Wine Aſhee 160 ſha. ditto.
Wine Kiſmiſh 140 ſha. ditto.
Wine Syraſh 140 ſha. ditto.
Worm ſeed head 18 ſha. per maund tab.

A cheſt of wine is 10 bottles, each containing about 5 quarts; or two carboys, and two bottles; but of late they leave out the two bottles, reckoning two carboys to a cheſt. The carboys hold out 5 gallons, one with another.

A cheſt of roſe-water is 24 bottles, but there is a great deal of difference in the ſize of them, which the buyer muſt have regard to. The beſt is of a fine amber colour, and will keep ſeveral years without the leaſt decay.

That the value of theſe goods may be better underſtood, I ſhall here give the reader an account of the Perſian weights and coins from Mr. LOCKYER. viz.

Weights.

Their great weights are maunds only, and theſe differ according to the nature of the commodities to be delivered by them. Sugar, copper, tutanague, all ſorts of drugs, &c. are ſold by the maund tabrees; which in the factory, and the cuſtomhouſe, is neareſt 6 ¼ l. avoirdupois; but in the bazar it is not above 6 ½ l. which one ought to have regard to in buying

1 Maund tabrees is 6 ¾ l. Engliſh in the factory.
1 Bazar md. tab. is 6 ¼ l.
1 Maund copara is 7 ¾ l. Engliſh in the factory.
1 Bazar md. copara is 7 ¼ to 7 ½ l.
1 Maund ſhaw is 2 maund tabrees.
1 Miſcall is 2 dwt. 23 gr. 24 decimals, about ⅕ of an ounce avoirdupois.

All bargains in Gombron are made for ſhahees, and the company keep their accounts in them, reckoning them worth four pence each, though that coin is rarely met with, but in its ſtead coz and mamooda's are current every where. Horſes, camels, houſes, &c. are generally ſold by the toman, which is two hundred ſhahees, or fifty abaſſees; and they uſually reckon their eſtates that way. Such a one they ſay is worth ſo many tomans, as we ſay pounds in England. Coz.

10 Coz or pice, a copper coin, are 1 ſhahee.
2 Shahees are one mamooda.
2 Shahees and 5 coz are one laree.
2 Mamoodas are one abaſſee.
4 Mamoodas are reckoned, 1 ſurat rupee.
50 Abaſſees or 200 ſhahees are a toman.
31 to 32 ſhahees are a chequeen.

The ſhahee in the company's accounts is reckoned worth 4 d. Engliſh.

The laree is uſed about Iſpahan; nor are abaſſees to be got without allowing 7 or 8 per cent. for the difference in exchange; yet returns to fort St. George, and other parts of India, are commonly made with them. Next to theſe, chequeens are the moſt profitable, there are ſeveral ſorts of them; but the Venetian is better than the reſt by one and a half or two per cent. at Surat, and ſeveral ports on the Malabar coaſts; whither vaſt quantities are ſent every year. When a parcel of Venetian ducats are mixt with others, the whole goes by the name of chequeens at Surat; but when they are ſeparated, one ſort is called Venetians, and all the others, gubbers indifferently.

The Engliſh Eaſt-India company, as has been obſerved, do not only receive the ſum of 3333 l. 6s. 8d. of the government of Perſia in lieu of the

the ſervice the company did them in taking the iſland of Ormus from the Portugueſe; but they have an exemption alſo from cuſtoms, and whatever ſhips trade under their protection have the like exemption, only paying the following port charges, viz.

Two per cent. on the ſale of goods to the company.

One per cent. conſolage to the agent.

One per cent. to the broker.

Boat or franky hire for landing goods is 30 mamooda's per 2000 maund tabrees.

Hamalgae or cooly hire at weighing, 1 coz of every 20 md. tabrees.

The company do not meddle at all with the trade between Perſia and India: this they leave altogether to their factors and ſervants, and to ſuch country ſhips and private traders as put themſelves under their protection, and are content to pay the port duties above mentioned: and for the regulation of this trade, Mr. LOCKYER tells us that the following orders are hung up in the conſultation at Gombron, viz.

'1. That if any perſon in the ſervice of the 'honourable company, ſhall bring any goods into 'their houſe, or aſhore to any other place be'longing to Armenians, or any other natives of 'this country, or foreigners, under colour of his 'name to defraud the King of Perſia of his cuſ'toms, he ſhall be forthwith diſcharged their 'ſervice, and ſent to Bombay: there being no'thing of a more dangerous conſequence to be 'committed, nor more likely to occaſion the loſs 'of all the honourable company's privileges, which 'for ſo many years, and with vaſt expence they 'have been obtaining, than ſuch an undertaking. 'And if any commanders of ſhips in the ſervice 'of the honourable company, or private ſhips 'trading hither, or any perſons by their leave, 'or connivance, ſhall permit any ſuch goods to 'be run, or brought any where elſe than to the 'cuſtom-houſe, where they ſhould go; we de'clare we will proteſt againſt them, for all da'mages that may thereby accrue to the honour'able company; and we will repreſent any ſuch 'attempts to the general and council at Bombay, 'with as much ſeverity as we can, and as the 'fatal conſequences of ſuch ruinous actions de'ſerve.

'2. That as the duties, the honourable com'pany require to be paid here on goods, are not 'above one fifth part of what is paid to the ſha'bander or cuſtom-maſter, ſo we require that 'what private Engliſh ſhipping comes to Perſia 'to trade and merchandiſe, that they bring them 'into the honourable company's houſe in Gom'bron, and no other part or port in Perſia, 'where they muſt of neceſſity pay cuſtoms, 'which by ſo ill an example may occaſion the 'honourable company to fall under the ſame 'misfortune; and in ſuch a caſe cannot but be 'looked on by the general at Bombay, their 'governors of forts, preſidents in India, and us 'here as open enemies to their trade, and will be 'proceeded againſt by them as far as the rigour 'of their charter, and act of parliament for eſta'bliſhment of the ſole trade in India can extend. 'And if any goods belonging to the Engliſh ſhall 'not firſt be brought to the factory, we will 'ſeize the ſame, and tranſmit them to Bombay, 'to be there condemned as unlicenſed and for'feited goods.

'3. The conſolage hitherto taken, by the ho'nourable old company's agents, on private goods 'brought to their factory being 2 per cent. we in 'like manner continue the ſame, and the 1 per 'cent. granted by them to their agent on goods 'not conſigned to him; and he to be chief in 'the ſale of all cargoes, if on the place, or elſe 'the chief of Gombron; which 3 per cent. is but '3 of 15 per cent. which goods at the cuſtom'houſe uſually pay, before they are cleared, by 'over-valuing, and preſents to the officers.

'4. If any body load any goods on board any 'of the honourable company's ſhips without firſt 'acquainting the agent, or in his abſence, the 'chief therewith, the ſaid goods are by the ho'nourable company's charter-party obliged to 'pay 40 l. ſterling per tun freight, beſides what 'other penalties their general and council ſhall 'think convenient to lay upon them. Theſe 'matters we have thought fit to make publick, 'that no perſon hereafter may be ignorant of the 'ſame.' Given under our hands at Gombron, May the 18th, 1705.

As to the manner of fiſhing for pearls in the gulph of Perſia, I ſhall ſpeak of it when I come to enquire into the minerals and precious ſtones; and as to the navigation and ſhipping of the Perſians, I have already hinted that they have not a ſhip of their own, and conſequently their skill in navigation cannot be great.

CHAP. VI.

Gives an account of the face of the country, and the nature of the ſoil; of their huſbandry and gardening, and of their plants, animals and minerals.

THERE is not, as Mr. CHARDIN obſerves, a country in the world which has more mountains and fewer rivers than Perſia: and ſome of their mountains are looked upon to be the higheſt on the face of the earth. Mount Taurus, which frequently receives different names as it branches itſelf out into different provinces, runs

The face of the country.

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runs quite through the country from weſt to eaſt. The loftieſt of theſe mountains are thoſe called Arrarat, in Armenia, the mountains which ſeparate Media from Hyrcania, and thoſe between Hyrcania and Parthia or Erack. Thoſe alſo which divide Fars or Perſis from Carmania are exceeding high, the moſt famous of which is called mount Jarron; but they are generally dry barren rocks, without trees or herbage upon them, except thoſe of Gylan or Hyrcania, and the mountains of Curdeſtan, which are covered with woods, and very fruitful where they are manured. There are vaſt ſandy deſerts ſeveral days journey over in this kingdom, where there is ſcarce a drop of water to be found; and the land in general upon the frontiers lyes uncultivated, to diſcourage their enemies (it is ſaid) from invading them: and in fact, there is not the leaſt ſubſiſtence to be met with for ſeveral miles, whether you come into the kingdom from Turkey or India. There are however ſome fruitful plains and vallies, in which their principal cities ſtand, which yield plenty of grain and herbage; and no country is more fruitful than the provinces which lye upon the Caſpian Sea, as has been obſerved already. But then Hyrcania is very unhealthful in ſummer time, which ſome apprehend proceeds from the multitude of ſnakes and inſects which lye rotting upon the ground when the waters are dried up, as well as from the foulneſs of the water itſelf, which is ſo thick and muddy that there is no drinking it at that time of the year.

As to Perſia in general, there is not a tenth part of it cultivated, not but that there are many valleys which bear neither graſs nor grain at preſent, which formerly when greater care was taken to turn the waters into them, were fruitful countries: in ſome provinces there are hundreds of fine aqueducts choked up and buried in ruins; ſo that it is not ſo much a defect in the ſoil, as the want of people, or at leaſt of husbandmen, which renders Perſia ſo barren. The ſoil in ſome parts is a hard gravel, and in others a ſtiff whitiſh clay almoſt as hard as ſtone; but either of them are fruitful enough when well watered, and will bear often two crops, and ſometimes three in the compaſs of a year. And if we give any credit to antient authors, there was not a more plentiful country in the world than Perſia was formerly: the reaſon of this alteration ſome aſcribe to the different diſpoſitions of the people who have inhabited it. The antient Perſians, the fire worſhippers, it is ſaid, were obliged by the precepts of their religion to cultivate the ground, and it was by them accounted a meritorious act to plant a tree to bring the water into a field, and make a barren ſpot of earth produce graſs or grain: while the Mahometans ſeem to have no genius for improvements, or even to keep up what their anceſtors have built or planted, but let every thing run to ruin: however, one reaſon of this neglect may be, that the properties of the people are in no ſecurity, and no wonder they have but little inclination to make improvements when they have no certainty of reaping the advantage of them; and it is ten to one if an eſtate remain in a family three generations; there are too many inſtances in the world, Mr. CHARDIN well obſerves, which ſhew that riches and plenty, and even the fertility of the ſoil depend in a great meaſure upon good laws and a juſt and equitable adminiſtration.

The ſoil.

To proceed to their husbandry: near great towns they improve their grounds with the dung and dirt of the ſtreets they carry out, but at a greater diſtance they throw their fields into little level ſquares, which they bank about, and then turn the water into them, letting it ſtand in the field all night, which having ſoaked it, the water is let out next morning, and the ſun ſhining with almoſt perpendicular rays upon the moiſt earth, renders it fit for the production of any ſort of grain or plants. Where the ground is light they plow with two or three oxen or buffaloes; but in Gilen, and other countries where they meet with a ſtiff clay, it is as much as eight or ten oxen can do to draw their ploughs, which are very large.

Husbandry.

Rice, wheat and barley, are almoſt the only kinds of grain growing in Perſia, oats they have none, and little or no rye. Their ſeaſons are not the ſame in the north as in the ſouth: but when they are ſowing in one part of the country, they are reaping in another, and in ſome places it is not more than three months between the ſeed time and the harveſt. Their land never lyes fallow; but is ſown once every year at leaſt, it is ſo meliorated and enriched by being flowed, and the heat of the ſun afterwards working on the mud, that it is never out of heart as ours is; and though we have not ſo warm a ſun, yet if we were to overflow ſome of our grounds as they do, I am ſatisfied it would be a vaſt improvement, eſpecially where dung and other manure is wanting. As to the rice, this indeed muſt be conſtantly ſupplied with water till the harveſt, as was obſerved in the Indian husbandry; but for other grain, the land is only flowed before the ſowing, to render it prolifick.

Gardens.

Their kitchen gardens are very well furniſhed with moſt of the roots and ſalads we have in Europe: they have no leſs than twenty ſeveral ſorts of melons, during the ſeaſon they laſt, which is about four months, the common people make them their conſtant food: thoſe which come to maturity firſt in the ſpring are round and ſmall: thoſe that are ripe in the latter part of the ſeaſon are the beſt and largeſt, ſome of them weigh eight or ten pound, and are as ſweet as ſugar itſelf; at

at the tables of perſons of quality they have them all the year round, there being a way to preſerve them under ground till the ſeaſon returns again; and 'tis ſaid ſome perſons will eat eight or ten pound of melons at a meal without being ſick. The beſt melons grow in Choraſſan near Tartary, and they are carried as far as Iſpahan for the King's uſe, and as preſents to their friends. Cucumbers are another fruit much eaten by the common people, one ſort of them has ſcarce any ſeeds in it, and is eaten without paring or dreſſing, and is not reckoned unwholeſom.

Of grapes they have ſeveral kinds, and ſome of them are ſo large that a ſingle grape is a mouthful. They make their wine at Iſpahan of the kiſmiſh's, a little round grape, and without any ſtones that can be perceived; but much the beſt wines are made at Sheraz. They keep their grapes all winter here, and let them hang a conſiderable time on the vine wrapped up in linen bags; the air is ſo dry, Mr. CHARDIN obſerves, that it preſerves all kind of fruit as long as they can deſire.

Dates are reckoned one of the moſt delicious fruits in this country: they are no where ſo good as in Perſia; the pulp which encloſes the ſtone is a clammy ſubſtance, as ſweet as honey; they are laid on heaps when they are ripe, and melting, candy or preſerve themſelves without ſugar. Foreigners are adviſed to eat moderately of them, becauſe they heat the blood and occaſion ulcers in thoſe who are not uſed to them, and ſometimes weaken the ſight; but are obſerved to have no ill effects upon the natives: the tree which bears them is ſlender but very tall, and like other palms, has no branches, but on the top, and the fruit grows in cluſters of thirty or forty pounds weight; the tree does not bear till it is fifteen years old, but continues bearing, as 'tis ſaid, above a hundred years.

There are in Perſia moſt of the fruits which are to be had in Europe, and would be in much greater perfection if they knew any thing of gardening; but they underſtand neither grafting nor inoculating or managing dwarf trees; all their trees run up very high and are loaded with wood. They have excellent apricots of ſeveral kinds, which are in ſeaſon one after the other; and their nectarins and peaches weigh ſixteen or eighteen ounces apiece; there is an apricot red within, which is called the egg of the ſun; theſe are dried and exported in vaſt quantities, they are boiled in water, which is thickened by the juice of the fruit, and makes a perfect ſyrup without ſugar.

Apples and pears grow chiefly in the north part of Perſia, they have alſo pomegranates of ſeveral kinds, with oranges, quinces and prunes, and ſuch variety of fruits, that Mr. CHARDIN ſays he has ſeen above fifty ſorts at an entertainment, ſome of which grew three hundred leagues from the place.

The piſtachio nuts are almoſt peculiar to Perſia, and tranſported all the world over; we have them commonly in London, and therefore I need not deſcribe them: here are alſo ſmall nuts, filberds and almonds. Olives alſo grow in Hyrcania near the Caſpian ſea; but they neither know how to preſerve them, nor draw oil from them. They have alſo plantations of ſugar and tobacco.

Among other trees in their gardens, they have the cypreſs, the palm, and the mulberry: of the laſt, there are large plantations for their ſilk worms, which they don't ſuffer to grow up to be great trees, becauſe the leaves are beſt when the ſhoots are young. They root up the trees therefore when they grow old, and plant their grounds again. But the tree which is in as great eſteem as any in Perſia is the ſenna: the body of this tree is very large, and ordinarily forty or fifty foot high, and ſtrait as the maſt of a ſhip, having no branches but on the head of it; the bark is of a bright grey, and the wood ſerves them to make doors, rafters, and other uſes in building. The trees that are moſt common in Perſia, Mr. CHARDIN tells us, are the plane tree, the willow, the fir and the cornel tree: the plane tree the Perſians imagine is a preſervative againſt the plague and other contagious diſtempers, and obſerve that the plague has never raged in Iſpahan ſince this tree was planted in their ſtreets and gardens. The tree alſo which bears the gall-nut is very common in many parts of Perſia; and there are trees which yield gum, maſtick and frankincenſe; that which produces frankincenſe very much reſembles a pear tree, and is found chiefly in Carmania. There are trees alſo which produce manna of ſeveral ſorts: the beſt manna has a yellowiſh caſt, a large coarſe grain, and comes from Choraſſan or Bactria: there is another ſort called tamerisk, becauſe the tree it drops from is ſo named, and is found in large quantities in the province of Suſiana; and there is a third ſort gathered about Iſpahan, which falls from a tree much like the tamerisk but larger; the leaves of this tree drop liquid manna in ſummer time, which the natives take to be the ſweat of the tree congealed upon the leaf; in the morning the ground under it is perfectly fat and greaſy with it, and has as ſweet a taſte as other manna.

Trees.

The cotton tree is common all over Perſia: and they have another little tree which yields a kind of ſilken down uſed for quilting and ſtuffing of pillows: there is alſo a plant called hannah, that bears a ſeed which they beat to powder, and colour their hands and feet, and ſometimes rub over their faces with it, apprehending it keeps their skins ſmooth, and preſerves their complexion; they ſometimes bruiſe the leaves of it, which ſerves them for the ſame purpoſe.

There

There are found in the deſerts of Carmania two little ſhrubs of a poiſonous quality, the firſt is called galbad ſamour, or the flower that poiſons the wind; ſome people imagining that it is this that occaſions thoſe killing winds which blow in this province in the hot ſeaſon: the other ſhrub is called kerzebre, the trunk whereof is about as big as a man's leg, and grows about ſix foot high, its leaves are almoſt round, and it bears a flower like the ſweet brier. There are ſcarce any trees to be found on the mountains, or wild fields in Perſia: theſe are for the moſt part deſtitute of all manner of verdure, while in their cities, and the villages for three or four leagues round them, the ſtreets as well as gardens are ſo well planted, that the houſes are hardly to be diſcerned at a diſtance: when you have travelled ſome few leagues indeed you meet with neither houſe, trees, nor ſhrubs for many miles, but all looks like a barren deſert; notwithſtanding which great part of this ſeeming barren ſoil were it watered and cultivated it would be as fruitful as the other, and actually was ſo ſome ages ſince, when a more induſtrious generation poſſeſſed the country and the people were more ſecure of their properties

Flowers. From their trees I paſs on to their flowers, and of theſe there is a great variety to be found in ſome provinces. The ſouth part of Perſia has much the feweſt; exceſſive heat, it is obſerved, being as deſtructive to them as extreme cold: but nothing can be more beautiful than the fields of Hyrcania; here are whole groves of orange trees, jeſſamins, and all the flowers we have in Europe. The eaſt part of this country, which is called Mazenderan, is one continued parterre from September to April, the whole country at that time is covered with flowers, and this, tho' it be their winter ſeaſon, is alſo the beſt time for fruits: in the other months the heat is ſo exceſſive, and the air ſo unhealthful, that the natives find themſelves under a neceſſity of retiring to the mountains. In Media the fields produce tulips, anemonies, and ranunculus's; about Iſpahan and ſome other towns jonquils grow wild: they have alſo daffodils, lillies, violets and pinks in their ſeaſon, and ſome flowers which laſt all the year round; but what they have the greateſt quantity of are lilies and roſes: they export abundance of roſe-water to other countries: in the ſpring there is plenty of yellow and red gilly-flowers, and another red flower which reſembles a clove, of a beautiful ſcarlet colour; every ſprig bears thirty of theſe flowers, which form a fine head as large as a tennis-ball. Their roſes are white, yellow, and red, and others white on one ſide and yellow on the other: but notwithſtanding all this great variety of beautiful flowers, their gardens are not comparable to thoſe of Europe. As flowers are ſo common, they are very little regarded; you ſee them intermixed with fruit trees and roſe buſhes without any order; no borders or knots of flowers are to be ſeen in their gardens, but large walks planted with trees; fountains, canals, caſcades, and pleaſure houſes at proper diſtances, are all that muſt be expected in their fineſt gardens; nor do the Perſians take any manner of pleaſure in walking in them any more than they do in the fields, but ſet themſelves down in ſome alcove or ſummer-houſe as ſoon as they come into them, regardleſs of that exquiſite variety that every foreigner is enamoured with; and were theſe things as common in Europe, and poſſeſſed by every cottager, we probably ſhould regard them as little as we do other things, which we enjoy in common with the loweſt part of mankind.

Drugs. Perſia alſo affords great plenty of phyſical drugs, as caſſia, ſenna, antimony, nux vomica, gum armoniack, galbanum, ſal armoniack, and a kind of rhubarb, with which they purge their cattle: the beſt rhubarb, as was obſerved in the deſcription of China, comes from thence, or rather from eaſtern Tartary, which lyes to the northward of China. The Perſian poppies are in great eſteem from the quantity of juice they yield, and the ſtrength of it: they grow four foot high in ſome places, and have white leaves: they extract the juice from them in June, when they are ripe, by making little inciſions in the head of the poppy, a thick liquor ouzes from them, which is gathered very early in the morning before ſun riſe. It is ſaid to have ſuch an effect on the people who are employed in this work, that they look as if they had been buried and taken up again, and their limbs tremble as if they had the palſy. The liquor which is thus drawn from the poppies in a little time grows thick, and is made up into pills. The Perſians give it the name of afion, and we opium; the Perſian bakers ſtrew poppy ſeed on their bread, which inclines thoſe that eat it to ſleep, and the eating it is not reckoned unwholeſom after their meals; the common people eat the ſeed at any time almoſt. Saffron, I have already obſerved, grows plentifully in Perſia, and aſſafœtida is to be had every where almoſt, which is much admired by the natives of Perſia as well as India, and frequently eaten with their food: that which to us is the moſt offenſive of all ſcents, by them is eſteemed a moſt refreſhing perfume, and equal to musk at leaſt.

Aſſafœtida is a liquor which diſtills from the plant called hiltot, it thickens after it is drawn, and grows as hard as gum: there is the white, and the black kinds of it, of which the white is reckoned the beſt to eat. The ſmell of this drug is ſo very ſtrong, that if any goods lye near it in a ſhip, the ſmell is communicated to them, let them be wrapped up never ſo cloſe, and it is almoſt impoſſible to clear them of it: nay, it affects the colour

colour of them to such a degree, that Mr. CHARDIN assures us he had some rich stuffs of gold and silver tarnished with it, notwithstanding they were inclosed in cotton, and covered with several folds of searcloth, and the silver particularly was turned perfectly black.

Mummy, which is human flesh embalmed that has lain in dry earth several ages, and become hard as horn, is frequently found in the sands of Choraſſan, or the antient Bactria, and some of the bodies are so little altered, it is said, that the features may be plainly distinguished: but besides this common mummy, there is a precious gum that distills from a rock, to which the Persians give the name of mummy. This we are told performs miraculous cures, there are no illnesses but it removes, nor any wounds but it will heal in twenty four hours. And though this is not to be understood literally, yet thus much is certain, it is so valuable a drug that the King engrosses most of it, and it is sent to court by the Governors of the province where it is found, under their seals.

The bezoar stone of Persia is held to be much better than the Indian bezoar: this, as was taken notice in treating of India, is a stone with several thin coats over it, which is found in the bodies of goats, and other animals.

I come next to enquire into the several kinds of animals that are found in Persia, whether beasts, birds, fishes or insects; and among their cattle we find the camels, horses, mules, asses, oxen and buffaloes very serviceable; but the camel for a beast of burthen much excels all the rest, whether we consider the weight he carries, the dispatch he makes, or the little charge of keeping him. Of these camels there are several kinds, some have two bunches upon their backs, and others but one; and there is a third sort engendered between a dromedary or camel with two bunches, and a female with one, which are esteemed much the best, and sold for twenty or thirty pounds a-piece, for they are seldom tired, and will carry nine hundred or a thousand weight. Those, which travel between the Persian gulph and Ispahan, are of a much less size, and do not carry above five or six hundred weight; but these notwithstanding are almost as serviceable as the other, for they are much swifter, and will gallop like a horse, whereas the others seldom exceed a foot-pace: these swift camels are kept by the King, and great men, and serve to transport their women from place to place, and carry their baggage; they are usually adorned with embroidered cloths, and silver bells about their necks; a string of six or seven of them are tied together when they travel, and governed by one man: they use neither bridles nor halter to hold them in, nor whips to drive them, but they are governed by the driver's voice, who sings or plays to them as they travel; it is in vain to beat them, if they tire, they will go never the better for it: when they are to take up their burthen the driver touches their knees, whereupon they lye down on their bellies till they are loaded, groaning, however, and giving signs of uneasiness under a sense of the fatigue they are about to undergo: they let them graze by the road side with their burthens on their backs, on weeds and thistles, and sometimes they feed them with balls compounded of barley meal and chaff made up into a past, with which they often mix the cotton seed: but he is the least feeder of any beast considering his bulk. It is very happy also that the camels will live without water two or three days together, there being scarce any to be met with in those deserts the caravans are forced to cross. They shed all their hair every spring, and are perfectly naked. Of the camels hair abundance of fine stuffs are made, as was observed in the chapter of manufactures. These creatures are very tame and tractable, except when the lustful fit is upon them, which lasts thirty or forty days, and then they are very unruly, which makes their drivers increase their burthens at that time to keep the flesh under. When once the male has covered a female he grows sluggish, and does not care for stirring out of the stable; according to the best accounts I can get, they copulate as other four footed animals do, except it be that the female lyes down on her belly, as she does to receive her burthen: as to their engendering backwards, which is mentioned in some writers, this seems to me to be a vulgar error. They go with young eleven months, and some say twelve. Oxen, buffaloes, asses and mules, are also used indifferently for carrying of passengers, or burthens, and their land being plowed by buffaloes and oxen, these beasts are very seldom killed for food; though it is said some Persian Governors in the south of Persia have extorted considerable sums out of the Indian Banians, who reside thereabouts, under pretence they would order them to be butchered, if the Banians did not redeem their lives by a considerable present. The asses of Persia, I have observed already, are much larger and swifter than ours, and will perform a journey very well. But the finest beasts are their horses: these are beautiful creatures, and no where better managed than in Persia. They have fine forehands, and are exactly well proportioned, light and sprightly, but only fit for the saddle, or at least not used for any other purpose: they are never gelt, and wear their tails at the full length; but though they are lovely creatures to look on, they are neither so swift as the Arabian horses, nor so hardy as the Tartars, and the King has always a stable of the Arabian breed. Horses are very dear in Persia, some of them being sold

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for two or three hundred pounds, and ſeldom for leſs than fifty. It is not ſo much the ſcarcity of them, as the ſelling ſuch numbers to India and Turkey which enhances the price. They have mules alſo that carry very well, and are valued ſome of them at thirty or forty pounds a-piece: and ſome aſſes are not valued at much leſs, after they have been taught to pace.

The ordinary feed for horſes is barley, and chopt ſtraw; they have no mangers in their ſtables, but give their horſes their corn in bags, as our hackney coachmen do. In the ſpring they cut green graſs for their horſes; but never make any into hay to be eaten dry; ſometimes they feed their horſes with balls made of barley-meal, as in India: inſtead of litter their own dung is dryed and beaten to powder, and laid a foot deep for them to lye on; and if any of it be wetted, it is dried in the ſun the next day. Their horſes hoofs are much ſounder and harder than ours, and they are ſhod with thin plates, as the oxen are alſo, on account of their travelling over the ſtony mountains.

They dawb their horſes legs in winter with a yellow herb called hannah, and ſometimes anoint their bodies with it as high as their breaſt to keep out the cold, as it is ſaid; but it ſeems to be rather by way of ornament, for in ſome places it is done all the year round.

The King has large ſtables of horſes diſperſed throughout the kingdom, almoſt in every city, for the publick ſervice. A horſe is ſeldom denied to any man that demands one, if he will keep him, but then ſuch perſons are accountable to the government for them when they ſhall be called out, but they have the liberty of riding them in the mean time. Theſe troopers horſes are ſometimes quartered upon people againſt their conſent, who would gladly be excuſed from the trouble and charge of keeping them; and if any horſe dies in their hands, oath muſt be made that he had fair play, and did not die for want of corn or looking after.

Their horſes are ſubject to many diſtempers, ſometimes their legs ſwell, and a humour riſes on the breaſt, which proceeds from eating too much barley, it is ſaid; and in this caſe they clap a hot iron to the ſwelling, or lance it, and keep the ſore open, by running a willow twig through it; but a hot iron applied to the part is the moſt general remedy for lame or diſtempered horſes.

Of ſheep and goats, as has been obſerved already, there are great plenty in Perſia: the natives ſeldom eat any other meat: their ſheep are large, and remarkable for their fat tails, which weigh eight or ten pounds, and ſome, it is ſaid, are above twenty pounds weight: they are remarkable alſo in ſome parts of Perſia for having more horns than ours. I have ſeen ſome of their ſheep with ſix or ſeven horns, ſome ſtanding ſtrait out of their foreheads, ſo that when their rams engage there is uſually a great deal of blood ſpilled in the battle. The Perſian goats are not only valuable for their fleſh, but the fine wool they yield, of which great quantities are exported from Carmania annually, as has been intimated already. Hogs there are ſcarce any to be met with; for as the Mahometans, who are the governing part of the country, abhor this animal, their Chriſtian ſubjects do not endeavour to encreaſe the breed, unleſs towards Georgia and Armenia, where the Chriſtians are numerous.

Wild beaſts there are not many, either in the middle, or the ſouthern part of Perſia, there being no cover for them. Deer they have ſome, and antilopes, which are much of the ſame nature, except that they are ſpotted, and have finer limbs. In Hyrcania and Curdiſtan, the woody parts of the country, wild beaſts abound, ſuch as lions, tygers, leopards, wild-hogs, jackalls, &c. And in Media and Armenia there are abundance of deer, wild-goats, hares and rabbits, and there are ſome found on the mountains almoſt all over the country, but not many.

Inſects they are not much troubled with in the heart of Perſia, which is very dry, unleſs it be with ſwarms of locuſts, which viſit them ſometimes: they fly in ſuch numbers, that they look like a cloud, and perfectly obſcure the ſun, and wherever they light deſtroy the fruits of the earth; but there are certain birds which generally viſit the country about the ſame time, and eat up the locuſts, and ſo prevent the ruin of the husbandmen. Inſects.

That part of the country which lyes upon the Caſpian or Hyrcanian ſea is full of ſerpents, toads, ſcorpions, and other venomous inſects, which in ſummer time die many of them for want of water, and infect the air, rendring that part of the country very unhealthful at that time. Scorpions particularly there are of an immoderate ſize, whoſe ſting is mortal, it is ſaid, if proper remedies be not immediately applied, and at beſt a perſon ſtung by one of them is in ſuch torture, that he becomes raving mad for ſome time. Muſketoes or gnats are very troubleſome in the flat country near the Caſpian ſea. And there is a white fly no bigger than a flea in Perſia, which makes no noiſe, whoſe ſting is like the prick of a pin. Here is alſo the millepedes, almoſt like a caterpillar, whoſe bite is as pernicious as the ſting of a ſcorpion: the Perſians call them Hezar-pai or a thouſand feet.

There are almoſt the ſame ſorts of tame and wild fowl in Perſia as in Europe, as geeſe, hens, ducks, partridges, ſnipes, &c. But more of them in the north than in the ſouth part of the Fowls and birds.

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the country. Turkeys have been imported to Ispahan, but they do not thrive there. The breed of Pigeons they take all imaginable care to increase and propagate on account of their dung, with which they raise their melons. Their dove houses are five times as large as ours, of a round figure, and handsomely built of brick; of these, it is said, there are not less than three thousand in the city of Ispahan only. The dung is usually sold for four pence the bisty, or twelve pounds weight, and the government, it seems, lays a small tax upon it. Their partridges are reckoned the largest, and best tasted, that are to be met with any where. The pelican, which the Persians call tacab, or the water-drawer, is as remarkable as any of their fowls, for the body of it is said to be as large as a sheep; its head at the same time wondrous small; but a large bill of sixteen or eighteen inches long, as big as a man's arm, and under the bill there is a large bag, travellers tell us, which will hold a pail of water: they build their nests in the deserts, where there is no water and consequently no inhabitants, for their security, and frequently go two days journey for water for their young ones; but then they bring enough in the receptacle above mentioned to last some time.

There is another extraordinary bird mentioned by travellers in the province of Choraſſan, which has such an appetite towards the water of a certain spring in that country, and so much sagacity in discovering it, that they will follow any person that carries it in a bottle several hundreds of miles: but there are so many extravagant and improbable stories told of this bird besides, that I shall take the liberty to suspend my belief of the whole, till the accounts of it are better confirmed.

As to eagles, hawks, falcons, and other birds of prey, there is no country where they have more, or where they are better instructed to take their prey, than in Persia: the King has eight hundred or a thousand of them; and there is no man of any figure without his hawks and his Falconers: and, as has been observed in speaking of their rural sports, their hawks are taught not only to fly at birds, but at hares, deer, and all manner of wild beasts, and by fixing themselves on the head of the animal, and beating him with their wings, he is so terrified and distracted, that the dogs and huntsmen which follow have very little difficulty in taking him: and the Persians, it is said, breed up the very crows to fly at the game.

There are the same kinds of singing birds in Persia as with us, such as the linnet, the chaffinch, the nightingale, the lark, &c. And some birds there are which are taught to speak; but I don't find there are any parrots, or parrokeets on this side of India. However there are several particoloured birds to be seen in Persia, with a plumage of blue, green and yellow, beautifully mixed. Of sparrows there are such numbers that they are very troublesom to the husbandmen; who are forced to place their servants in the fields all day long, when the harvest approaches, to keep them off their corn.

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In the heart of Persia there are scarce any fish to be met with; the few rivulets they have hardly supplying the country with water for necessary uses; and in the summer time they are almost all dried up: even the river Zenderhood, to which the government, at a prodigious expence, have joined other streams for the supply of the city of Ispahan, is perfectly lost in the sandy deserts about twenty leagues from thence; and I question whether there be one stream, which rises in the middle of the kingdom, which ever reaches the sea in the summer; though in the spring, when the snow melts on the mountains, they may make a considerable figure: I am sensible some writers affirm, that the river Zenderhood, though it disappears about twenty leagues from Ispahan, rises again in Carmania, and falls into the ocean; but how it is possible any one can know it is the same river which rises in Carmania, when the place they assign for it is four or five hundred miles distance from the place where it disappears, I cannot easily conceive. But to return to their fish, both in the Caspian sea and the Persian gulph there are great plenty of sea fish of all kinds almost, and the rivers Kur and Arras, which fall into the Caspian, have plenty of river fish; but they lye at too great a distance from Ispahan to supply that city, and as far as I can learn, fish is very rarely eaten there.

Minerals.

I come now to speak of the Persian minerals. It is conjectured that among their many vast mountains there may be some mines of gold and silver; but it seems there are none open, neither have they an account that ever any were wrought, except their lead mines may be denominated silver, which yield an inconsiderable quantity of that metal, as all lead mines do; but not near enough to countervail the charge of extracting it. They have, however, good mines of iron, steel, copper and lead: the iron and steel mines are in Hyrcania, Media, and the provinces of Erak and Choraſſan: their steel is so full of sulphur, that if the filings are thrown into the fire, they will give a report like gun-powder: it has a fine delicate grain, but is as brittle as glass, and the Persian artificers, who do not understand how to give it a due temper, cannot for that reason make wheels or springs, or any minute pieces of workmanship. Their copper mines are most of them near Seris in the mountains of Mazenderan, they mix it with Swedish and Japan copper, and the proportion is one part foreign to twen-

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ty of their own metal. The lead mines are moſt of them near the city of Yeſd, and in theſe are found the greateſt quantity of ſilver.

Sulphur and ſaltpetre are dug in the mountain Damaverd, which divides Hyrcania from the province of Erak. Antimony is found in Carmania; but it is a baſtard ſort. Emery is had near Niris, vitriol and mercury they have none; and their tin is imported from abroad. There are two kinds of ſalt in Perſia, the one upon the ſurface of the ground, and the other dug out of the rock: there are plains of ten or twelve leagues over quite covered with ſalt, as others are with ſulphur and alom: the ſalt is ſo hard in ſome parts of Carmania, that the poor people make uſe of it inſtead of ſtone to build their cottages with.

Their marble is either white, black. or red, and ſome veined with white and red: it is dug near Hamadan, and in Suſiana; ſome of it will break into large flakes, or tables, like ſlate; but the beſt comes from Tauris, which is almoſt as tranſparent as cryſtal. This kind is white mixed with green. In the country about Tauris alſo is found the mineral azure, but this is not ſo good as that which comes from Tartary, it loſing its colour by degrees. In the provinces of Fars and Shirvan there is found abundance of bole armoniack, and a marl which the country people uſe inſtead of ſoap. There are ſome mines of iſing-glaſs in the ſame country. In ſeveral parts of Perſia we meet with napthta, both white and black, it is uſed in painting and varniſh, and ſometimes in phyſick; and there is an oil extracted from it which they put to ſeveral uſes.

The moſt valuable mines in Perſia are thoſe where the tuquois ſtones are found, there is one of them at Niſapour, in the province of Choraſſan, and another in a mountain between the province of Erak and Hyrcania; and there has of late years been a third diſcovered, but the ſtones are not ſo fine and lively as thoſe in the old mines. All that come out of the old rock are preſerved for the King, and when he has taken thoſe he likes beſt, he orders the reſt to be ſold.

Pearls. Having enquired into their minerals and precious ſtones, I come now to ſpeak of their pearls. There was formerly the fineſt fiſhery in the world of this kind in the gulph of Perſia: Mr. CHARDIN informs us, that it did not produce leſs than the value of a million of livres one year with another, and that he himſelf ſaw a pearl taken out of it that weighed fifty grains, and was perfectly round; but the largeſt that were uſually met with in that ſea did not weigh above ten or twelve grains, all above that weight the fiſhermen were obliged under the ſevereſt penalties to lay by for the King. But whether the pearl banks are now exhauſted, or in the late indolent reigns the people are become as inactive as their governors; or laſtly, whether it is that the Arabs having made themſelves maſters of this ſea, and moſt of the iſlands in it, the fiſhermen are interrupted in their buſineſs, the pearl fiſhery ſeems to be wholly diſuſed at preſent, and there are as few pearls to be met with in Perſia as in any other place: however, ſince this fiſhery was lately ſo very famous, and poſſibly may be revived again, I ſhall here take an opportunity to deſcribe the manner of it.

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There are, as I am informed, two ſeaſons for fiſhing, the firſt in March and April, and the other in Auguſt and September; though Mr. THEVENOT mentions only one, namely from the latter end of June till the end of September: and at this time there are to be ſeen near the iſland of Baharen two or three thouſand fiſher boats, in every one of which is a diver: they uſually bring their boats to an anchor in five fathom water, and then the diver ſtrips himſelf naked, and having fixed a piece of horn like a pair of ſpectacles on his noſe, which prevents any water getting in that way, and tied a ſtone to one of his feet, that he may ſink to the bottom in an inſtant, he takes a net, or a basket with him, and deſcends to the bottom, there being a rope faſtned under his arms, and another to the basket: having ſlipped the cord which faſtned the ſtone to his foot, he preſently falls to gathering up the oyſters, or nacres, and puts them into his basket, and having remained under water as long as he can, makes a ſign to the people in the boat to draw him up, and afterwards they pull up the basket: in the mean time the diver uſually refreſhes himſelf with a pipe of tobacco, and then goes down to the bottom as before; and thus he works from eight in the morning till eleven, and then goes to dinner: about twelve he begins to dive again, and continues at it till three in the afternoon. It is ſaid theſe divers will remain under water near half a quarter of an hour at a time. Towards evening they carry their oyſters on ſhore, where they lay them on heaps, and when they begin to dry, the oyſters open of themſelves, and they ſearch diligently for the pearls, which the Banians and Armenians are ready to take off their hands, and make very great advantages by ſorting and retailing them out again.

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Treats of their language, characters, learning, hiſtory and chronology.

Language. THERE are four languages ſpoken in Perſia, namely, 1. The Arabick. 2. The Turkiſh. 3. The Perſian. And 4thly, a language which the Gaurs or Guebres, the poſterity of the antient Perſians who worſhip the fire, ſpeak: their language and their characters are peculiar to themſelves,

selves, and cannot be the same with those of the antient Persians, in as much as they understand none of the inscriptions remaining at Persepolis, neither are the characters of the present Gaurs any thing like those at Persepolis. The Arabick is the learned language, and in this the alcoran, and other books of divinity, as well as their books of morality, physick and philosophy are written. The Turkish language is usually spoken at court, and in the provinces adjoining to Turkey. At Shiraz, the capital city of Fars, or the antient Persia, they generally speak the Persian tongue.

As to the Arabick, I shall not enlarge upon it, till I come to treat of Arabia. The Persian tongue is a modern language, about the same date with their religion; and besides those words which are peculiar to it, there are a great number of words of other nations, which have in their turns conquered Persia, introduced into it; as those of the Turks, the Tartars, and the Arabs. There are also an inconceivable number of European words mixed with it, as High-Dutch, English and French; but more of the English than any, as it is said. Some our English travellers give us instances of, as broder for brother, daughter, &c. And some of their words they have from the Greek and Latin; but they borrow more from the Arabick than all the rest; insomuch that one who understands Persian perfectly well, is half instructed in Arabick.

In the Persian language they have neither grammar nor syntax, but make use of the Arabick rules: they have eight and twenty letters in their alphabet, and some reckon nine and twenty, but they are all consonants, except alif, which is their first letter, and which has the sound of our a; the letters vou and ye, are also in some instances used as vowels, but it is their accents that are properly their vowels, and give a sound to their other letters. They have no stops, comma, or paragraphs in their books; but, like our lawyers, when they enter upon a new clause, begin with a great letter, or an item. If ever they make points, it is for those who desire it, and will pay well for it, or for young people who are learning to read.

Their paper is made of rags of silk and cotton, mighty thin and smooth, and will bear but on one side: it is not so white and strong as ours, nor indeed in any respect comparable to it. Their ink is made of galls and vitriol, and the rind of pomegranates, with burnt rice powdered, which being made up into a cake, they dissolve in gum water. Instead of goose quills they have a reed something larger than a quil, of which they make their pens. Whatever language they write, the characters are Arabick.

It is observable that the Mahometans look upon paper as a sacred thing; they esteem it a very ill action for a man to burn or tear paper, and much more to put it to any vile uses; for, say they, the name of GOD, or some of his saints may be written upon it, and it would be impious to prophane it in such a manner. On the other hand, if it be not written upon, it is designed however, say they, for the writing matters upon it which concern religion, the laws divine and human, and such other venerable purposes, and therefore ought not to be put to any common use.

Writing.

The Persians have not yet the art of printing amongst them: their books therefore are all manuscripts. Writing is what the Persians excel in, and reckoned among the liberal arts: they write eight several hands; that which they call Nesky, and is the hand the alcoran is written in, is in most esteem. They stand or sit gracefully, holding the paper in their hands, and write with all imaginable ease, notwithstanding they have no table to lay their paper on as we have, and exceed the best of our clerks in the dispatch they make. They do not write, as we do, from the left hand to the right, but from the right to the left, as the Arabs do; neither do they write in a streight line, but the lines are convex, or bending like a bow, and the margin is on the right hand. They will write over a book as big as the bible in a fair character, for about ten pounds, provided the paper be found them: whereas we could not have a book of that bulk transcribed in England for fifty pounds. They have a vast number of clerks in all their great towns, but half of them hardly get bread. They ordinarily write from morning till night for five pence or six pence a day. They have a kind of short-hand in Persia, in which they use the letters of the alphabet, and the same letters differently pointed, will have twenty different significations.

Arithmetick.

In arithmetick the Persians make use of figures as we do, and their addition, substraction, multiplication and division is not very different from ours; but they go no higher, and are perfectly ignorant of the rule of three.

Learning.

Though it be generally held that learning flourished most in the East in the first ages; and the Persian Magi in particular, from their uncommon skill in astronomy and other sciences, were thought to entertain a commerce with infernal spirits, insomuch that a magician and a conjurer became terms of the same signification; yet we find that the sciences are not arrived to that perfection in Persia as in Europe. Whether they excel us in magick art, or judicial astrology I shall not take upon me to say; but it is a little strange, that when they had the use of letters so long before us, and Lucifer for their master, that they should be so extremely ignorant, even in astronomy and cosmography, which they particularly valued themselves upon. They understand neither the celestial nor terrestrial globes,

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and were ſurprized at their own ignorance, when an European brought a pair with him to Iſpahan a few years ſince. They have however an aſtrolabe, and can name the ſigns of the zodiack, and are not unacquainted with the other ſtars.

The ſciences in moſt eſteem at preſent (next to judicial aſtrology, which they have great faith in) are aſtronomy, geometry, arithmetick, natural and moral philoſophy, phyſick, and the ſtudy of their law, and they ſeem to have a more than ordinary paſſion for poetry; moſt of their beſt pieces are written in verſe. Every great man has a poet in his family, and no entertainment is complete unleſs a poet be there to oblige the company with his compoſitions. There are many of them who frequent the coffee-houſes, and publick places of reſort, where they repeat their poems to the audience, and are ſent for even by the common people to their houſes on ſolemn occaſions, in imitation, probably, of their ſuperiors, for the King himſelf entertains ſeveral as his domeſticks.

Their poets are very nice as to the rhime, but ſomething negligent in their numbers: their ſatire is chiefly levelled againſt the Turks, who certainly gave them ſcope enough, but a very brutiſh and barbarous nation, if compared with the Perſians.

According to the Perſians, the antient philoſophers in the eaſt were all poets, and their wiſe leſſons were delivered in verſe, to render them the more amiable and venerable, and that the people might readily retain them in their memories. It is the ſame thing in effect at this day in Perſia. The ſubject of their poems is generally ſome piece of morality, or philoſophy.

Poetry ſeems to be a talent peculiar to the Perſians, and in which they excel more than in any other part of literature. Their invention is fruitful and lively, their manner ſweet, their temper amorous, and their language has a ſoftneſs proper for verſe: one who did not underſtand a word of Perſian would be charmed with hearing their verſe recited, the very tone and cadence are ſo affecting. They mix verſe with all the proſe they write, and even in their common converſation; imagining that verſe gives a force and luſtre to their fineſt thoughts, and imprints them on their memory. Their fables which are only ſo many leſſons of morality, are all in rhime.

One method which the antients took to preſerve the memory of their great actions, was to make them the ſubject of their ſongs, and ſing them in their aſſemblies, and at their feſtivals, as is the cuſtom in Perſia at this day, and we may add, in moſt of the eaſtern kingdoms: the Aſiaticks begun it, and the Grecians and moſt nations in Europe followed them. There are more volumes of excellent poetry to be found in Perſia, than in any other country; one particularly we are told of, which is the hiſtory of their Kings, and contains ſixty ſix thouſand verſes: the thoughts are noble and elevated, their expreſſions ſoft, and their terms always the moſt proper that can be hit upon: their alluſions are delicate, and abundance of hyperbole you muſt expect in all their figures. Love is ſometimes the ſubject of their poems, as well as morality and hiſtory; but nothing immodeſt, or that countenances debauchery of any kind, is ever the ſubject of their verſe. There is one poem, among others, which is called the ſtory of the patriarch JOSEPH and POTIPHAR's which raiſes all the paſſions to the higheſt pitch.

From poetry we naturally come to enquire into their muſick; and it ſeems they ſing and play by rule, though they make but very indifferent harmony, at leaſt it ſeems ſo to European ears. There is no ſuch thing as ſinging in parts; but they ſing one after another, and they generally ſing to ſome ſtringed inſtruments like the lute or viol: their men ſing better than the women; but there are not many of them that practiſe it, ſinging being looked upon as a ſcandalous employment in Perſia, as well as dancing: people of condition will not ſuffer their children to learn either the one or the other; but it is left almoſt entirely to the common wenches and proſtitutes, as it is indeed all over the eaſt. It is reckoned an indecency in people of any reputation to ſing, and would render a man contemptible who ſhould attempt it in company. The Perſians call their ſinging women Caine, intimating that they derive their skill from the daughters of CAIN, who they pretend were the firſt inventers of ſinging and muſick in the eaſt. They have a great number of inſtruments both of ſtring and wind muſick; ſome in ſhape like our hautboys and flutes, others like the viol, harp, virginals, kettle-drum and trumpet; but ſurely their trumpet is the moſt monſtrous inſtrument for ſize and ſound that can be met with; it is commonly ſeven or eight foot long, and proportionably wide at the great end, and as much as a man can hold up: theſe and their drums in a manner drown all other ſounds; though the leſſer inſtruments, as has been obſerved, have no great harmony in them: and indeed their muſick, as it is called, ſerves chiefly inſtead of clocks, to let people know the time of day or night, ſounding conſtantly at certain hours; for bells you have none: and when the King or any great man goes out of his palace you have always notice of it by theſe drums and trumpets, who ſtand over the palace-gate, or in ſome balcony or gallery, and play upon ſuch occaſions, being heard at a vaſt diſtance. In ſome places the muſick and dancing

dancing girls make part of a great man's equipage, and run before him when he goes abroad.

It is obſervable that the ſtrings of their inſtruments are never made of gut, the touching of any thing belonging to a dead animal, eſpecially the entrails, being held a pollution; they make them therefore of twiſted ſilk or braſs-wire. And it is not only indecent, as has been obſerved, for people of condition to play upon a muſical inſtrument, but it ſeems alſo to be prohibited by their religion; and therefore their eccleſiaſticks and devotees will not ſo much as be preſent at ſuch entertainments. And this is one reaſon the ſcience is arrived at no greater perfection in Perſia. Their muſick are generally a ragged ſtrolling rabble, and except ſome of the King's, are hardly worth the hearing. However upon any feſtival, as the circumciſing of a child, or other joyful occaſion, they come and play before people's doors, and uſually have ſomething given them for their pains.

Aſtronomy is ſtudied in Perſia purely for the ſake of aſtrology; which laſt they term the revelation of the ſtars. The people of the eaſt look upon aſtrology as the key to futurity, and they have an inſatiable curioſity for prying into things to come. This ſeems to be the principal end of their ſtudies, and they look upon a perſon to be ſtupid and ignorant to the laſt degree who ſpeaks ſlightly of this ſcience.

The aſtrologers of Perſia, at leaſt the moſt celebrated, are all natives of the province of Choraſſan or Bactria, and of the town of Genabed. The King never entertains an aſtrologer who is not of that town. The reaſon that the aſtronomers here have more skill in their art than elſewhere, is, it is ſaid, becauſe the air is drier and purer, by which means they have a better opportunity to obſerve the motions of the ſtars. If we conſider the number of aſtrologers that are found in Perſia, the rank they hold, and the large penſions they receive from the crown, we may eaſily gueſs at the confidence that people put in them: they are paid by the government no leſs than four hundred thouſand pounds per annum. To the poſt of chief aſtrologer to his Majeſty there is annexed a penſion of ten thouſand pounds per annum, and to the ſecond aſtrologer five thouſand pounds per annum, and to the reſt according to their skill. They have alſo in preſents annually from the King one year with another two hundred thouſand pounds: and yet they are ſometimes arbitrarily puniſhed and put to death for the moſt trivial offences, and even for actions the moſt innocent in themſelves, according to the caprice of the Prince. Mr. CHARDIN relates, that in the reign of SEPHY, upon a day when the King and all the great men were aſſembled to ſee ſome criminals of ſtate cut in pieces, and the chief of the aſtrologers was there among the reſt, the King viewing attentively the countenances of his courtiers, obſerved that the principal aſtrologer ſhut his eyes at every ſtroke of the ſabre, as not able to behold ſo horrid a ſlaughter: the King thereupon called to the Governor of a province who ſat near him, and bid him put out the eyes of that dog who ſat at his left hand, ſince he did not uſe them. Which was excuted in an inſtant on the unhappy aſtrologer; which part of his deſtiny the ſtars never revealed to him, it ſeems.

There are conſtantly a certain number of aſtrologers in waiting at the Royal palace, and always ſome of the chief of them about the King's perſon, except when he is in the haram with his women, who advertiſe him of the lucky or unlucky moments. Every one of them carries an aſtrolabe hanging at his girdle in a neat little caſe, not bigger than the hollow of ones hand: they are conſulted not only in affairs of importance, but frequently upon the leaſt trifles; for inſtance, if his Majeſty ſhall go abroad; if it be an auſpicious hour to enter the haram; if it be a proper time to eat, or to give audience, &c. When theſe queſtions are asked, the aſtrologer immediately takes out his aſtrolabe, obſerves the ſituation of the ſtars, and by the aſſiſtance of his tables makes his aſtrological concluſions, to which they give entire faith as to an oracle.

Their aſtronomers obſerve pretty juſtly the eclipſes of the ſun and moon, and often foretel the very moment wherein thoſe luminaries will be obſcured: but there are inſtances of their being miſtaken half an hour, and eſpecially in eclipſes of the ſun: but they differ from us in nothing more than in the calculation of the vernal equinox; there being ſometimes an hour's difference between them and the Europeans. Comets they apprehend always portend ſome great calamity; but generally ſuppoſe their malign influences are directed againſt ſome other kingdom, rather than their own. They had neither celeſtial globes, or charts, or teleſcopes, to obſerve the conſtellations 'till the Europeans imported them; they have ſince indeed endeavoured to imitate their celeſtial globes, and had only ſome repreſentations of the conſtellations before in a book called, The plains of ABDAL RAHMEN. It is obſervable, however, that the figures were much the ſame as on our globes, the longitudes and latitudes of the ſtars are alſo marked, but a little different from ours.

The Perſians generally make forty eight conſtellations; and the names of them for the moſt part are the ſame we give them: but ſome of them are different. The only inſtruments they uſe in any of their operations are the aſtrolabe and JACOB's ſtaff; and as it is with theſe alone they take the elevation of the pole, it cannot be ſuppoſed that their latitudes are very exact. Their aſtrolabes,

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it is true, are very curiouſly made, being uſually done by the mathematicians themſelves: he will not be deemed of the number of the learned who cannot make his inſtruments himſelf.

The Perſian almanack is called Takumi, and contains the ephemerides of the enſuing year. It is properly a mixture of aſtronomy and judicial aſtrology, containing an account of the conjunctions, oppoſitions, aſpects, longitudes, latitudes, and in ſhort, the whole diſpoſition of the heavens. It contains alſo prognoſticks on the moſt notable events, as war, famine, plenty, diſeaſes, and other accidents of human life; with the lucky or unlucky times for tranſacting all manner of affairs, whether of importance or not; directing the people to regulate their conduct accordingly. The feſtivals alſo are marked as in our almanack; but whereas we divide the year into four ſeaſons, they make only two, namely, winter and ſummer. What is moſt obſervable is, that tho' there are great numbers of theſe almanack makers, and tho' they freuqently diſagree even in their aſtronomical calculations as well as their aſtrology, they are nevertheleſs looked upon as infallible. Their prognoſtications are generally taken from the moon, believing that this ſublunary world, as it is called, is much more influenced by this planet than by the ſun. And theſe aſtrologers, like other oracles, endeavour to deliver themſelves in dubious and equivocal expreſſions, which may bear half a dozen meanings; and if their predictions prove true in any ſenſe, or but in part, they are ſure to meet with applauſe, though they ſhould fail in ſome inſtances. They ſeem to regard the earth more than the heavens, and to be governed by probable circumſtances, rather than the conſtellations, in the predictions they make; and their predictions on that account are frequently found true. For inſtance, their almanacks are always publiſhed in the ſpring, when the winter is paſſed, and according to the weather they have had it is no difficult matter to foretel whether they ſhall have good or bad crops in the ſummer; eſpecially in a climate where the weather does not vary as in Europe; and from the ſame premiſſes they will be able to paſs a tolerable judgment on the health or ſickneſs of the enſuing ſeaſons. But above all, as the aſtrologers are always about the court, and have ſo great a ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs, and ſuch credit with all the world, they may be ſuppoſed to make very ſhrewd gueſſes in relation to politicks. They cannot but obſerve the humours and diſpoſitions of the Prince and his favourites; the likelihood there is that one will be reſtored and another diſgraced. Nay, they know very well what an influence they themſelves have in theſe caſes, inſomuch that there very rarely happens a conſiderable alteration in the ſtate, but it is brought about, and indeed the effect of ſome prediction of their own. The aſtrologers in Perſia have all the liberty and indulgence imaginable: they ſpeak of the government in ſuch a manner as would not be ſuffered in Europe. They will foretel the death of the King, or the diſgrace of a miniſter; and though the event does not happen according to their predictions, they are neither aſhamed of it, nor diſgraced, nor puniſhed for their inſolence.

From aſtrology I come naturally to ſpeak of their divination, and the ſeveral kinds of it ſtill in uſe among the Perſians, for they do not only ſuppoſe that the ſtars reveal, and are indeed the cauſe of every accident, and of every moral action; but they believe alſo, that God is pleaſed to let them know their fate by lots, by the throw of a die or even by toſſing up a piece of money, or croſs and pile, as we call it; when theſe are done with due ſolemnity, and a religious ſeriouſneſs. And theſe ſame aſtrologers are profeſſors alſo of the art of divination, though the Mahometan Prieſts come in for a ſhare in this gainful trade; and for this purpoſe the very alcoran, their moſt ſacred writings are proſtituted. If any perſon would know whether he is like to meet with good or ill ſucceſs in what he undertakes, he applies himſelf to a prieſt, and deſires he would conſult that book; whereupon he makes a preparation ſuitable to the quality of the perſon who conſults the oracle. He purifies himſelf by bathing, he puts on a clean robe, and having repeated certain prayers, he takes the alcoran in his hand, and opens it at a venture, and if the place he caſts his eye upon contains a poſitive command, the prediction is favourable, he may undertake the thing; but if it contains a negative, the contrary, and he ought to lay aſide his deſign. The greateſt Doctors are the moſt ſought after on theſe occaſions: the people imagining, that, in proportion to their learning and ſanctity, GOD reveals his mind by them.

The diviners and aſtrologers have their offices in all the great towns of Perſia, eſpecially at Iſpahan, for telling fortunes, and interpreting of dreams; they do not only make uſe of dice when people apply to them, but they have alſo a *folio* book containing about fifty pictures, ſome repreſenting the ſigns of the zodiack, and others their prophets and ſaints. Here the diviner pretends to diſcover all that is demanded of him, and takes upon him from his obſervations to give the interpretation of every dream.

Charms and amulets againſt diſeaſes and enchantments are another part of their ſuperſtition: you will not find a Perſian without his amulet, and ſome of them almoſt loaded with them; they put them alſo about the necks of their domeſtick animals: the amulets have certain inſcriptions on paper, and ſometimes on precious ſtones, and theſe inſcriptions they wear in little bags about them:

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them: they contain ſome paſſages of the alcoran, or ſentences of their ſaints or prophets, applicable to the diſeaſe or enchantment they would avert.

The Perſians alſo are extravagantly ſuperſtitious, in relation to days and times. They depend in theſe caſes as much on the diviners and aſtrologers, as a child upon its nurſe: for example, when the King is upon a journey, the aſtrologers ſhall make him riſe at midnight, and begin his march in the worſt weather that can happen, and perhaps out of the high-road, to avoid the unfortunate hour, or his evil ſtars, as they term it.

The next thing I come to enquire into is, the philoſophy of the Perſians, which they reduce under three heads; namely, phyſicks, metaphyſicks and logick. Their great maſter is ARISTOTLE, whom they have tranſlated into Arabick. Moſt of their authors have been of opinion, till very lately, that the greateſt part of the earth was not habitable, believing that there were no Antipodes; but they are of another opinion ſince the Europeans, who viſit their coaſts, came to them round Africk, by the way of the cape of Good-Hope. The philoſophy of EPICURUS and DEMOCRITUS is not known in Perſia; but the philoſophy of PYTHAGORAS, which prevails in India, is taught here by a ſect of Mahometans called Sefy's. Theſe underſtand the alcoran and all its precepts, and whatever regards exterior worſhip in religion, in a ſpiritual ſenſe, and though they practiſe corporal purifications with the other Mahometans, they don't look upon them to be eſſential to their religion, which makes the reſt of their church hate them mortally. However, they profeſs love to all the world, and to hate no man. They look upon all men as proceeding from one common father, and people of different ſects and perſuaſions, as all ſervants of the ſame maſter: they teach that the joys of Paradiſe conſiſt in an intimate knowledge of God, and a ſtrict union with him; and on the contrary, that hell conſiſts in a regret for being ſeparated from his preſence.

Ethicks, or moral philoſophy, ſeems to be more cultivated than any other in Perſia. This people ſhew a perfect reſignation under all misfortunes, and ſpeak of death, and ſuffer it with great evenneſs of temper. Moſt moral virtues ſeem to be deeply impreſſed on them, particularly patience, fortitude and temperance; nor does any nation practiſe hoſpitality more than the Perſians, as has been hinted already.

The wiſdom of the eaſtern nations has ever been couched in ſhort maxims and ſentences, ſtyled proverbs, in the ſame manner as in Perſia at this day. They taught the people alſo frequently by parables and fables, and particularly that part of ſcience which goes under the name of politicks, and this for two reaſons: firſt, becauſe ſenſible examples more effectually perſuade than bare precept; and ſecondly, becauſe the government of the eaſt has been always deſpotick; and the King without any forms of law might immediately ſentence a man to death by one ſingle word of his mouth, which made it dangerous treating on that ſubject, in any other manner than by way of fable and allegory.

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As to the geography of the Perſians it is but mean, they had neither terreſtrial globes, maps or planiſpheres, till the Europeans introduced them; they thought there was but a ſmall part of the earth inhabitable, and compared it to an orange ſwimming in a veſſel of water, the greateſt part whereof remains under water, and as there is nothing to be learnt from them in relation to this ſcience, but what we have in Europe in much greater perfection, I ſhall not take up the reader's time with a farther recital of their miſtaken notions; but proceed to their hiſtory, and this is a ſcience but little cultivated neither in Perſia; they are ſo far from knowing any thing of the hiſtory of Europe, or any diſtant country, that they are ignorant of that of their neareſt neighbours: nor has the hiſtory of their own nation any thing of certainty in it, till the eſtabliſhment of the Mahometan religion amongſt them. Their hiſtories before that time are but ſo many legends without the leaſt appearance of truth. They pretend that the world was created ſeveral thouſand years before ADAM, and that it was firſt inhabited by demons and ſpirits, who rebelling againſt God were thrown into hell, and that God introduced ADAM and his poſterity in their room. The hiſtory of their Kings in verſe, is indeed an excellent piece of poetry, and eſteemed equal to HOMER or VIRGIL with us. The author's name was FERDOUS, a native of Bactria, he lived in the beginning of the fifth age, according to the Mahometan era, under the reign of Sultan MAHAMED, who was Sovereign of that part of Perſia.

Geography.

Hiſtory.

The Perſian year begins at the vernal equinox, when their aſtrologers are employed in making an exact obſervation, by the aſtrolabe, of the very moment the ſun coming to the equator enters into aries. They compute their years alſo by the number of moons, reckoning twelve moons to a year, or three hundred fifty three days, ſo that their ſolar computation exceeds their lunar at leaſt twelve days in the year. Their epoch begins with the hegira, or flight of MAHOMET, which was in the month of July 622 years after the birth of our Saviour. This word hegira ſignifies a retreat, or flight, and MAHOMET it ſeems was conſtrained to fly from Mecca, the place of his birth, at this time upon account of the new doctrine he broached.

Their year.

General epoch.

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And as the Jews computed their time by jubilees, the Chriſtians by indictions, the Romans by luſtra's, and the Greeks by olympiads; the Perſians alſo in ſome caſes account by a revolution of four years. Their week begins on the Saturday, ſo that the ſeventh day, which is their ſabbath, falls on a Friday: they call it adine, or tzumeh, that is the day of aſſembly when they meet for religious worſhip.

Upon the nuries, or new-year's-day, the great men wait on the King, to wiſh him a happy new year, every one making him a valuable preſent, as do the abſent Chams who reſide in diſtant governments. They clothe all their retinue at this time in the gayeſt equipage; and the meaneſt of the people will alſo be new clothed on that day from head to foot if it be poſſible, and the time is ſpent in entertainments, and making preſents to their friends or patrons.

Meaſure of time

As they have not the art of making clocks or watches, they divide the day into four equal parts, and the night into as many; and they have a hollow brazen veſſel with a little hole in it, which they ſet upon the water, and is filled in about the ſpace of three hours, and when it ſinks the watch is expired; of which notice is given by the publick drums and trumpets in all great towns. And the brazen bowl is ſet upon the water again to meaſure another watch.

Phyſicians and diſeaſes.

I come next to ſpeak of their phyſicians, and the diſtempers the Perſians are liable to. The Perſians call a phyſician hakaym, or the preſerver of life. There is not a country in the eaſt where phyſicians are in greater eſteem, or that produces a greater variety of medicines and phyſical drugs: it is a common ſaying in Perſia, that the aſtrologers and phyſicians devour the country, which is in a great meaſure true. The King always entertains vaſt numbers in his pay, who are not leſs chargeable to him than his aſtrologers; but there is an eternal difference between them, for when the phyſician has preſcribed and prepared the medicine, the patient muſt wait till the aſtrologer aſſigns the lucky moment to take it, and if it has not its due effect, the aſtrologer lays it upon the ignorance of the phyſician; while the phyſician, on the other hand, tells his patient, the reaſon it had no better ſucceſs, was becauſe the aſtrologer was miſtaken in his calculation.

They judge of a diſeaſe chiefly by feeling the pulſe, or conſidering the patients urine, and learn their diſtempers without ſeeing them, which ſeems neceſſary in Perſia, in relation to the female ſex, who are never ſeen on any occaſion whatever, and when the phyſician deſires to feel a woman's pulſe, they give him her hand covered with crape or fine linen, having all the while a curtain between them. They ſeldom bleed in Perſia, but give emulſions and other potions in a fever, which is the moſt ordinary diſtemper in the country, and of theſe four or five pints ſometimes in a morning; but they never give clyſters, which ſome think proceeds from an exceſs of modeſty, or rather becauſe their religion prohibits them to expoſe their parts, even in a bath, or when they are in bed, which is the reaſon that both men and women always lye in drawers.

Their phyſicians, like ours, obſerving how much it concerns them that the patient be not diſpirited, tell him with the greateſt aſſurance, if he is at death's door, that there is no manner of danger, and that they will reſtore him in a few days. In their preſcriptions they always follow GALEN, whom the Perſians call GALENOUS. They have a tradition that he was contemporary with our Saviour, and that there was a correſpondence between them. Their legends alſo relate, that GALEN having heard of the cures done by our Saviour, declared that it was impoſſible they could be performed by a common man, and that he muſt be a prophet. That thereupon he ſent a letter by his nephew to JESUS CHRIST to this effect: 'GALEN, a very 'aged man, phyſician of the body, to him who 'is the phyſician of ſouls: what I have heard 'of you, and of your works, raviſhes my ad'miration, and to me is inconceivable. Not be'ing able to attend you my ſelf, becauſe of my 'great age, I ſend my nephew to the end you 'may inſtruct him what is good for me in par'ticular, and for the world in general.' Their legend adds, that this nephew of GALEN was St. PHILIP, and that CHRIST kept him with him, and took him into the number of his Apoſtles.

Their other great maſters in phyſick are HERMES TRISMEGISTUS, and AVICENNA, or ABOUSINA, as they call him, the moſt celebrated phyſician and philoſopher in Aſia in his time. In ſurgery the Perſians are very ignorant: their barbers are the only ſurgeons, and few of them underſtand any thing more than blood letting: there is not a phyſician in Perſia that ever ſaw a body diſſected; but they have the leſs occaſion for ſurgeons, becauſe the air is ſo good that green wounds almoſt heal of themſelves, and they are exempt from many of thoſe maladies which ariſe from a corruption and flux of humours among us. The Perſian phyſicians are both druggiſts and apothecaries, and have their ſhops, and ſervants to make up their medicines. The phyſician demands nothing for his advice, but only for his medicines, where the patient comes to his houſe; however, it is uſual to make him a preſent. When the phyſician viſits the patient he has about two guineas for the firſt, and one for every ſucceeding viſit: notwithſtanding there are a multitude of Phyſicians in Perſia, the country in

in general, as has been obſerved already, is very healthful (except that part of it which lyes on the ſea coaſt) and this is thought to proceed from the dryneſs of the air, as well as the temperance of the people, who ſeldom eat or drink to exceſs: and ſome aſcribe it to the ſerenity of their minds, no people having a more entire maſtery of their paſſions.

The plague ſcarce ever viſits Perſia, though the neighbouring kingdoms of Turkey and India are ſeldom free from it. The ſtone, the gout, fevers, head-ach and tooth-ach, they are equally ſtrangers to; and though it is true, many of them have the pox, yet it has not thoſe pernicious effects there, as in Europe: there are not thoſe blotches and breakings out, which are found upon thoſe who have that diſtemper amongſt us. They eat and drink, and bathe together when they are afflicted with it, and whether their bathing together may not be one means of ſpreading it, and making it ſo common is very much queſtioned. However, no body it ſeems is aſhamed of being pox'd, but they ſpeak of it as of any other ordinary diſtemper; and little boys of eight or ten years old are found to have it. But, however frequent bathing may communicate the diſtemper to others, it is thought to be of great ſervice to thoſe who have it upon them, and to prevent abundance of the ill effects the Europeans feel in that condition.

The ſmall-pox, conſumptions, apoplexy, and falling ſickneſs, are ſcarce known amongſt them; but the diſeaſes the Perſians are moſt ſubject to, are fevers, St. Anthony's fire, pleuriſy, colick, dyſenteries, and dropſies. Near the gulph of Perſia they are troubled with a ſmall worm which breeds in their legs, of a prodigious length: they are drawn out by twiſting them round a ſtick, but if they happen to break in the operation, it is of very ill conſequence to the patient. Near the Caſpian ſea, the common diſtemper is the yellow jaundice: travellers obſerve, that the people in general in Hyrcania have a ſickly yellowiſh caſt.

The Perſian phyſicians will remove a fever very ſuddenly, but then they frequently throw the patient into a dropſy; whatever the firſt diſeaſe be which the patient is attacked with, the ſwelling of his legs generally ſucceeds, and it is frequently a great while before this is removed; very often it carries them to their graves, a dropſy being more fatal than any other diſtemper in Perſia. Their uſual medicine in a fever is the cold ſeeds, which they put into water, and give the patient to drink down.

In the colick, and ſeveral other diſtempers, they uſe burning and cauterizing, this is their laſt remedy where a perſon is afflicted with wind. In a dyſentery they give ſour milk, boiled with rice till it is dry. For the hemorrhoids they apply the oil of naphte. They never ſuffer the ſick perſon to change his linen or his clothes while the illneſs laſts, or to eat bread or fleſh: boiled rice, or a kind of gruel made of it, is almoſt the only diet of a ſick man; but the moſt general remedy in Perſia is the bath, in almoſt all diſtempers.

Their baths. Their baths conſiſt of three rooms, which receive their light from little round quarries of glaſs in the arched roof: the firſt is a great room, with wooden benches round about it; here they put off their clothes and dreſs themſelves for the bath. The ſecond, which moſt commonly is ſquare, is ſix feet diameter, and has a kind of copper three or four foot ſquare ſet in the floor, covered with a flat copper plate, which heats the water and the bagnio, the fire being underneath on the outſide. In the third room is the place for bathing. In the morning before day a ſervant goes up to the terras on the top of the houſe, and ſounds a ſhell or horn, to give notice that the bath is ready. When any perſon comes to bathe, he undreſſes himſelf in the firſt room, as was ſaid, and ties a cloth about his middle, which reaches down to his knees; then he enters into the ſtove, whither a few moments after a ſervant comes, and pours a quantity of water on his ſhoulders, rubs him from head to foot in ſo rough a manner, that thoſe who are not uſed to it think he is about to flea them; afterwards he ſhaves the perſon's face and head, if he deſires it, cuts the nails of his fingers and toes, handles his body, ſqueezes and rubs it, and ſtretches every finger and limb, as if he was about to diſlocate them; and this takes up about a quarter of an hour: after the perſon has been thus ſtretched and ſqueezed he goes and plunges himſelf into the bath, and being wiped with a clean linen cloth when he comes out, he returns into the firſt room, and puts on his own clothes again.

The time limited for the men's bathing is from twilight in the morning till four in the afternoon; and the women go from that time till midnight. When it is the women's turn to bathe, all the male ſervants of the bagnio withdraw, and are ſucceeded by girls. The ladies are never ſo finely dreſſed as when they come to bathe; this is the only opportunity they have of vying with one another in the article of clothes, and their perfumes and eſſences are enough to ſtifle one who is not uſed to them.

In the bath called collatin, at Iſpahan, ten perſons may bathe at once: but if you go to thoſe large baths the latter part of the day, you will find the ſurface of the water perfectly thickened with a greaſy matter which ſwims upon the top of it, which proceeds from the infirm bodies of thoſe who waſh in it, and appears very nauſeous. But the Perſians who are uſed to it, when they plunge themſelves over head and ears into the wa-

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ter, as they are obliged to do when they would cleanſe themſelves from any legal pollutions, only ſtrike away the thick ſcum with their hands, and then throw themſelves in. And as all ſorts of people, the infirm and the healthful, the poxed and the ſound, all bathe together, it is to be admired the Perſians are ſo healthful as their florid countenances demonſtrate they are.

The great Lords have bagnio's in their own houſes, and thoſe of a lower rank have them adjoining to their houſes, the uſe whereof they reſerve to themſelves at certain times, but let them out to others, upon condition only of keeping a conſtant fire, with veſſels and other implements neceſſary for bathing.

Painting, &c.

I ſhall add but a word or two in relation to their painting and ſtatuary, for in theſe the Perſians do not excel at preſent, though their antiquities ſhew that there have formerly been men of skill among them. They do not, any more than the Chineſe, endeavour to imitate nature, but ſeem to delight in monſtrous miſhapen figures; nor do they know any thing of perſpective. The Europeans far exceed them, both in the liberal and mechanick arts. But one reaſon they apply themſelves no more to painting and graving is, probably, becauſe their religion diſcourages them; their preciſe doctors prohibit the repreſentation of every created animal. Our Diſſenters are not half ſo much ſet againſt images and pictures as the Mahometans. A Mahometan would not perform his devotions where there was a picture in the room for the world: which puts me in mind of ſome devout Chriſtians, who cover the pictures of their ſaints when they are about to enjoy their miſtreſſes, that they may not be witneſſes of their wantonneſs. But to proceed, there are not in Perſia, at preſent, either ſtatuaries or founders, or any emboſſed work made. They draw their pictures commonly with a ſide face, ſcarce ever the full viſage, and when they do, they ſucceed very ill; for they know not how to give the ſhades; even the figures of animals are bunglingly done. Their flowers are pretty well, and they have an advantage of us in the livelineſs of their colours, and the dryneſs of the air, which hardens and poliſhes them.

Before I conclude this chapter of their learning and liberal arts, it may not be amiſs to enquire into the education of the Perſians, and of their

Schools and colleges.

ſchools and colleges erected for that purpoſe. And I find there are abundance of ſchools in every town, where, beſides the Perſian, is taught Arabick, which is their learned language; the alcoran, and their other ſacred writings are all in this language, and the alcoran is looked upon as the ſtandard of good language, both for grammar and rhetorick. People of condition chooſe to have private tutors for their children, rather than ſend them to the publick ſchools; and no nation, it is ſaid, is more intent on the education of children, and breeding them up to manly exerciſes than the Perſians. CHAP. VII.

Their ſchools are called mekteb, which ſignifies an entrance; this being, ſay they, the gate by which lads enter into the ſciences. There are a great number of ſchools in every town, and the expence of ſchooling is very ſmall. They learn here the Perſian and Arabian languages, with writing and accompts; which when they are arrived at ſome perfection in, they are removed to ſome college or medres, as they call them, which ſignifies a place where their doctrine or principles of their religion are taught. Their colleges are all endowed, and ſome of them very rich; the largeſt have fifty or ſixty apartments, and to each of them belong two chambers. In thoſe colleges that are beſt endowed every ſcholar has about two ſhillings a day allowed him, which he lays out as he ſees fit; for they do not common together, as with us. There are ſome colleges where the ſtudents have not more than a peny a day, and yet intereſt is made to get into one of theſe, on account of having a lodging gratis, and ſome other caſual advantages. Many there are who get in without any deſign to ſtudy, and live and grow old in thoſe houſes, and are allowed to have their wives and children with them, whoſe principal deſign ſeems to be to indulge in eaſe and idleneſs.

There are abundance of colleges in the great towns of Perſia, and ſome in the villages. The Perſians lay out the greateſt part of their charities in publick foundations. In the firſt place they uſually build a caravanſera, for the lodging of travellers gratis; afterwards a bagnio, a coffee-houſe, a bazar, or market-place, and they purchaſe alſo a garden, and theſe they let out, and apply the revenues ariſing from them, towards the building and endowing of a college. The founder and his heirs have the appointment of the head and governors of the ſociety, and if the founder's eſtate happens to be forfeited to the crown, the King has the nomination. In Iſpahan there are fifty-ſeven colleges, moſt of them of Royal foundation, or which have devolved to the crown; there are profeſſors who teach the ſciences in every college, to whom the ſcholars make an annual allowance for their trouble; but as there are ſeveral who read lectures gratis, the ſcholars frequently reſort to theſe, and forſake their proper tutors. Thoſe ſtudents who are men of parts and learning, may have a handſome ſalary in any great man's houſe, for inſtructing his children; for theſe never ſend their children either to ſchools or colleges, but have them educated in their own houſes. The head of the houſe admits or excludes whom he ſees fit, and pays the ſtudents their penſions monthly, ſo that they ſhew him abundance of reſpect.

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respect. Besides their colleges, there are in every town those who teach the liberal arts gratis, and these are frequently great officers who have been discarded, or have voluntarily retired from court. These frequently allow their disciples books and paper, and entertain them at their own expences certain days in the week, and sometimes clothe their pupils, and give them money; and by this means they endeavour to recover their reputation with the people: for nothing gives a gentleman such a reputation in Persia, as the instructing great numbers of scholars at their own expence, and the being patrons of learning and learned men. When they have made some progress in the sciences they begin to dispute before their particular tutors; but there are no publick disputations or lectures as in Europe.

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Treats of the establishment of the present Royal Family, of the prerogative of the Persian Kings, and the succession of the crown.

THE Persians generally hold, especially the clergy, that none but prophets, their substitutes or successors have a right to dominion; they observe that GOD has in all times governed his people by prophets, who were supreme both in spirituals and temporals; as ABRAHAM, MOSES, SAMUEL, DAVID, SOLOMON, and lastly MAHOMET, to whom succeeded HALY, and the twelve Imans, as the Persians assert.

I shall not enter into the pedigrees, or history of their antient Kings, my business being with the present times; however it may be proper to give some account of the rise and establishment of the present Royal Family, as I have done in treating of other countries.

TAMERLANE having defeated BAJAZET, and returning through Persia, with great numbers of Turkish and Persian captives, CHIEK AIDER, a doctor of law in great reputation for his sanctity among the Mahometans, obtained of him the release of most of his prisoners, which still encreased the fame of the CHIEK; insomuch that when TAMERLANE marched away, the CHIEK began to entertain thoughts of assuming sovereign power. In order to it he gave out that he was rightly descended from HALY, the son-in-law, and only legal successor of MAHOMET, and took upon him the title of Caliph, which signifies priest as well as Prince, ISMAEL SEFI, or SOPHI, the son of AIDER, followed his father's steps, and being successful in several battles, established himself in the government, and is reckoned the first King of the present dynasty or family. To ISMAEL SOPHI succeeded Shaw THOMAS, who being a cruel Prince was deposed, and succeeded by his brother MAHOMET CODABUNDI, a weak man, famous for nothing but his being the father of the great Shaw ABBAS, who reigned about a hundred years since.

Shaw ABBAS enlarged the empire on every side: he took the province of Candahor from the Great Mogul: he conquered the kingdom of Lar and Ormus, and drove the Turk almost out of Armenia and Georgia: he encouraged all arts and sciences; and as he found the Persians were not at all inclined to foreign trade, he transplanted the Armenians of Zulpha to Ispahan, and made them his factors and merchants, in every part of Europe and Asia, where there was any such thing as traffick: and as he observed the pilgrimages to Mecca carried abundance of treasure out of his dominions, he went himself a pilgrimage to the tomb of IMANREZEZ, which is situated in the dominions of Persia, in hopes his subjects would carry their pious alms thither, and the money might circulate in his own country: he was also so severe against those who are guilty of the least fraud, that he ordered a cook to be roasted alive, and a baker to be baked in his own oven, for keeping of false weights. But with all his virtues I find Shaw ABBAS generally charged with cruelty, especially towards his son SOPHI MIRZA, a Prince of great expectations, and the darling of the people; for he was not shut up in the haram, as is usual, but attended his father in all his wars, and was looked upon to be one of the greatest generals of his time.

Certain it is that SEFI MIRZA, by being bred up among the soldiery, and frequently commanding them in the most hazardous enterprizes, became extremely popular in the army; whether he was really concerned in any conspiracy with the Generals, to depose his father, does not appear; but the King was so apprehensive of it, that he did not think himself in any security while his son lived. Some writers who pretend to have enquired into the truth of the fact, tell us that Shaw ABBAS having rendered himself odious to the principal Chams by his repeated cruelties, they made an offer of advancing his son SEFI MIRZA to the throne, which the father having an intimation of, commanded a nobleman who attended him, to bring him his son's head: but he excusing himself, another courtier, named BEBUT BEY, undertook to do it, and surprizing SEFI MIRZA, as he came out of the bagnio, attended only by one page, acquainted him it was his father's pleasure he should die, and immediately seized the unfortunate Prince, and threw him upon the floor, who lifting up his eyes to heaven, cried out, 'Good GOD, what have I done to merit this 'disgrace, curse on the traitor who was the occa-'sion of it; but since it is GOD's will, his and 'the King's be done.' The words were scarce ended

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ended when BEBUT ſtabbed him twice with a poniard, and cutting off his head carried it to his father.

The people were no ſooner acquainted with this tragical event; but they aſſembled at the palace gates, and it was like to have occaſioned a general inſurrection. The mother of SEFI MIRZA upbraided the old King with his cruelty and tyranny, and in the tranſport of her paſſion, flew in his face; all which his Majeſty took very patiently, and with tears in his eyes demanded of her 'what ſhe would have had him done, when 'he was informed there was a conſpiracy againſt 'his life: beſides, it was now paſt redreſs, and 'could not be undone: that none had a greater 'ſhare of grief than himſelf, and of two evils he 'had only choſe what he then eſteemed the leaſt; 'though, if his ſon was alive again, he would 'run any hazard rather than take the ſame mea-'ſures.' And indeed he diſcovered all the ſigns of grief imaginable; he covered his face and would not ſee the light for ſeveral days, he mortified himſelf by faſting, and mourned a whole year; and in the place where his ſon was killed he built a ſanctuary, and endowed it with large revenues: and to revenge himſelf on the Perſian Lords, who had inſtilled theſe fears and jealouſies of his ſon into his head, he ordered them to be invited to a feaſt, and to mix poiſon with their wine, and ſaw them every one expire before his face.

BEBUT BEY, who had ſo readily and officiouſly obeyed the King's commands, in murdering his ſon, the King commanded to cut off the head of his own ſon; and when he brought it him in his hand, and told his Majeſty, that the reflection of what he had done would certainly bring him to his grave; the King replied, that now he was capable of judging what his grief muſt be, and bid him comfort himſelf, that in this particular he was equal to the King his maſter. Shaw ABBAS having reigned about forty years, died anno 1628, appointing his grandſon Shaw SEFI, or SOPHI, the ſon of SEFI MIRZA, his ſucceſſor.

Shaw Sefi.

Shaw SEFI ſucceeded to the crown when he was not fifteen years of age, and the adminiſtration continued in the ſame hands his grandfather left it for ſome time, but he was no ſooner come to man's eſtate than he began to call the principal Miniſters to a ſevere account, and cut off the head of ALI COULI CHAN, Viceroy of Perſia, who had deſerved well of his country, and contributed as much as any General to the conqueſts that were made in the late reign. He alſo ſent for the heads of his three ſons, and of ſeven other great Lords of the court. His reign was violent and tyrannical; and he drank to that exceſs that in one of his debauches he killed the Queen, for which he was under the deepeſt concern when he grew cool, and prohibited the drinking wine in any part of his dominions; but within a year's time he fell into the ſame courſes again, and died in a debauch, after he had reigned fourteen years.

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Shaw Abbas II.

Shaw ABBAS II. ſucceeded his father Shaw SEFI, being then about twelve years of age: he had the reputation of a brave Prince, and was hoſpitable to ſtrangers, eſpecially Chriſtians; but ſo addicted to his father's vice of drunkenneſs, that he ordered three of his women to be burnt becauſe they refuſed to drink as long as he did. He died, ſome ſay, of an inflammation cauſed by hard drinking; and others, that he was carried off by the venereal diſeaſe in the year 1664, after he had reigned one and twenty years.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon Shaw SEFI the ſecond. But the grandees apprehending that this Prince had been dead, were about to advance his younger brother HAMZEL MIRZAH to the throne, till they were undeceived by an old eunuch, who aſſured them that Shaw SEFI was alive. This Prince changed his name, and took that of SOLYMAN inſtead of SEFI: in his reign, it is obſerved, that the kingdom was afflicted with war, famine, and epidemick diſtempers; but his government was much milder than his immediate predeceſſors: he died on the 29th of July 1694, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Shaw Sultan HOSSEIN, whom his father expreſsly prohibited to put in practiſe that cruel cuſtom of putting out the eyes of his brothers; but whether he obeyed his commands, is very uncertain, it being difficult to know what is done in the ſeraglio. This Prince after a long indolent reign, was depoſed by MAHAMOOD the ſon of MEREWEYS, as has been already related.

The King of Perſia is an abſolute monarch, and has the lives and eſtates of his ſubjects entirely at his diſpoſal: there is no Prince in the world more implicitly obeyed, let his orders be never ſo unjuſt, or given at times when he is ſo little maſter of his reaſon that he knows not what he ſays or does. Nothing can ſave the greateſt ſubject if he determines to deprive him of his life or his eſtate, neither zeal for his perſon, merit or paſſed ſervices will avail in the leaſt. If he be in a humour to ruin them it is done by a word of his mouth, or by a ſign, and executed in an inſtant, without any form of law or evidence of the fact: the common people who are at a diſtance from the court have much the better of the quality in this reſpect: there are very ſeldom inſtances of any oppreſſion or ſevere judgments executed upon theſe; but they ſeem to enjoy as much ſecurity as in any country in the world; and perhaps the magiſtrates are the more inclined to govern equitably in regard they know nothing can ſkreen them from the reſent-

ment

ment of their Sovereign if they are guilty of any ſiniſter practices.

The Perſians out of conſcience, it is ſaid, obey all the commands of their Prince without reſerve, and believe that the King's orders ought to be obeyed againſt the very laws of nature: inſomuch that if the ſon be commanded to be his father's executioner, or the father the ſon's, it muſt be complied with. But if he command any thing in prejudice of their religion they are not obliged to obey him, but ought to ſuffer any thing rather than violate the law of God.

A prime miniſter in the Perſian court, Mr. CHARDIN and ſeveral other writers mention, whom the King commanded to drink with him, but he excuſed himſelf, telling the King that he had been a pilgrimage to Mecca, and could not drink without violating the laws of their religion. To which the King anſwered, thouſands have gone in pilgrimage to Mecca, and yet drink wine: drink therefore when your Sovereign commands you. But this gentleman ſtill refuſing, the King abuſed him in the groſſeſt manner, made the ſervants throw the wine in his face, and down his boſom, and pour it into his mouth by force. Then he threatned him with immediate death, to which he anſwered, the King had a right to his life but not to his religion; and he choſe rather to die than drink. And though his Majeſty did not think fit to put his threats in execution, he turned him out of his employment; however he was reſtored afterwards with abundance of honour, and the King ſeemed to value him the more ever afterwards for his reſolution in this particular.

Mr. THEVENOT relates, that Shaw SEFI, without any provocation, ordered that one of the greateſt officers of the crown ſhould have his ears cut off in his preſence by his own ſon; which that unnatural ſon immediately executed. Then he commanded him to cut off his father's noſe, which was executed. Whereupon the old gentleman finding himſelf thus abuſed by his own ſon, and by order of the King, whom he had not offended, ſaid to the cruel Prince, ah, ſir, after this I ought not to live any longer, cauſe me therefore to be put to death; which he had no great trouble in obtaining, but that it might not ſeem a favour, he added to the cruelty of the order by appointing his own ſon to be his executioner, bidding him cut off his father's head and he ſhould have his whole eſtate: which this unnatural parricide readily obeyed.

But nothing makes the Perſian government appear more tyrannical than the cuſtom of executing the Governors of provinces and great Officers of ſtate without giving them an opportunity of making their defence, or being informed of the crime they are charged with: it is uſual for the King two or three times in a year to ſend every Governor the calaat, or Royal veſt, and theſe are ſent by ſuch perſons as the court intends a favour to; for the Cham or Governor to whom they are ſent always makes a conſiderable preſent to the meſſenger. When he comes within two or three miles of the place where the Governor reſides, the meſſenger ſends him word to come and receive the calaat; but inſtead of a fine coat the Governor ſometimes is preſented with a halter, and is diſpatched without any farther ceremony. This makes the Governors very watchful over their conduct, and they are always under diſmal apprehenſions when they hear the calaat is arrived, knowing how common it is to have their beſt actions miſrepreſented to the Prince.

The Perſians ſay in defence of this practice, that the court ſeldom proceed with that ſeverity, but in extraordinary caſes, where the fact is notorious, and there is danger of a rebellion if they ſhould cite the perſon accuſed to anſwer; that if it be otherwiſe, they always give him an opportunity of anſwering his charge. As for thoſe about the court, whom the King looks upon as ſlaves he has purchaſed, he does not think himſelf obliged to obſerve theſe formalities, but dooms them to be puniſhed or put to death as he ſees fit.

The King of Perſia has no privy council or council of ſtate, as in the European governments; but he acts as he is adviſed by the prime miniſter and great officers: that which moſt perplexes the miniſtry is the cabals that are carried on by the women in the haram: the reſolutions that are taken here frequently thwart their beſt laid ſchemes, and the miniſters do not only run the riſque of having their counſels rejected, but they very often turn to their own deſtruction if they are not ſuitable to the intereſt or inclination of the Ladies in moſt favour.

Succeſſion of the crown.

The crown of Perſia is hereditary, but the females are excluded as in France. However the ſon of a daughter may inherit, tho' his mother could not. One reaſon whereof is, that thoſe who pretend to derive their pedigree from MAHOMET do it by the females, for MAHOMET had no ſon: but HALY having married FATIMA, MAHOMET's eldeſt daughter, the Perſians ſay he acquired thereby a right to the empire; and from the iſſue of that marriage it is that the preſent Royal Family in Perſia pretend to deduce their pedigree. OSMAN, under whom the Turks claim, they ſay, married MAHOMET's ſecond daughter; and therefore, according to them, had no right to ſucceed him. To proceed, what ſeems moſt particular in their laws of ſucceſſion in Perſia is, that a blind man ſhall not inherit; and as thoſe males who proceed from the female branches are as capable of ſucceeding as thoſe who derive themſelves

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from the males, that cruel policy of putting out the eyes of all that are allied to the crown is executed upon every male of the Royal Family, whether they proceed from ſons or daughters.

The eyes of all the males related to the King put out.

As there are no common executioners in Perſia, the orders for putting out the eyes of the Royal infants are executed by any one the King happens to pitch upon; and they are not contented to do it by holding a hot iron to them, as formerly, but the very eye balls are ſcooped clean out with the point of a knife or dagger, according as the perſon is provided who is ſent on the errand; and being not uſed to ſuch operations, the poor children are put to inexpreſſible torture, and ſometimes loſe their lives under the hands of theſe butchers.

But though the crown generally deſcends to the eldeſt ſon, the King ſometimes cauſes the eldeſt to have their eyes put out, and leaves it to the youngeſt. The Perſians ſeem to excuſe this barbarous practice of putting out the eyes of the Royal infants by telling us, that it prevents all diſputes about the ſucceſſion, and a great deal of bloodſhed; and that they are much more merciful than their neighbours the Turks, who deſtroy every branch of the Royal Family. The Perſians, on the other hand, permit them to live, give them wives, and ſuffer them to enjoy all the pleaſures that blind men are capable of in the haram. But what a heart-breaking muſt it be for theſe miſerable Princes to reflect, that all the males which proceed from them will be ſerved in the ſame manner themſelves have been, and have their eye balls torn out of their heads. As to the Princeſſes of the Blood Royal, they are generally married to ſome eccleſiaſtick; but never to a man of the ſword or a miniſter of ſtate, leſt it ſhould inſpire them with ambitious ſentiments. The fortune of their male iſſue, as has been obſerved, depends altogether on the King's pleaſure, and they have commonly more reaſon to be afflicted when they have children, than when they have none: for when a Princeſs is brought to bed, the news is immediately carried to the King, who gives his orders according to the humour he is in, or the regard he has for the parents. There have been inſtances where the King has permitted the males to enjoy their lives and their eyeſight; but it is much oftener that he commands them to be ſtarved or deprived of ſight in the manner above related.

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Treats of the arms of Perſia, and the pompous titles this Monarch aſſumes.

The arms of Perſia and the King's titles.

THE arms of the King of Perſia are a lion couchant looking at the ſun as it riſes over his back. His uſual title is Shaw, or Patſhaw, the diſpoſer of kingdoms, which is the higheſt title known in Aſia, and equivalent to that of Emperor in Europe. They add alſo to the King's titles thoſe of Sultan, and Caun or Cham, which is the title of the Tartar Sovereigns. To acts of ſtate the Perſian Monarch does not ſubſcribe his name, but the grant concludes in this manner, viz. This act (or edict) is given by him whom the univerſe obeys. The laſt King but one in his letters ſtyled himſelf, victorious Lord of the world: the moſt valiant Prince deſcended from CHEIK SEPHY, MOUSSA and HASSEIN. Some of them in their parents have enumerated the ſeveral kingdoms or provinces under their dominion; as the King of Spain ſtyles himſelf King of Caſtile, Leon, Arragon, &c. ſo the Perſian Princes write themſelves Kings of Perſia, Media, Parthia, Hyrcania, Bactria, &c. and ſometimes, King of Kings, their Viceroys bearing the title of Chams or Sovereigns.

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His ſubjects in their addreſſes call him the moſt renowned of all men living: the ſource of power, majeſty and glory, equal to the ſun, ſubſtitute of heaven, object of all men's vows, maſter of the conjunctions, head of the moſt excellent religion, Prince of the faithful, ſhadow of the Almighty GOD, Father of victory, Lord of the revolutions of the world, thrice happy Sultan HOSSEIN PATSHAW, deſcended from SEFY MOUSSA and HASSEIN, diſpoſer of thrones and crowns, &c. With theſe or ſuch titles as theſe all petitions and repreſentations to the throne abound: but when they ſpeak to the King they ſtyle him uſually, the Lieutenant of GOD, or the Prince by whom GOD diſpenſes his grace and favour to men.

Princes of the Blood.

Thoſe of the Blood Royal are called Mirza, as Sophi Mirza, Ibraham Mirza, &c. The word Mirza ſignifying the ſon of a Prince.

Great officers of ſtate.

I come now to give an account of the great officers of the court and magiſtracy, and 'tis obſerved that the Perſians, like the Romans, prefer all men indifferently to poſts in the ſtate and in the army. The gown-men ſometimes command as generals, and ſoldiers ſit as judges in the courts of juſtice; and the ſame perſon has been prime miniſter and high prieſt: but they generally take care to prefer natural Perſians to civil and eccleſiaſtical employments, and the natives of Georgia, and other frontier countries, who are proud of being ſtyled the King's ſlaves, are uſually preferred in the army. There is ſeldom any regard paid to a perſon's birth or fortune in his promotion, but the King diſpoſes of places as he apprehends his ſubjects qualified for them. They enjoy their poſts during life, and ſometimes their children after them, where they have behaved well; and there are inſtances where a government has continued in a family ſeveral generations; but as the favourites at court are always endeavouring

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deavouring to make room for their own creatures, this does not often happen.

When a great man is intended to be inveſted in an office, his commiſſion is ſent him written on a roll of paper two or three foot long, in a fine large character, mixed with gold and colours, and put into a purſe made of gold brocade; and with it is ſent the calaat, or rich habit which the King always gives to thoſe he deſigns to honour. If it be a man of the ſword who is preferred, he receives a broad ſword and poniard, with the habit, ſet with precious ſtones. The new officer thereupon immediately goes to court clothed in the Royal habit, and waiting till the King appears in publick, he proſtrates himſelf three times before him with his face to the ground, after which he riſes up and takes his place in the preſence chamber, or room of ſtate, according to his rank; for every man has his proper ſtation aſſigned when he appears before the King, and is never ſeen out of his place but when buſineſs or his Majeſty requires it. When a perſon is diſgraced it is done by ſending for his commiſſion, or the ſeal of his office, as the caſe is, and ſometimes he is ordered to confine himſelf to his houſe till his Majeſty's pleaſure is farther known; but if there have been nothing notoriouſly amiſs in his adminiſtration, he is generally reſtored to his liberty in three or four days, on the interceſſion of ſome friend at court.

If a great man is apprehended for any crime, they take all his family and near relations into cuſtody, and confiſcate their goods and eſtates if the perſon accuſed be found guilty. But otherwiſe they are reſtored to the owners.

The firſt miniſter in the kingdom is the Atamadoulet, a word which ſignifies the ſupport of the empire. In the petitions which are preſented him, or when they ſpeak to him, they ſtyle him the Grand Vizier or Vizier Azem. No buſineſs of conſequence is tranſacted in the ſtate but by the direction of this miniſter, nor any grant or act of ſtate of the King's held to be valid till counter-ſealed by him. The reaſon whereof is ſaid to be, that their Kings being bred up in the women's apartment, and perfectly ignorant in affairs of ſtate, it is neceſſary for the ſafety of the people and the preſervation of the government, that his orders ſhould be conſidered by ſome wiſe miniſter before they are put in execution. And in effect, it is here as it is in ſome kingdoms in Europe, their Kings ſerve for a ſhow, and their names are uſed to give a ſanction to the publick acts, but the prime miniſter is in reality the King. The Grand Viziers in Turkey, it is obſerved, ſeldom die a natural death: on the other hand the prime miniſter of Perſia, if it be thought fit to diſcharge him, is uſually permitted to retire and end his days in peace with his family.

The ſecond poſt in the government is that of the Divan Beghis or Bey, whoſe office is uſually compared to that of our Lord Chief Juſtice, and ſometimes to that of Lord Chancellor: but I take it that thoſe employments both center in the ſame perſon in Perſia. They have not that diſtinction of courts of law and courts of equity as with us. The word Beg or Bey ſignifies Lord, and that of Divan a council or court to whom the adminiſtration of juſtice is committed. This great magiſtrate is the laſt reſort in all cauſes civil and criminal, unleſs where the King in perſon ſits in judgment. The Divan Bey can command any cauſe to be removed to his tribunal from any court in the kingdom, and during the late reigns it has not been known that their Kings have ever ſat in a court of juſtice, or concerned themſelves in examining the decrees of the Divan Beghi.

The Divan Bey.

In the third rank come the Generals; and firſt the Generaliſſimo, when there is one, for unleſs it be a time of war there is no ſuch office. The next place is poſſeſſed by the General of the courtchis, which are a body of thirty thouſand horſe of Turk or Tartar original, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more when I come to treat of the Perſian forces. The third place among the ſoldiery is the General of the muſqueteers, a body which ſerve on horſeback, but fight on foot, like our dragoons. The fourth is the General of the coulars, or royal ſlaves, as they are called. And the laſt the maſter of the ordnance.

Generaliſſimo.

After the Generals the Vacanaviſh, or Secretary of ſtate, poſſeſſes the next poſt. This officer regiſters the publick acts, and has the care of the records: he alſo appoints a deputy in every province of the empire, who tranſmits all affairs of conſequence to him to be laid before the miniſtry.

Secretary of ſtate.

The laſt great officer is the Mirab, or Lord of the water. Every province has its particular Mirab, who takes care to diſtribute the waters of the rivers and aqueducts in ſuch proportion, that every part of the country may have an equal ſhare. Theſe are the principal officers of ſtate.

Lord of the water.

Thoſe of the houſhold are, firſt, the Nazir, who ſeems to be both Lord Treaſurer and Steward, and it is with this gentleman that all Ambaſſadors and foreigners tranſact their affairs: but there is a comptroller and ſeveral other officers which are a check upon him, as he is on the Prime Miniſter, and thoſe two have a very great influence in the court of Perſia. But to prevent the King's treaſure being miſapplied, no ſums are paid out of the treaſury, but the order paſſes under the ſeals of the Prime Miniſter, the Nazir, the Chief Juſtice, and two other officers of the revenue.

Lord treaſurer and ſteward.

The next officer is the Ichicagaſi Baſſa, who commands all that attend in the outward palace; as the maſters of the ceremonies, porters, uſhers,

The Ichicagaſi.

and the guards themſelves. When the King goes out this Lord marches before him with a great ſtaff covered with gold and precious ſtones: he does not ſit before the King, as ſeveral other officers do of inferior quality, but ſtands always ready to obey his Majeſty's orders and ſee them executed.

Maſter of the horſe.

The Maſter of the horſe is the next officer: there are ſtuds and ſtables of horſes, as has been obſerved, in every part of the kingdom, which are all under the government of this gentleman, and a prodigious number of officers who have the care of them.

Great huntſman.

The fourth officer of the King's houſhold is the great huntſman, who has not leſs than a thouſand huntſmen and falconers under him: they carry to the chaſe when the King hunts, lions, ounces, panthers and dogs, who are all bred to follow the game: they have alſo hawks and all manner of birds of prey, which are bred up to fly at wild beaſts as well as birds, as has been mentioned already.

Chief phyſician. Chief aſtrologer.

After this officer the principal phyſician and principal aſtrologer take place: which are poſts of great honour and profit.

Lord chamberlain.

There is alſo the high chamberlain, whom I have not yet mention'd, becauſe he has no place to ſit in the King's preſence, but ſtands behind him. He is always a white eunuch, and has as great an influence on affairs as any officer about the court. He ſerves the King at table on his knees, taſtes his meat, dreſſes and undreſſes him, has the overſight of the wardrobe, and the government of all the eunuchs in the palace. He ſcarce ever leaves his Majeſty but when he finds him about to engage with the Ladies. He carries a little box covered with precious ſtones, in which he has two or three fine handkerchiefs, opium, perfumes and cordials, with which he ſerves his Majeſty when he calls for them. This officer has great opportunities of inſinuating what he pleaſes, and giving the King a good or ill opinion of his miniſters, which makes him equally feared and reſpected. Theſe are the principal temporal officers in the King's houſhold.

The Pontif and eccleſiaſtical officers.

I come in the next place to give an account of the eccleſiaſtical officers; of which the chief is the Grand Pontif or High Prieſt, the Ancient of the law, the Cadi, and the Mufti. The Grand Pontif is uſually ſtyled the Sedre in Perſia: they alſo give him the titles of Prince of their religious rights, Head of the true church, Subſtitute of MAHOMET, and Lieutenant of the twelve Imans or Caliphis who ſucceeded their patriarch HALY. The churchmen and bigotted part of the Perſians hold, that the dominion of the laity is an uſurpation, and that the government belongs of right to the High Prieſt, as has been hinted already; the principal reaſon for this perſuaſion is, that MAHOMET was both King and Prieſt, and that GOD gave him the ſupreme power both in ſpirituals and temporals. But the opinion of the majority of the kingdom, it is ſaid, is that the regal power exerciſed by their Princes is derived from GOD and their great prophet MAHOMET; that the High Prieſt and his brethren ought not to meddle with politicks, and that their juriſdiction ought to be ſubſervient to the Royal authority even in matters of religion: and this opinion prevails ſo far, that the temporal courts will at any time alter or reverſe the decrees of the ſpiritual and civil; for the Sedre and his ſubſtitutes are the ordinary judges in all civil as well as eccleſiaſtical cauſes, lawyer and divine are terms of the ſame ſignification in Perſia as they were among the Jews; their eccleſiaſtical and civil laws being indeed the ſame. The temporal judges have no written laws to go by; but their decrees are founded upon antient cuſtom, or the equity of the caſe: and the judges in their temporal courts are uſually men of the ſword.

The Sedre is the ſupreme judge in the eccleſiaſtical courts, and takes place in all publick aſſemblies next to the Atamaduolet, or Prime Miniſter. The ſecond eccleſiaſtical judge is the Ancient of the law, whom the Perſians ſtyle Cheik Iſlam: his juriſdiction is little inferior to the Sedre's, and the people ſeldom appeal from one of theſe courts to the other; but to the Divan Beghi, who is the ſupreme judge in all cauſes eccleſiaſtical as well as temporal. The Cadi is the third eccleſiaſtical judge in Perſia: he takes cognizance of the ſame cauſes with the two former: but his authority is confined to ſome particular town or diſtrict. 4. The Mufti, who has not that authority here as in Turkey: for he cannot controul or reverſe the proceedings of inferior courts, but is reverenced however as a perſon well skilled in the eccleſiaſtical laws, and his opinion frequently demanded by the other judicatures; who notwithſtanding act as they ſee fit.

Theſe judges do not ſit all in one court, but have each their reſpective tribunal, and the people apply indifferently to the one or the other as they are inclined. The other dignitaries and eccleſiaſtical officers have no manner of juriſdiction, and are kept pretty much in ſubjection to the temporal power, upon account of thoſe pretenſions they make to the ſupreme authority, and other principles they maintain, not very conſiſtent with the regal power.

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Treats of the government of the provinces and great towns, and of their Chams, Viziers, and other inferior magistrates.

IN every province of Persia there is a Chan and a Vizier: the Vizier has the government of all those towns and villages which are the King's demesn lands, or which belong to the crown in propriety; and the Chan of the province in general. This word Chan, or Caun, as we pronounce it, and Cham signify the same thing, namely, a puissant or mighty Prince: and this is the title of all the Tartar Princes in Asia; and the Persian provinces being of the extent of kingdoms, and formerly distinct sovereignties, the Persian court have thought fit to give their Governors the titles of sovereign Princes: and the King of Persia frequently styles himself King of Kings. Indeed the Chans in their respective provinces live in almost as much state as their Sovereign, having exactly the same kind of officers as are in the King's court, with the same titles; there being scarce any other difference but in their numbers and their pensions. The Chan commands the militia of the province, and assigns lands for their maintenance. He reviews them at certain times, and sees that they are fit for service, their arms and horses in good order, and that they all perform their exercises well; but every soldier is permitted to live in his own house in time of peace.

The Chans, or Governors of provinces, have their posts for life; and if they behave well, their children after them. There are two degrees of these Chans; the greatest is called Beglerbeg, or Lord of Lords: the other is styled Coulembeg, or Lord of slaves. The Governors of the frontier provinces are for the most part Beglerbegs; as the Chan of Armenia, from whom the Chans of Chars, Marega, and other districts, in time of war receive their orders, and are obliged to march under his standard. Sometimes these inferior governments are made independent of the Chan of the province; as lately the government of Banderick was, which lyes upon the Persian gulph.

In every province there are three officers put in by the government, who are independent of the Chan; namely, the Janitchin his lieutenant, the Vizier or Receiver General of the King's revenues, who hath also the management of the lands belonging to the crown, and the government of all places where the crown lands lye; and 3. the Vacanavish, or Secretary, whose business it is to take an account of all transactions of moment in the province, and transmit them to court. One principal design of placing these officers about the Chan is, to observe his conduct, and oppose him if he should undertake any thing against the state.

Governors of cities and forts.

Besides these there are other officers independent on the Chan, namely, the Governors of cities and castles, who are called Daroga; these are put in directly by the King, and have their lieutenants and vacanavish also independent of them, and the same person who is Governor of the city, is never made Governor of the fort which belongs to it. The Ministers of State and Generals of armies have also their lieutenants and comptrollers to superintend their conduct, with secret orders how to act on certain emergencies: but it is observed, that unless in matters where the safety of the state is concerned, those officers have a very good understanding, and agree so well together, that the King is not less cheated and deceived than if the management was altogether in one hand.

Inferior magistrates.

Besides the Daroga or Governor, the Vizier and Vacanavish, there are also in every town the Cadi or Civil Judge; the Mayor or head officer among the trading people, and the Provost or Sheriff; and every particular trade has a warden or master. There is an officer also not unlike our constable, who has a watch, and is concerned in keeping the peace in every great town in the night time.

The Governor of every town is the chief judge in criminal and civil cases too, if he pleases to interpose, and may inflict any pains on offenders short of death. Capital punishments are very rare in Persia, and the sentence is in most cases passed by the King himself. The usual punishment is a fine, which always goes to the King, or rather to the Governor of the province, who generally brings the crown indebted to him in his accounts. When a Governor or Vizier is sent into any province, he has his instructions in writing, wherein are contained an ample description of the extent of his government, of the revenues, and the manner in which he is to treat the people: and instructions in like manner are given to every officer of state when he enters on his post.

When a Governor or other officer returns from his command, which he never does but by express order of the court, he always waits without at the gate of the palace, and gives notice by some of his friends of his arrival, and that he begs leave to throw himself at his Majesty's feet: whereupon orders are usually given for his admittance: but sometimes, if the person has misbehaved in his post, instead of an answer, orders are given to take off his head.

All the Governors and great officers in the several provinces are obliged to have an agent at court to give an account of the transactions of the province when the government requires it, and to send dispatches upon such occasions when the court does not think fit to employ an express on

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purpoſe; but chiefly to ſolicit the affairs of the Governor and the province. Theſe Lords have uſually alſo one or more of their children, or other near relations, who remain there as a pledge of their fidelity, and become ſo well acquainted with affairs of ſtate by this means, that they frequently ſucceed in the poſts their fathers enjoyed.

Vizier a burthen to the people.

The Viziers and Receivers of the King's revenues are a much greater burthen to the people than the Chans, oppreſſing them without mercy, often under pretence of the neceſſities of the ſtate. They uſually obtain their places by virtue of the preſents they make to the eunuchs or favourites at court, and by engaging to encreaſe the revenue of the province beyond what it has ever been before. And they generally keep their word, at leaſt to their patrons and friends that promoted them, and to the enriching themſelves. Complaints indeed are frequently carried to court againſt them; but by the artifices of the miniſters concerned in the booty, it is a long time often before they get acceſs to the King. It is ſome advantage to the ſubject however in Perſia, that the great men dare not openly oppoſe any perſon's petitioning the King; but when the Governors obſerve the country about to ſend Commiſſioners to court to repreſent their grievances, they will by their friends underhand endeavour to divert them from it; and if they cannot prevail this way, their patrons at court are directed to make them large promiſes of redreſs, and endeavour to ſend them back without ſeeing his Majeſty; and if they find this impracticable, and that the people inſiſt on their demands of juſtice againſt him, they will adviſe the Vizier to relax, and proceed in a milder manner for the future: whereupon the complaints againſt him are commonly huſhed up. It is much more difficult to get any redreſs where the Vizier is concerned, than againſt a Chan who has oppreſſed the people; the Prince believing it his intereſt to ſupport the former as he values his revenue. Mr. CHARDIN acquaints us, that there are ſeldom leſs than ſeven or eight thouſand people about the court, who come from the ſeveral provinces with complaints againſt their Governors or Magiſtrates, who attend there not ſo much in hopes of getting ſatisfaction for what is paſſed, as to prevent future violences and oppreſſions; they ſeldom obtain or attempt more than a removal of the grievance, unleſs they are able to make large preſents to the miniſtry, or have ſome powerful man for their friend: or unleſs the perſon petitioned againſt has enemies at court, or there be ſome that have an eye upon his poſt; for in any of theſe caſes the petitioners find little difficulty in being heard, and obtaining juſtice according to the nature of their complaints.

Petitions allowed againſt the greateſt miniſters.

When the complaint is from a large country, there are uſually ſeveral hundreds of the perſons aggrieved come up with it to the palace gate thro' which the King uſually goes out, and there with lamentable cries, rending their clothes, and throwing duſt into the air, they demand juſtice: if they come to deſire an abatement of their rents or taxes on account of the drought or unſeaſonable weather, as they frequently do, they carry with them withered branches of trees, or ſuch as have their leaves devoured by locuſts; whereupon the King ſends to be informed of the occaſion, and the people preſenting their petition in writing, their buſineſs is referred to ſome great officer to examine.

The Viziers or Receivers are very ſeldom puniſhed capitally, unleſs they have defrauded the King, and in this caſe they are infallibly ruined; and one is uſually ſent to take off their heads. Whenever his Majeſty orders a Governor's head to be cut off, the order is diſpatched by the Prime Miniſter under the King's ſeal, and ſent by ſuch a perſon as his Majeſty thinks fit, there being no common executioners in Perſia, as has been ſaid already. When the meſſenger arrives at the place, he goes to the houſe of the Lieutenant, Governor, or ſome other great officer, and ſhews him the King's order, and that the execution is appointed to be done in his preſence: whereupon he takes him with him to the houſe of the perſon proſcribed, and going in directly and producing his order, without farther ceremony he falls upon the unfortunate man and cuts him to pieces with his ſabre, crying out only when he falls upon him, By the King's command. If the condemned perſon happens to be in the women's apartment, they ſend to acquaint him that there is arrived an expreſs from court, whereupon he immediately comes out and ſubmits to the ſentence: it being to no purpoſe to make any reſiſtance, for upon the ſight of the King's order every body is ready to aſſiſt at the execution of it: even in his own houſe he is no more regarded but as an unfortunate man condemned to die.

Manner of executing Governors.

Wherever a miniſter is diſgraced, though the government do not proceed capitally againſt him, yet his whole eſtate is confiſcated, and he experiences a moſt terrible reverſe of fortune in a moment; he has nothing left him which he can call his own, being deprived of his goods, his ſlaves, and ſometimes of his wives and children; the laſt indeed are generally reſtored after ſome time; if his Majeſty ſuffers him to live, part of his ſlaves alſo, and ſome goods, with a penſion for his ſubſiſtence are often given him again: and after all this mortification, the perſon is ſometimes reſtored to the ſame poſt or a better, at leaſt his friends and relations are allowed to aſſiſt him; for 'till

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Persians not ennobled.

'till the King's pleasure is known no man dare so much as give him a cup of water.

It has been observed already, that there is no such thing as nobility in Persia, but every man is honoured according to the post he is in, or the wealth he possesses; except it be that they shew a particular regard to those who are of the family of MAHOMET, or of the blood of the twelve IMANS the successors of HALY, who wear green turbants by way of distinction, and are honoured with the titles of Seyd and Mir; the first signifies noble, and the other a Prince. Notwithstanding places in the Persian court are so precarious, and frequently hazardous, there are no people in the world who pursue preferment with a keener appetite: they come to court morning and evening, although for the most part they cannot hope to come into the King's presence, because he is frequently for several days successively in the haram with the Ladies. The great men also have a footman always at the palace gate to advertise them immediately of the least accident that happens; and especially when the King comes out of the women's apartment, which he often does very unexpectedly, as well in the night as in the day time. I shall take the opportunity to observe here, though a little out of its place, that a common-wealth, or republican government, is altogether unknown in Persia: and as they cannot comprehend what it means, the Hollanders when they sent Ambassadors thither were forced to do it in the name of the Prince of Orange, or the General of Batavia.

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Treats of their laws and punishments.

THE law among the Persians, as has been observed, differs but little from their divinity; or rather, their civil and canon law are blended together. MAHOMET contrived this in imitation of the great law-givers of old, who to oblige men the more readily to obey their political and civil injunctions, insinuated that they were the dictates of heaven. But there is reason to think that this impostor had a particular view to the Jewish law, especially the book of Leviticus, where their civil law and ceremonies are intermingled together. The Persians have but one word to signify both the canon and civil law, viz. Chera, which is as much as to say, The divine law; and the same persons, as has been said, are judges both of the civil and canon law; in pursuance of that grand principle of the Mahometans before-mentioned, namely, that the same person ought to bear the spiritual and temporal swords, and be both King and high priest: that he ought to command in war and administer justice, as well as explain the articles of faith, and regulate their ecclesiastical discipline, as the Patriarchs of the Jews did, and as the Patriarch of their religion and his successors used to do for the first five ages.

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According to the Persian doctors, the civil magistrate ought not to concern himself in the administration of justice any farther than to execute such sentences as the clergy pronounce. But the temporal power retains its authority notwithstanding and does not allow the clergy any other share in the supreme court of justice than to give their opinion in difficult cases. When the Divan Bacqui, or supreme civil magistrate demands the opinion of the Mufti, he answers, that 'so it is 'written in the alcoran; that God hath com-'manded this or that;' or, 'that the Imans have 'determined in such a manner, in a like case.' But the Divan Bacqui does not always follow his opinion, and very often sits in judgment without him.

The alcoran is their chief law-book, and if they do not find the decision clear there, they have recourse to the book called, the sayings and acts of MAHOMET, and afterwards to the sayings and acts of the Imans: and they have yet another book called cheraiet, which is a collection of judgments both civil and criminal; but they are couched in such obscure and equivocal terms that the judges in their interpretations make them speak what language they please. And indeed there seems but little occasion to consult these books at all; for the King, the Governors of provinces, and Viziers frequently sit in judgment, and determine arbitrarily without regard to the alcoran or any other law books. But these judgments the clergy and devotees denominate sentences of violence and acts of pure tyranny, being founded only upon force. The temporal government however does not seem much to regard them, neither do they punish them for reflecting on the courts of justice. There are a thousand other instances where the Persians do not act agreeably to their laws; for instance, the law says, that no writing shall be of force which is not executed before a magistrate, and yet if a deed be sealed and attested by two witnesses, it is all that the temporal courts require: and if the ordinary courts refuse to admit of this evidence, the superior courts will remove the cause out of their hands. And did not the temporal courts interpose in many cases, Christians would not be so kindly treated as they generally are in Persia: for example, if the King orders that Christians be admitted to dwell in any city; that they have liberty of building churches, and be protected from all violence, as the Armenian Christians of Julpha actually are; the ordinary ministers of justice and judges of law will not submit to such orders, denominating them acts of force and tyranny;

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ranny: but the temporal courts, on the contrary, do not fail to ſee them punctually executed. If one who is not a Mahometan, happens to be murdered, their eccleſiaſtical courts will condemn the murderer to loſe the firſt joint of his little finger, perhaps, if he be a Mahometan; alledging that MAHOMET thought this a puniſhment ſufficient for killing an Infidel: but the other tribunals will adjudge ſuch an offender worthy of death. However, as has been obſerved already, the ſentence of death is in moſt caſes paſſed by the King himſelf. Were the Mahometan laws, with the interpretations their Imans have put upon them, ſtrictly obſerved, Chriſtians would not be able to live in Perſia any more than Jews or Pagans; but would be every day plundered and abuſed in purſuance of ſome precept or paſſage in the alcoran, at leaſt as their doctors have explained them: but the ſuperior courts take care that theſe laws are ſeldom put in execution. However, it is impoſſible always to prevent the inſults of the vulgar, who are frequently ſo bigotted to their ſuperſtition, and incenſed by their clergy againſt all that differ from them, that there have been inſtances of outrages committed on foreigners purely upon the account of religion; and the influence of their prieſts has been ſuch as to skreen offenders from puniſhment who have committed very great perſonal injuries againſt Chriſtians as well as Pagans. The Imans and ſeveral other great doctors, it ſeems, have taught that no faith is to be kept with thoſe of another perſuaſion: and that it is lawful to deprive profane Infidels of their goods and eſtates: and from hence probably it is that our diſſenters imported that favourite doctrine, that dominion is founded in grace; and that this world, as well as the next, with the good things of it, was intended only for the godly; and therefore when they defraud and plunder a reprobate of his goods, as they call all the world but themſelves, they are only fulfilling the decrees of heaven, and doing a meritorious act. This was a doctrine our diſſenters openly avowed and maintained in the days of CROMWELL, though for ſome reaſons they think fit not to preach it up in this part of the iſland at preſent. But to return, notwithſtanding ſome bigotted puritans among the Perſians do hold that no faith as to be kept with unbelievers, the generality of the nation are of another opinion, and there is no part of the world where merchants meet with more juſtice in their dealings and intercourſe with the government, as well as with private men.

Notwithſtanding the ſpiritual and temporal courts differ ſo very much in their determinations, there is never any diſputes between them: for the temporal courts having the government on their ſide, are never oppoſed by the ſpiritual; and beſides, each of them have for the moſt part a diſtinct branch of buſineſs aſſigned them. The eccleſiaſtical courts meddle chiefly with deeds and contracts, marriages and divorces, ſucceſſion of eſtates, and other litigious matters. The temporal courts are employed either about criminal cauſes, or ſuch as are plain and obvious, about which there is not much room for diſpute; and if there be any intricacy in the affair, they generally require the opinion of ſome of the learned doctors of their law, as has been obſerved already. There is this farther difference between the temporal and eccleſiaſtical courts, that the firſt proceed arbitrarily and in a ſummary way, and finiſh the cauſe generally at one hearing; whereas the others proceed according to their written laws, and are more tedious and chargeable.

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Proceedings in the Courts in Civil Cauſes.

As to the adminiſtration of the law in civil cauſes, I ſhall here mention ſome of the moſt common caſes, and ſhew how they proceed.

When a perſon cannot or will not pay his debts he is delivered into the hands of his creditor, who may impriſon him in his own houſe, ſet him to work, beat him and uſe him like a dog, or do what he pleaſes with him, ſo he do not kill or maim him. He alſo may ſell and diſpoſe of the debtor's eſtate and goods, and even his perſon, wife and children, towards payment of the debt: but it is very rare that they proceed to theſe extremities.

Facts are proved in their courts by living witneſſes; but preſcription will give no title here. A man is at liberty at any time to claim his right, even the party's own deed will not conclude him where he can ſhew any force, or fraud, or that he was impoſed upon. Where there are no witneſſes, an oath is tendred to the perſon who denies the charge, and he is ſworn upon the alcoran with great ſolemnity.

The Judge ſends for the alcoran, which being brought him in a linen cloth, himſelf and all the court thereupon riſe up out of reſpect to the ſacred book; then the Judge taking it in both his hands reverently kiſſes it, and touches it with his forehead, and having opened the book, offers it to the perſon who is to ſwear, who kiſſes it in the ſame reverent manner the Judge has done, and putting his hand upon it open, ſwears to ſpeak the whole truth. When a perſon of a different religion is to ſwear, the Judge ſends an officer with him to a prieſt of the ſame religion, and a Chriſtian ſwears upon the Goſpel, a Jew on the Old Teſtament, an Indian idolater by his adored cow, and a Gaur, or worſhipper of fire, by the fire. When they have been thus ſworn to ſpeak the truth, they return to the court and depoſe what they have to ſay. The reaſon they do not ſwear an unbeliever on the alcoran is, not only becauſe he does not regard it as a divine book, but leſt he

ſhould

should profane it; for such are forbidden to touch even the cover of it.

When a person looks upon himself to be aggrieved in any kind, he is not tied up to forms, but draws up a petition in such terms as he thinks fit, setting forth his case, and presents it to the Judge. Whereupon the Judge writes in the margin that they bring the person accused before him, and a servant of the Judge's goes with it immediately to the defendant's house, and brings him with him; and being allowed some time to produce their witnesses, each party pleads his own cause before the Judge, without the assistance of council, and frequently with abundance of noise and clamour; insomuch that the Judge is sometimes obliged to order them to be cudgelled. When the parties have said what they think fit in their respective cases, and examined their witnesses, the Judge proceeds to give sentence, and the cause is usually ended in a hearing or two.

The women also plead for themselves as well as the men, and with much more clamour, it is observed; but they are set in a part of the court by themselves and vailed, which perhaps gives them the greater assurance; they have very seldom any other business in these courts but to sue for a divorce, for which the usual plea is the impotence of the husband; and they make such a howling and crying on these occasions that they perfectly deafen the Judge, who cannot order them to be beaten as he does the men when they grow clamorous.

There are no tribunals or courts erected at the publick charge; but every magistrate hears causes in his own hall, or some convenient room in his garden, having no other assessors or assistants but a clerk or secretary, who is a man of law; there being no pleadings in writing after the first petition, it is observed that this saves abundance of time, and a sentence is soon obtained: but then it often happens that this speedy justice proves injustice, causes of any weight requiring a more mature consideration: and as it is our grievance in Europe that causes are drawn out to so great a length that it frequently proves the ruin both of plaintif and defendant; so here the precipitating matters has its ill effects: and it would be very happy if the world could once hit upon a due medium.

As to writing and conveyances, it has been already observed, that legally they ought to be sealed and executed before a magistrate, and attested by him; and it is a common thing after the Judge has attested a writing by putting his seal to it, for the parties to desire all persons who happen to be about the court to add their seals; so that you will sometimes find three or fourscore seals to one deed: but they do not sign them as with us. There are neither notaries, clerks, or registers in Persia to record any kind of contracts, except marriage contracts, which are registered before the Cadi, but the parties by way of caution usually keep authentick copies and counterparts.

Proceedings in criminal cases.

I come now to speak of their proceedings in criminal cases, and in these the civil magistrate never intermeddles, neither is their ecclesiastical law at all consulted; but they are left intirely to the temporal courts, which determine according to the nature of the offence and former precedents. These courts usually consist of three persons, namely, the President of the Divan, or Divan Beghi, the Governor of the city, and the Nazir.

No prisons or jaylors.

And as there are no publick prisons, so there are no sheriffs or jaylors who have custody of prisoners; but every magistrate who has the cognizance of these offences confines the criminal in some part of his own house till he is brought to his trial, which is usually within four and twenty hours after he is taken, and sentence is no sooner passed than it is executed: so that there is very little occasion for a common goal, and the Judges servants perform the offices both of goalers and executioners. The proceedings in the criminal courts are much the same as in the civil. The party grieved exhibits his petition to the magistrate, who orders a servant to apprehend the offender, and bring him before him; and when he has been examined, some time the same day, or at fartheſt the next, he is ordered to prepare for his trial. Criminals of state have the carcan or three-cornered yoke put about their necks, to which the right hand is fastened, and the King usually sits in person in judgment on such offenders, at which time he is always clothed in red. All manner of tumults and disorders are severely punished in Persia, which is one reason they very rarely happen; and murder and house-breaking are scarce ever heard of. If a person is so unfortunate as to kill another, and the fact be proved before the Judges, the offender is not punished by the court, but delivered up to the relations of the deceased to put him to death in such a manner as they see fit. Upon such an accident all the relations and friends of the deceased assemble, and with loud cries demand that according to ancient custom they may have the blood of him who has murdered their kinsman; which the magistrate seldom fails to promise them. But sometimes the murderer, by presents to the Judge, and offers of large sums to the relations of the deceased, procures his pardon. If the relations will be satisfied with nothing less than his blood, the Judge says to them, 'I deliver you the murderer according to law, make your selves satisfaction with his blood for the blood that he hath spilt; but remember that GOD is merciful.' The Judge's servants hereupon are ordered to observe the directions of the prosecu-

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tors, and guard him to the place they desire; and they follow the criminal with a thousand curses, beating and abusing him all the way he goes. When he is come to the place appointed, he is delivered up to the relations, who sometimes inflict the most cruel tortures on the miserable wretch they can invent: and even the women, 'tis said, who scarce ever appear abroad on any other occasion, will come and imbrue their hands in the offender's blood. But if they happen to leave any life in the criminal, they cannot, according to their law, return again to complete the execution.

As for ordinary crimes, they are usually punished by fines where the parties are men of substance; but where they are not, they give them a certain number of blows with a cudgel on the soles of their feet, not under thirty, and not exceeding three hundred. Their feet are swollen with the blows and turn black, and sometimes the nails of their toes come off. The remedy they use in these cases, is, to set the unfortunate man in warm horse-dung almost up to the middle for several days, after which they foment the parts with spirits of wine, and yet it is some time before they get the use of their feet again if they have been beaten severely. Pickpockets and little pilfering rogues are marked with a hot iron in the forehead, and house-breakers have their right hands cut off. The same punishment is inflicted on those who counterfeit or debase the coin, for the first offence; but for the second their bellies are ripped open. This is the usual punishment for capital offences, and they execute it after this manner; the criminal's feet are tied to a camel, and his head hanging down to the ground, his belly is ripped open, so that all his bowels come out and hang over his head: he is dragged in this manner through the principal streets of the town, an officer marching before him, and with a loud voice acquainting the people with the nature of his crime.

He is afterwards hanged up by the heels upon some tree, and it is several hours sometimes before he expires. They have other kinds of punishments for capital crimes, as impaling, setting them up to the chin in the earth, cutting off the hands and feet, and leaving the criminal in this condition till he dies. They sometimes precipitate the criminal from a high tower, by which he is beaten to pieces: this is the usual punishment of women who have committed capital crimes. And they sometimes use tortures to procure a confession, as by pinching off the flesh with red hot pincers: but the most ordinary way of examining offenders is while they are beating the soles of their feet.

Capital crimes, and consequently executions, are very rare in Persia. Those who have resided in that great city of Ispahan tell us, that for several years together they have not heard of a murder or robbery committed in the place, and not above once in a year or two do they hear of a robbery committed on the highway in that large kingdom. It is certain there is no part of the world where people travel with greater security than in Persia. One reason probably may be the great care the government takes to prevent robberies, for whether one be robbed by night or day, on the road or in his inn, the guards of the road or the people of the place are obliged to produce the robber, or make the person satisfaction. A person is no sooner robbed but the rabdars, or guards of the road, who are dispersed all over the country, give notice of it from one guard to another, and the country is raised upon them in an instant: and as there are very few woods to conceal themselves in, and large deserts to cross before the robber can dispose of his booty, it is ten to one but he is apprehended. Besides, if a man be found in a village out of the common road, who does not belong to the place, he is immediately apprehended on suspicion, and carried before a magistrate; and there is no possibility of subsisting long in the Persian deserts without coming into some village. When complaint is made to any Governor of a robbery, he sends for the rabdars, or guards of the road, nearest to the place where the robbery was committed, and requires them to make satisfaction on pain of forfeiting the securities they have given for their places; for they all give bond to make satisfaction for such robberies as are committed in their limits; but if they are not able to do it, he orders them to be bastinado'd, and the money to be levied on the neighbouring villages; and sometimes as much more as there is occasion for, which goes into his own or his officers pockets. And besides this, the party robbed is obliged to make the Governor a handsome present, on the returning him his money or effects. If a robbery be committed in a city, the watch are obliged to make satisfaction, or produce the thief. If the robber is taken, he is immediately executed at the place where the crime was committed, by ripping open his belly in the manner above related: so that murderers and highwaymen, it seems, have not the honour of being sentenced by the King himself, as other capital offenders are; but the former is executed, or rather torn to pieces by the enraged relations of the deceased; and the latter is executed by the domesticks of the Governor of the place within a few hours after he is taken. It has been observed that bakers and victuallers are sometimes baked and roasted alive for cheating in their weights, and raising provisions to an extravagant price: but this is only in time of great scarcity when such examples are made, the usual punishment in these cases is a

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fine or the baſtinado, and ſometimes they have a heavy pillory board faſtened about their necks with a bell to it, which rings as they move; and this they are forced to wear for a certain time, according to the greatneſs of their offence, as in China.

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Containing an account of the haram, or women's apartment in the Royal palace of Iſpahan.

I Proceed now to give the beſt account I can of the haram, or the women's apartment in the palace. The word haram, it is ſaid, ſignifies ſacred or prohibited, as that part of the palace is to all men but the maſter of it. It is generally obſerved, that there is no part of the world where the women are ſo ſtrictly guarded as in Perſia. Even in the Indies and Turkey, the neighbouring kingdoms, they live in freedom in comparison of theſe. Which ſome aſcribe to the amorous conſtitutions of the Perſians, and the extravagance of it, jealouſy, which they tell us is always proportionable to our love, and the value we ſet upon a thing: for what we are indifferent for we are in no great apprehenſions of being deprived of. But why the Perſians ſhould be more amorous than the people who lye next them and in the ſame climate, is not eaſily to be accounted for; and I believe we may reſolve theſe whimſies more into cuſtom than any thing elſe. It would probably caſt as great reflection on a Perſian wife, and conſequently on the huſband, to ſee her abroad in the company of men, as here it is to be taken in a ſtranger's embraces. And though a husband ſhould have the greateſt indifference imaginable for his wife, yet as her foolish conduct ever reflects upon himſelf, the losing a wife in ſuch circumſtances would not fail to give the husband the higheſt uneaſineſs. So in Perſia, where a woman is looked upon as polluted if ſhe ſuffers a man but to caſt an eye upon her, and both the wives and husbands honour is loſt by her appearing in publick, no wonder their apartments are ſo ſtrictly guarded. They would be as ſtrictly confined, perhaps, if the climate were as cold as Norway, had their anceſtors derived to them the ſame notions of chaſtity, and it were become an univerſal cuſtom to conceal their women from the ſight of all men. Again, was this furious love and jealouſy produced by the climate, it would have been at all times the ſame, and yet we find in the patriarch ABRAHAM's days, who lived on the confines of this country, the women enjoyed as great a liberty as with us, or SARAH's beauty would not have brought her husband's life in danger. We find alſo AHASUERUS, King of this very country, left HAMAN in the room with his beloved Queen while he retired to his garden; and ESTHER made entertainments for the great Lords of the court, and was there in perſon. Which ſufficiently ſhews, that they allowed the Ladies as great liberties in Perſia in thoſe days, as they do in any part of Europe at preſent. But farther, the Europeans who are ſettled in India and the adjoining countries to Perſia, where the Mahometans guard their women with great ſtrictneſs, do not find themſelves under any neceſſity of impriſoning their wives, and concealing them from the ſight of all men, as they do. And I take it, that there may be many other reaſons aſſigned for their immuring the poor girls in theſe countries than the heat of the climate. One I have hinted at already, namely that the odium falling upon the man where the crime was in reality the woman's, made the men ſtudy all manner of ways to ſecure themſelves from this reproach. Another may be, that the men indulging themſelves in the keeping great numbers of women, could not but be ſenſible of their incapacity to ſatisfy all their wants, and that nature would infallibly take its courſe, if ſome violence was not uſed to divert it. For neither the laws of the country, or cuſtom, or education, can alter our conſtitutions, or make thoſe things our duty which contradict the laws of our creation. From the equal numbers of men and women nothing ſeems plainer than that one man was deſigned for one woman, not only on account of the neceſſities of nature, but that the world might be the better peopled: for notwithſtanding that vulgar error, that polygamy is the occaſion of a great encreaſe, it is certainly directly the contrary; for as there are an equal number of both ſexes, nothing is more evident than that if twenty men were matched with twenty women, they would produce more children than if the twenty women had but one man amongſt them. And in fact, in all thoſe countries where polygamy is practiſed, it is the poor people, who can afford to keep but one wife a-piece, that contribute moſt to the peopling of the country: the great men who have ſuch numbers of women in their ſeraglios never have iſſue proportionable to thoſe numbers. And it is certain, that at this day in the Mahometan countries, where polygamy and concubinage are allowed by law, and where 'tis ſaid they have ſuch exceeding amorous conſtitutions, theſe countries are much more thinly peopled than the Chriſtian countries, where one man is confined to one woman. But to return to our ſubject; it cannot be ſuppoſed that even theſe poor Ladies thus ſhut up from all the world, and ſo unjuſtly deprived of thoſe liberties which nature deſigned them, can ever remain contented with it, but would make their eſcape and throw themſelves

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selves into the arms of any man who would hazard their deliverance: which alone is a sufficient reason for the caution the Persians and other Mahometans take to immure these unhappy creatures, and keep them concealed from the sight of all men. Were our women in these northern climates thus abused, we should find them as impatient at the restraint, and take all methods to procure their freedom. We find that the nunneries in Europe, where nature seems to be equally restrained, are obliged to have walls of a more than ordinary height to prevent the Ladies scaling them.

But the Persians give another reason still for shutting up their women, namely, the commands of their prophet in his last moments; who, it seems, was heard to say, 'Take care of your 'religion and your wives,' as he lay a dying. And this they think a sufficient authority for keeping their women thus immured. They do not only build a single wall therefore, but frequently have two or three about the haram, of an extraordinary height. The men are taught also, as they value their salvation and the glory of God, never to cast an eye upon their neighbour's women, or even the places where they are kept: and if one meets the camels which carry them in the streets or in the road, though they are shut up so close that it is impossible to see them, yet people turn away their faces and pass by at a distance, if it be possible. And the women are taught, that their honour and virtue does not consist in keeping themselves chaste only, and suppressing all amorous desires, but in preventing their being seen, or seeing any man but their Lord: and they are accordingly prohibited to converse with their brothers, or nearest male relations.

To give a particular account of the government or customs of the Royal haram is not practicable; and a thousand novels, no doubt, have been formed on that subject purely upon the strength of imagination. Something however may be learnt, travellers assure us, from the eunuchs and the women who frequent those apartments, and furnish the Ladies with toys, and from them we understand, that the women's quarter is much the most magnificent and best furnished of any part of the palace; the Prince spending the greatest part of his time here with his family. It is said also, that the Oeconomy of this inward palace is much the same with the other, and that the women have their several posts and employments here as the men in the outward palace. That there are stewards, treasurers, secretaries, guards, &c. all of the fair sex; whose cabals frequently embarrass and frustrate the best laid designs of the ministers without.

There are three ranks of women in the haram, namely, 1. The Princesses which are born there, whom they call Begum, as they do the Princesses of the Blood Royal in the Mogul's court. 2. Those by whom the King has any children, or who are his mistresses; these have the title of Canum, which is equivalent to that of Cham or Chan among the men. The third and lowest rank, whom the King has never taken to his embraces, and many of whom he hardly knows, have the title of Katun, or Ladies only. All the rest have the common appellation of slaves, and are employed in servile offices.

In the Royal haram are several distinct buildings which have no communication with each other. When a King dies those Ladies he has conversed with as wives are shut up in a quarter by themselves, from whence they are not permitted to stir out as long as they live, except the mother of the succeeding Prince, who has generally a mighty influence on affairs, and almost sovereign authority within the limits of the haram.

When a son or brother of the King's is marriageable, he generally gives him the choice of a mistress among the Ladies of the haram; and sometimes of two, or more, according to the affection he has for him: he gives him also such a number of domesticks as are suitable to his rank, consisting of female slaves and eunuchs, and an apartment in the palace, where he remains confined. The mothers of these Princes and their servants generally retire with them to keep them company; for they are never after to have any conversation with the rest of the haram without the King's leave. If they are ever known to have an intrigue with any other Ladies than those they have made choice of, it is fatal to both parties; even a single glance is as much as their lives are worth: and what is still worse is, that they are excluded from the conversation of all men except the eunuchs which are placed about them; that if they happen to succeed to the crown they are as ignorant of all affairs abroad as if they had just dropped out of the clouds. As to the young Princesses, their mothers generally use their interest with the King to get them married as soon as they are arrived to a proper age.

There are a vast variety of beauties confined in the King of Persia's haram; for the Chans and Governors are continually sending up a fresh supply of young virgins from all parts of his dominions. If they have intelligence of a beauty in any family they immediately demand her: and their parents are not very averse from parting with their daughters, 'tis said, but rather proud they have an opportunity of obliging their Prince; especially since it may be a means of raising the whole family: for whenever a young Lady enters

ters the ſeraglio a penſion is ſettled upon her neareſt relation. If ſhe become a confident or miſtreſs to his Majeſty it is encreaſed, and if he have children by her ſhe ſeldom fails to procure the advancement of all her relations. There are the daughters of the Governors of provinces and the greateſt Lords of the court in the haram: but there are many more Georgian and Circaſſian virgins of meaner birth, who are ſaid to excel the reſt of the world in beauty: and ſome of theſe generally captivate the young Monarch's heart.

What is reported of the unnatural and cruel practices in the haram is very ſhocking; ſo long as the King is without children indeed every one of his miſtreſſes are fond of having them, as they are in hopes their iſſue will ſucceed to the crown, on which their happineſs very much depends: but when they find the King has ſeveral children already, they do all that they can to prevent their being with child, or to procure abortion when it happens: for except the firſt happy woman that has a child, the reſt after they have any are confined to an apartment where they live in perpetual apprehenſions of having their children murdered or deprived of ſight, at leaſt, upon barbarous maxims of ſtate; which ſeldom fail to be executed ſooner or later, either in the reign of the preſent King or that of his ſucceſſor.

From hence it is that the Ladies of the haram dread nothing ſo much as having children, what they principally aim at is to be married to ſome great man, which they accompliſh ſometimes by inſinuating themſelves into the good graces of the King's mother, the mother of his eldeſt ſon, or the King himſelf. The King's mother has a conſtant correſpondence with the miniſters of ſtate, who frequently deſire her to beſtow on them one of the Ladies of the haram, in hopes of advancing their intereſt at court; and happy is ſhe who is thus given to a great man, for ſhe thereby becomes a wife according to their law, is miſtreſs of his houſe, and treated as the daughter of a King.

The women of the haram are ſometimes married alſo to clear the palace and leſſen the expence, when they grow too numerous: but they ſeldom or never ſend thoſe out of the haram who have been with child by the King; which is one reaſon that they are not very fond of his favours. ABBAS the ſecond, it is ſaid, cauſed one of his beloved miſtreſſes to be burnt alive becauſe ſhe ſlighted his embraces; he ſent her word, it ſeems, one evening he deſigned to have her company that night. To which ſhe anſwered, that ſhe was not in a condition to approach his Majeſty on account of a certain indiſpoſition. The King hereupon deferred the viſit, but went to ſee her the next morning, and finding ſhe had deceived him, he fell into a paſſion, and ordering a fire to be made, cauſed her to be burnt in his preſence.

The guards of the haram are compoſed of three different bodies: 1. The white eunuchs, who guard the outward gate; theſe never come within ſight of the women, leſt it ſhould incite ſome amorous inclinations in them, as it is ſaid. 2. The black eunuchs, theſe come generally from the coaſt of Malabar in India, and not from Africk: their ſtation is in the ſecond court, and the eldeſt and moſt deformed are picked out of theſe to attend the Ladies, and carry meſſages backwards and forwards. The reſt are employed either in the gardens, kitchens, or other places remote from the women's apartments. The third and innermoſt guard, it is ſaid, is compoſed of women who are commanded by ſome antiquated matron that receives orders from the Prince himſelf, and by the eunuchs which attend, conveys his Majeſty's commands to the guards without.

The women of the haram are all lodged in ſeparate chambers, or two in a chamber at moſt; and then they put an old woman and a young one together.

The Ladies of one apartment are not ſuffered to viſit thoſe of another without leave, to prevent quarrels among the rival miſtreſſes: or, as ſome ſay, leſt they ſhould fall in love with one another, and be guilty of indecent familiarities; which is no uncommon thing in the eaſt, where they are ſo ſtrictly debarred the converſation of men. The women who frequent the haram report ſurprizing things of the paſſion theſe young women have for each other, of the jealouſies they entertain of their rivals, and of the plots and conſpiracies of one favourite miſtreſs againſt another. Thoſe who delight the King moſt with their ſinging, their dancing, or their wit, are ſure to become the envy of the reſt; and their Lord is not a little diſtracted ſometimes with their contrivances to betray and ſupplant one another, if we may believe report. When he is provoked he will order one to be confined, another to be beaten, and a third, of a favourite, perhaps, is turned among the common ſlaves; and ſometimes he proceeds ſo far as to put them to death: ſo that a ſeraglio, as it is commonly called, is far from being that earthly paradiſe people are apt to imagine it.

It is reported alſo, that the greateſt part of the Royal infants are murdered as ſoon as born, to prevent their being too numerous. The mother of the King has the direction of theſe matters, and her orders are executed without the leaſt horror or remorſe through the frequency of them. She is, as it were, the governeſs of all her ſon's miſtreſſes and favourites; their fortune and that of their children ſeems to be entirely in her hands,

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and it is not eaſy for them without her to preſerve the King's affection long. The King is never formally married to any of his miſtreſſes, but takes which of the Ladies in the haram he ſees fit to his bed without any manner of ceremony. The miſtreſſes he is intimate with are but a ſmall number: the others indeed ſing, and dance, and play before him, and contribute to his pleaſures in another manner; but from the diſtractions he meets with in a variety of conſorts, he frequently fixes upon ſome one who may properly enough be ſtyled the Queen of the haram. Amidſt ſuch numbers of rival beauties this Prince is very ſenſible he can have the hearts but of very few: and ſhe whom he moſt admires, perhaps, has leaſt affection to his perſon. Happy is the Lady whom the King admires, and can make him believe ſhe has an equal paſſion for him.

The Perſians hold that women were made only for their pleaſure, and for the continuance of the ſpecies, and that there is no manner of occaſion for them in the management of the affairs of the world, or in buſineſs of any kind whatever: accordingly they ſuffer them to paſs their lives in idleneſs and luxury; you ſee them almoſt all day long lolling on carpets, with their little ſlaves rubbing and chafing them, which is the moſt common amuſement in the eaſt. Sometimes they take opium or ſmoke their country tobacco, which is ſo mild that it may be taken from morning till night without diſturbing their heads: their food is dreſſed by their ſlaves, and their clothes alſo made and waſhed by them; ſo that they have nothing to do but to indulge their eaſe, except it be to pleaſe their tyrants, in which, it is true, they frequently find difficulty enough.

The Ladies of the haram never viſit out of the palace; but they are viſited by their female relations: and it is obſerved in general in Perſia, that thoſe of the greateſt quality of that ſex ſtir the leaſt from home. They ſcarce ever go abroad but upon ſome extraordinary occaſions, as to a wedding, a lying-in, or upon ſome feſtival: but their viſits uſually laſt ſeven or eight hours. They take with them their ſhe ſlaves and eunuchs, and the husband uſually ſends a governante and eunuchs of his own to obſerve their conduct.

I come now to ſpeak of the Royal couroc, or proclamation, for all men to get out of the way when the King's women are upon the march. Theſe Ladies ſeldom ſet out from the haram, but in the night: a troop of horſe uſually marches a hundred paces before them, and another troop in the rear crying out couroue couroc, by which every man underſtands he is to retire to a proper diſtance: the eunuchs with their battoons alſo on horſeback march between the guards and the women; and if any man is found in the way, or within the limits prohibited, he certainly loſes his life. If they march through a city, the men of the ſtreet they march through, and thoſe adjoining, are all obliged to leave their houſes and fly to ſome other part of the town, as thoſe of the villages in the country are for a league together on the right and left of the road through which they are to march; and a detachment of dragoons is uſually ſent half a day before to drive them away. They fire their muskets at little intervals as they march, to give notice of their approach, and all men that hear it fly as faſt as poſſibly they can: and, it is ſaid, there are frequent examples of peoples being killed by the eunuchs, who have not been ſo wiſe, or rather ſo fortunate, as to get out of the way in time: for if a man ſhould be faſt aſleep or dangerouſly ill, for ought I perceive, it would not avail him.

It is reported that in the reign of ABBAS II. one of the ſervants whoſe employment it was to ſet up the tents, being weary with the march, after he had put the tent in order laid himſelf down to ſleep in it, the King and his women being then at a conſiderable diſtance: but the fellow happening to over-ſleep himſelf, and being found there by the eunuchs, they wrapped him up in the carpet he lay on and buried him alive. They tell us of another gentleman who happening to be aſleep not far from the road when the ſignals of the couroue were made, and finding the ſeraglio upon the march when he got up the next morning, and that there was no poſſibility of eſcaping the guards, he wrapped up his head in his coat and threw himſelf on his face upon the ground; but the eunuchs notwithſtanding cut him in pieces. In the reign of SEFI I. it is reported, that a poor old man who could not procure juſtice to be done him in the King's courts, hearing that the King was to paſs through the village where he lived with the ladies of the haram, reſolved to take that opportunity of delivering a petition to him, imagining that his advanced age might make him paſs very well for an eunuch: but he was deceived it ſeems, for SEFI himſelf ſhot him through and through with ſeveral arrows. All the males from ſeven years old and upwards are forced to fly on theſe occaſions as faſt as they can, whether the weather be good or bad, and tho' it happen to be at midnight as well as if it was noon day.

After having mentioned the King's women, it may be proper to ſay ſomething of their jaylors the eunuchs: there are a vaſt number of them diſperſed through the whole kingdom of Perſia, eſpecially in the King's palaces and thoſe of the quality, where they have almoſt every thing of value intruſted to their care, and in a manner govern the affairs of their maſters. The women never ſtir abroad without them, either on a viſit,

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or even to the bath: but they are not permitted to interrupt their privacy in their chambers.

The eunuchs alſo teach the children of the family to read and write, and inſtruct them in the principles of their religion, till it is thought fit to put them into the hands of the learned, and ſtill the eunuchs have the care of the young gentlemen, not ſuffering them to be at any time out of their ſight; and the King's children, who never ſtir out of the haram till they come to the throne, have no other maſters. Some few of theſe eunuchs are verſed in the liberal and mechanick arts; and it is happy where the Prince who ſucceeds falls into the hands of one of them, for otherwiſe he comes a mere novice to the throne. The reigning Prince ſeldom cares that the ſon he deſigns his ſucceſſor ſhould be too well inſtructed: nay, it is ſaid, the heir to the crown is frequently kept ignorant of what quality he is, for fear he ſhould entertain any aſpiring thoughts: they chooſe rather to buſy them in painting or drawing, or perhaps in turning little trifles, rather than in learning the maxims of government.

An eunuch between eight and ſixteen years of age is ſold for a hundred pounds at leaſt in Perſia, and ſometimes for two hundred, according to their capacities; they chooſe to buy them young becauſe of breeding them up to their hands, and they ſeldom change their maſters while they live. As they have no friends and relations which they know, and have their ſole dependance on their Lord, they make it their whole buſineſs to pleaſe him, and generally manage ſo dexterouſly as to obtain the government of the family. They are brought chiefly from the coaſt of Malabar, and not from Africa: but there are very few white eunuchs except the King's. The King does not entertain leſs than three or four thouſand eunuchs of one ſort or other: men of the firſt rank have half a dozen, uſually; and thoſe of inferior quality, two or three in their houſes. As theſe unhappy men are not taken up with amorous purſuits, and can have no views to the raiſing families of their own, they are generally very diligent in their reſpective employments, and faithful to their maſters. Their whole deſire and pride ſeems to be to procure the eſteem and confidence of their Lord; which their prudent management ſeldom fails to obtain. But with all theſe good qualities, it is ſaid, they are found to be revengeful, deceitful, and unmerciful; and that it is very rare to find a man of true courage among them. But however this may generally be the caſe, there have been ſeveral inſtances of eunuchs who have behaved themſelves with abundance of gallantry. They are uſually cut between ſeven and ten years of age: if they let it alone till they are fifteen, not one in four ſurvive the operation.

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Treats of the ſtrength and forces of the King of Perſia, with regard to his neighbours: and their manner of engaging an enemy.

No fortifications.

THERE are not many fortreſſes or ſtrong towns in Perſia: if they have any places which may be called ſtrong, it is from their ſituation on ſome inacceſſible mountain, or difficult paſs, and not from any works of art: for they know nothing of modern fortification. Perſia however is not a deſpicable kingdom, if we conſider its vaſt extent, its ſituation, or the condition of its neighbours. The extent of this empire, as has been obſerved already, is not leſs than 1200 miles in length, and near as many in breadth. And as to the ſituation, it is defended on every ſide, either by ſeas, deſerts, or lofty mountains, which render the approach to it extremely difficult: and for their neighbours they have none, except the Turk, that they need have any apprehenſions of.

The enemies they have to fear.

The Tartars on the north are divided into abundance of little diſtinct principalities, or hords, and only make incurſions in ſmall bodies, but will ſeldom ſtand a pitched battle. The Indians are a contemptible enemy, whom they have always beaten: and the Turks have been ſo taken up with their wars with the Chriſtians, that they have not been at leiſure to turn their arms againſt Perſia for many years. The wars between Perſia and Turkey ended with the taking of Babylon, or Bagdat, by the Turks, about fourſcore years ago; Perſia has enjoyed a profound peace on that ſide ever ſince. This town was conſtantly the bone of contention between theſe two mighty powers; but the Perſians finding great difficulties both in taking and keeping this place, were at length contented to give it up. Bagdat, or Babylon, is one of the fineſt towns in the eaſt, and the Perſians, no doubt, parted with it with ſome regret; but it lying near an hundred miles diſtant from any country that is inhabited on the ſide of Perſia, and having a vaſt deſert to paſs before they could come at it, while the Turks lay in the neighbourhood, and eaſily conveyed their forces and proviſions thither, by means of the river Tigris, on which it is built, the court of Perſia did not think fit to contend any longer about it: and having now had no enemy of conſequence to oppoſe them for ſeveral years, the Perſian Kings have given themſelves up to a luxurious indolent life, and ſo neglected the diſcipline of their troops, as well as the government of the ſtate, that we have ſeen a little deſpicable rebel undertake a march from the borders of Usbeck Tartary, ſix or ſeven hundred miles, with no more than five or ſix thouſand men, depoſe the King, and make himſelf

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ſelf maſter of the capital city of the kingdom. The Arabs a little before made themſelves maſters of all the iſlands in the Perſian gulph: and the Turk and Muſcovite have ſeized thoſe towns on the frontiers which lay next them: and yet, notwithſtanding, ſhould the Perſians prove unanimous, and exert themſelves, I queſtion whether any of their enemies will be able to maintain their conqueſts; but we ſhall be better able to make a judgment of the probability of their enemies ſucceſs, when we have conſidered the Perſian troops, and the nature of their country: I ſhall therefore in the next place, proceed to enquire into the number and eſtabliſhment of the Perſian forces; the fitneſs of the country for ſubſiſting of armies; and their manner of engaging.

The Perſians are naturally a brave warlike people, but the ſloth and inactivity of their late Princes has rendered them not ſo formidable as they uſed to be. In the laſt century, under ABBAS the Great, they made large conqueſts on the ſide of Turkey as well as India; though their troops were always much inferior in number to the armies, either of the Grand-Signior or the Great Mogul; but they are ſunk ſo much below what they were in that reign, that every little Tartar and Arabian Prince now inſults their frontiers, and robs them of ſome part of their territories.

The Perſian forces.

The forces of Perſia are divided into the troops of the ſtate and the King's troops: the troops of the ſtate are entertained by the Governors of the reſpective provinces, and paid out of certain lands appropriated for that purpoſe, and are divided into militia and regular troops: the regular troops are called courtchis; they were originally of Turcomania or Tartary, a ſtout hardy race of people who lived in tents.

Cooſelbaſhes.

Theſe are the ſoldiers which are properly called cooſelbaſhes, or red heads, ſo ſtyled when they came to the aſſiſtance of CHEIC SEFI, the firſt Prince of the preſent Royal Family; for which ſervice he allowed them the honour of wearing red caps, or turbants of a particular form, like that he wore himſelf. Theſe cooſelbaſhes remained in their tents as well in time of peace as war, and employed themſelves in feeding or buying and ſelling of cattle, from whence they were called courtchis or ſhepherds: the ſervice they did to CHEIC SEFI, and their zeal for the religion of the Imans, procured them great reſpect, and they poſſeſſed the chief poſts, both in the court and in the army: and from theſe the Perſian ſoldiery, and afterwards all the Perſians in general, obtained the appellation of cooſelbaſhes, a name formidable to the Indians, Turks, and Tartars, in the laſt age; and it was by this generation that the Turkiſh language was introduced into the court of Perſia, and the northern parts of that kingdom, where they ſpeak it much more than the Perſian.

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The cooſelbaſhes held the firſt rank in the kingdom, till the reign of ABBAS the Great, who endeavoured to ſuppreſs and diminiſh them, upon account of the unreaſonable influence he obſerved they had in all affairs of ſtate, depoſing and ſetting up what Princes they thought fit, like the Turkiſh janizaries. He was ſo jealous of his own ſon, on account of the reſpect he obſerved the cooſelbaſhes paid him, that he cauſed him to be put to death; and diſperſed the cooſelbaſhes in ſmall detachments through all the provinces of the empire. Theſe troops ſerve on horſeback, carrying a bow and arrows, a ſword, poniard, and lance, with a hatchet at the ſaddle skirts, and for defenſive arms have a ſhield and helmet: they are commanded always by their own officers, and their General is called courchibaſhi, or commander of the courchis. Both the courchis and militia have their pay, as has been obſerved, out of the lands of the ſtate of the reſpective provinces, and enjoy it as their inheritance from father to ſon, if they do not refuſe to bear arms: they are obliged to march to the place of rendezvous on twelve hours notice, and every year paſs in review, before a Commiſſary ſent from court, or before the Governor of the province.

The troops of the crown are thoſe two bodies which ABBAS the Great inſtituted, to check the inſolence of the cooſelbaſhes. One of theſe bodies conſiſts of twelve thouſand men, and are called the musketeers, becauſe inſtead of bows and arrows they carry muskets, and though they march on horſeback they fight on foot. Shaw ABBAS uſed to oppoſe them to the Turkiſh janizaries, of whom he had obſerved the enemy made great advantage in their engagements with him. Before this time neither foot ſoldiers or fire arms were ever heard of in Perſia; and their neighbours the Tartars have no foot among them to this day.

Musketeers.

The other body which was formed by ABBAS the Great, and paid by him, conſiſted of ten thouſand horſe: theſe were called coulars, and carried fire-arms alſo, inſtead of bows and arrows. They were called coulars, or ſlaves, to ſignify their devotion to their Sovereign; or, as ſome ſay, becauſe they come from thoſe countries from whence the Perſians had their ſlaves, as Georgia, Circaſſia, &c. Part of them are ſent as preſents to the King when they are young, and the reſt are deſcended from the people of thoſe countries who are ſettled in Perſia. They almoſt all profeſs the Mahometan religion, though they are derived from Chriſtian parents. ABBAS the Great had a particular affection for this body, and uſed to call them his horſe janizaries. They

Coulars.

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are tall, well-made, brave fellows, in whoſe courage and fidelity the King has a particular confidence; for as they ſcarce know the country or relations from whence they ſpring, and can have no other views than to recommend themſelves to their maſter, by their ſervices, they are intirely devoted to the crown, and obey every order without heſitation: and from among theſe the court uſually prefers men to the higheſt poſts; ſo that conſidering the numbers of Georgian women which are married into Perſia, and the poſts the men who derive themſelves from thence poſſeſs, the Perſian court may one half of them probably be of Georgian extraction.

It is obſerved that in Perſia, as well as India, the word ſlave is an honourable title, and preferable to that of ſubject; nay, a certain French author tells us, that the word coulam Shaw, or King's ſlave, is equal to that of marquis in France; becauſe all that have that denomination are ſure to be preferred to ſome poſt, if they behave well. Whether the courtiers of Europe would be pleaſed with the appellation of ſlave I cannot tell, but it is certain they will ſome of them ſubmit to very vile practices, and ſuch as one would think none but ſlaves, in the worſt ſenſe, could be guilty of, to advance or ſecure a petty intereſt.

Beſides theſe, there are two other ſmall bodies, the one pretty antient, called Sophi's, or Sephi's, inſtituted for a guard to the King's perſon, by CHEIC SEFI. Theſe are not above two hundred men, and wear the Sophi's cap on their heads, and for their arms have a ſabre, a poniard, and an ax, which they carry on their ſhoulders. The ſecond body are called the ziezairi, or the ſix hundred, who are all of the ſize of grenadiers, ſtout young fellows, inſtituted by ABBAS the ſecond, for a guard to his perſon, anno 1654. The Kings of Perſia before that time had no guards, neither in the palace or when they went abroad, for the Sephies only ſerved to make a ſhow at feſtivals, and on publick occaſions: they wear long red caps, of the form of a ſugar-loaf, and their arms are a musket, ſabre, and poniard, which are adorned with ſilver, and exceeding fine. They are under the command of the General of the musketeers, and a ſmall party of them do duty at the palace gates. All the troops of Perſia are comprehended under theſe two names of courchi and coulam, that is, ſhepherds or ſlaves, by which they underſtand the ſoldiers of the old or new eſtabliſhments.

The King finds all the troops with horſes, arms, and accoutrements, but every man provides himſelf with clothes according to his fancy; the ſoldiery having no particular livery, any more than the ſervants of the King's houſhold, or of any great man. There was in the reign of ABBAS the Great, a body of twelve thouſand men that belonged to the artillery, but they were diſcharged in the reign of ABBAS the ſecond, and the Perſians have now no artillery, unleſs ſome uſeleſs guns in the front of the palace at Iſpahan, and in ſome other great towns, which are more for ſhow than ſervice.

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Perſian forces not numerous.

The armies of Perſia were never large, conſidering the extent of the kingdom: ABBAS the Great, who made ſuch conſiderable conqueſts, had never more than a hundred and twenty thouſand men in his ſervice at once, in all the provinces of the kingdom: and the ſoldiers have been ſo ill paid in the late reigns, that they have deſerted, and gone into foreign ſervice, or applied themſelves to other employments, which the courtiers winked at, putting their pay in their pockets, and never filling up their places; ſo that it is a queſtion if all the troops in that vaſt kingdom amount to forty thouſand men at this day; which being diſperſed in ſmall bodies, and in very diſtant provinces, are in no condition to make head againſt the Turk, or any other invader, at preſent, eſpecially as they are diſtracted by a civil war.

As to the diſcipline of the Perſian troops, it is not like ours in Europe; we exceed them as much in the art of war as the Macedonians did the Perſians of old, and much more; for we have not only the firmneſs and order of ALEXANDER's battalions, but our artillery, our bombs, and grenades, are what the antients knew nothing of, and the Perſians very little at this day.

The Perſian troops not being troubled with artillery or baggage, make prodigious ſwift marches, and fall upon an enemy frequently in his camp or quarters, with incredible fury, when he leaſt ſuſpects ſuch a viſit. At other times they will cut off his proviſions, and turn the waters from their uſual courſe; and having ſufficiently haraſſed him in a long march through a deſert country, when he is fatigued and diſpirited, fall upon him. When an enemy makes head againſt them they will fly till they have drawn him into ſome diſadvantageous ground, and then return to the charge again. In their retreat, as has been obſerved, they ſhoot more arrows than when they advance, as hiſtory acquaints us the antient Parthians did.

The Perſians never throw up any entrenchments about their camps: their entrenchment is ſome mountain, or difficult paſs; but in ſieges they intrench, and uſually take a place by undermining it: and it is thought that no people underſtand mining and ſubterraneous works better than the Perſians. It was thus they took Erivan, the capital of Armenia, from the Turks the laſt time: this city in a very ſhort time found almoſt every part of it undermined.

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But as the Perſians do not trouble themſelves with artillery, ſo neither have they any bread waggons or ſuttlers among them to retard their march: and yet their camp is as well ſupplied generally as a camp need to be, the country people continually following them with proviſions. Indeed, as rice and fruit is almoſt all they want, it can be no difficult matter to ſupply ſuch ſmall bodies as take the field in Perſia; eſpecially as they are perpetually in motion, and never remain long in one camp.

They burn the country when they are invaded.

When the Perſians are apprehenſive of an invaſion, their conſtant method is, to withdraw all the people on the frontiers, and deſtroy the country in ſuch a manner as the enemy ſhall find nothing to ſubſiſt on, not leaving ſo much as a ſpire of graſs or a tree upon the ground. But they give the husbandmen time to ſecure their grain, fruits, and forage, by burying them, with moſt part of their utenſils, in deep pits, which they will do in ſuch a manner that it is almoſt impoſſible to diſcover them, and as the earth is very dry they receive no manner of damage. The army having thus deſtroyed the country for eight days journey together, they encamp near it in ſeparate bodies, and as they ſee occaſion, fall upon the enemy and diſtreſs him in his march: ſometimes they fall upon one quarter of his camp, and ſometimes on another, in the night time; and if they cannot by this means put a ſtop to his march, they retire farther into the country, driving the people before them, and deſtroying every thing, as before; and by theſe means have they defeated the greateſt Turkiſh armies. When the enemy are retired, every man returns to his lands again. As for the houſes, thoſe of the common people are no great loſs, they are ſoon run up with clay, or ſuch materials as they find upon the place.

The Perſians are ſaid to found their conduct upon this dilemma, either the enemy will invade us with great numbers or but few; if he brings great numbers, conſidering the extent of deſert ground he muſt march over, it is impoſſible he ſhould ſubſiſt: if their numbers are but ſmall, we ſhall haraſs them in their march till they come to nothing, without running the hazard of a battle.

The Perſians are excellent markſmen, as well with their fire-arms as their bows and arrows. Their colours are made of rich ſilks, in much the ſame manner as our horſe ſtandards: for a device they write ſome paſſage of the alcoran, or part of their confeſſion of faith; and ſometimes have a lion, with the ſun riſing over his back, wrought in them. The great ſtandard-bearer, whom they call alemdar baſſa, is one of their principal military officers. The management of the ſoldiers pay is much commended, becauſe they do not ſuffer it to paſs through their officers hands, but every man receives it of the farmers of ſuch lands as are appropriated to that purpoſe: the officers pay is very good, the General of the muſketeers, and the General of the coulars have each of them above three thouſand pounds a year; and as the lands aſſigned for the payment of it are valued mighty low, it is thought to amount to four times as much.

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The troops only keep up in time of peace.

In time of peace they uſually keep a body of ſix or ſeven thouſand men in Chaldea towards Babylon, to prevent the incurſions of the roving Arabs. The Governor of Armenia has about five thouſand men under his command; and the Governor of Georgia a like number. In Choraſſan, the antient Bactria, they have uſually eight thouſand men to bridle the Usbeck Tartars; and ſuch another body in the province of Candahor towards India: and theſe troops being the outguards of the empire, and almoſt in conſtant action, are eſteemed pretty good; but as for the reſt, who are cantoned in the inland country, they have enjoyed ſo long a peace that travellers obſerve, they have not the air of ſoldiers. In thoſe parts of the country where they have the ſea for a boundary, they keep ſcarce any troops, inſomuch that in Gylan and Mazenderan, which lye on the Caſpian ſea, the Coſſacks have landed ſmall parties, and plundred the country for ſeveral days together; and here it is that the Muſcovites have lately fixed themſelves, with very little oppoſition, though it be one of the richeſt and moſt fertile countries in the empire.

The Perſian Generals are perplexed with nothing ſo much as the ſtupid conduct of the court in attending to the predictions of their aſtrologers. This ſet of men are ever averſe to war, becauſe they are obliged to take the field with the Prince, and therefore ſeldom fail to pronounce it unlucky to enter into one, on any conſideration whatever; and if ever they are brought to approve of a war, they muſt prognoſticate the lucky minute when to encamp, and when to march, &c. So that the Generals loſe the advantages which might be made ſometimes, by waiting till they conſult the ſtars. The favourite women, and the eunuchs, are no leſs averſe to war than the aſtrologers, for in loſing their Prince they loſe their all; and therefore they conſtantly fall in with the aſtrologers, to divert their Lord from every enterprize which carries a face of danger.

No naval force.

The Perſians, as has been obſerved already, have no naval forces, or any ſhips or veſſels whatever, although they have a ſea-coaſt of three hundred leagues to the ſouthward, and the Caſpian ſea on the north. They did formerly build ſome veſſels on the Caſpian, to protect them againſt the Coſſacks; but I do not find they have any at preſent, either there or any where elſe. The Muſcovites generally tranſport the Perſian merchandize

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merchandize in their own veſſels to Aſtracan; and I believe have the navigation of this ſea pretty much to themſelves, which has facilitated their conqueſts on that ſide; and if they fortify the coaſt, and can be conſtantly ſupplied and ſupported by ſea from Muſcovy, it may probably be difficult for the Perſians to remove them.

Before I conclude this chapter, it may be expected that I ſhould conſider a little farther the preſent diſtractions of the Perſian empire, and what is like to be the iſſue of them; but the advices from thence contain ſuch contradictions, and the facts are ſo very uncertain, that it ſeems to be a little of the ſooneſt to paſs a judgment of their condition. However, according to the information I have, I ſhall offer my thoughts: and I am very far from thinking that Perſia will be an eaſy conqueſt to the Turks for ſeveral reaſons; one is, that the kingdom is of a large extent, vaſt mountains and deſerts to be paſſed, and that part of the country which is fruitful, will alſo be laid waſte before them as faſt as they advance, as is ever practiſed on theſe occaſions: and though the Perſians may at preſent be divided amongſt themſelves, yet the antipathy they have to the Turkiſh ſect will very probably unite them again: but farther, the rebel MAHAMOOD, who now commands, has been bred up in conſtant action againſt the Usbeck Tartars, a hardy race of men, and has not only brought with him the troops which were employed on that ſide, but has been reinforced by the Tartars themſelves, and has actually tranſplanted ſeveral thouſand families from that frontier and Candahor to Iſpahan, who are a people of another ſpirit and conſtitution than the effeminate courtiers he has driven from thence.

Again, as the Emperor and Muſcovy are entered into an alliance, it is not improbable that one of their views was to oppoſe the growing grandeur of the Turk, and prevent an entire conqueſt of Perſia, if he ſhould attempt it: and I am apt to believe that the Perſians would not be backward, if ever there ſhould be occaſion, to enter into a confederacy with Muſcovy and the Empire, to protect themſelves from the Turkiſh yoke. On the other hand, if the Emperor ſhould have another war with the Grand Seignior, Perſia and Muſcovy would be able to make a conſiderable diverſion in his favour: nay, they might be able to keep the Turk in play themſelves, with a very little aſſiſtance, if the Emperor ſhould at the ſame time happen to be engaged with the Princes of Chriſtendom; for which reaſons, probably, the Emperor will not ſit ſtill and ſee Perſia become a province of the Turkiſh empire, any more than the Muſcovites, who muſt alſo in that caſe be obliged to quit their acquiſitions in Perſia; and though the Perſians may be averſe to the parting with any towns to the Muſcovites, it is probable that of two evils they will chooſe the leaſt, and rather part with a frontier place or two to Muſcovy, from whence they are in no danger of being conquered, than reſign their country to the tyranny of the Grand Seignior, whom they have more reaſon to dread than all the world beſides: and their entering into a confederacy with Muſcovy ſeems at preſent to be the only method left to ſecure Georgia, and their northern provinces, from the Turks.

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Treats of the revenues of the crown.

Revenues of the crown.

I Proceed in the next place to enquire into the revenues of the crown; and the better to underſtand their value, and the manner of collecting them, it will be neceſſary to conſider the ſeveral tenures by which their lands are held, and what kind of property the ſubject hath in his eſtate.

The different tenures of their lands.

The lands of Perſia are either ſuch as are in occupation or ſuch as are not: that is ſuch as are cultivated, or ſuch as are uncultivated and uninhabited, of which the latter are ten to one more than the former. The lands in occupation are of four kinds, viz. 1. The lands of ſtate. 2. The King's demeſn lands. 3. The lands of the church. And laſtly, Thoſe belonging to private men. The lands of the ſtate contain much the greateſt part of what is cultivated, and are in the poſſeſſion of the Governors of the reſpective provinces, who out of them take their own revenue, and aſſign the reſt for the payment of their officers, and the troops they are obliged to maintain; for every ſingle ſoldier has his pay aſſigned him upon ſome village or farm.

Lands of the ſtate.

The King's demeſn lands.

The demeſn lands are the King's particular eſtate, out of which are paid the officers of the houſhold, and the troops the King maintains, over and above thoſe which are maintained at the charge of the reſpective provinces, and the reſidue are given among the courtiers and favourites, or managed by the viziers and intendants, who remit the produce of them into the treaſury.

Lands of the church.

The lands which belong to the church, are the donation of their Princes or private men, and are accounted ſacred; ſo that they are never taxed or confiſcated for any crime whatever; and after one year's poſſeſſion, the title of them cannot be called in queſtion.

Lands of private men.

The lands of private men are holden of the crown for the term of ninety-nine years, paying an inconſiderable annual rent: and at the expiration of the term of ninety-nine years, they are allowed to renew their term for the ſame

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number of years, on advancing one year's income.

Unoccupied lands.

As to the unoccupied lands, if any perſon deſires to build upon them, or to convert any part of them into plowed fields or gardens, the King's officers procure him a grant for ninety-nine years, under a ſmall annual rent, which terms are renewed as other private eſtates: ſo that all ranks of men derive their eſtates from the crown, as amongſt us, and there ſeems little other difference, but that the Perſians have a term renewable at pleaſure, and our freeholders have an inheritance; but both have a perpetuity, on payment of their fines and accuſtomed rents.

The King has a third of his lands.

The King's officers, as well as private owners, let out their lands to husbandmen, upon condition of receiving a third part of the produce uſually; but the rent is more or leſs, according to the particular agreements of the parties; and the grain in Perſia being ſubject to be deſtroyed by the hail, by drought, locuſts, graſshoppers, and other inſects, the tenants never fail to inſiſt on an abatement in theſe caſes. When the deſtruction is very great, the husbandmen take the withered branches of trees, and the damaged ears of corn, and reſort to the King's officers, complaining of the ſeaſon, and their inability to yield the uſual rent: if they have received never ſo little hurt, their complaints are very loud, and they frequently make an advantage of the misfortune. Private landlords are leſs ſubject to be impoſed upon in theſe caſes, having the lands under their inſpection; but then their tenants are not ſo much oppreſſed, and ſubject to ſuch hardſhips as the tenants of the crown. The King's officers frequently pretend they have no authority to make abatements; and thereupon whole villages go up to court, and deliver their petition to the King in perſon; inſomuch that there is ſeldom leſs than ſeven or eight thouſand people attending at Iſpahan on theſe occaſions, as has been obſerved already: the court uſually ſends orders hereupon to the intendants and receivers of the province, to make ſuch allowance as the nature of the caſe requires; or depute commiſſaries to enquire into the truth of the complaint; but in either caſe the crown is uſually defrauded; for the countrymen ſo well underſtand the force of bribes, that they commonly make a purſe, and procure a favourable repreſentation of the caſe from the King's officers.

A third of the cattle.

The King and private owners have the like profits of the husbandmen's cattle as they have of their corn; for inſtance, the third fleece, and the third part of the breed: and of fruit the crown has ſtill a greater ſhare, there being not that charge of manuring and cultivating fruit-trees as there is of the grounds which produce grain.

The Governors of provinces receive the like profits, out of the lands of the ſtate, towards the payment of the officers and troops of the province, as the King does out of the demeſn lands: and every province beſides makes large preſents from time to time to the court, of the beſt the country affords, whether ſilk, grain, fruits, cattle, or whatever is in eſteem among them; and theſe are ſent up in ſuch quantities as are ſufficient for the ſupply of the King's houſhold, and therefore may be accounted a conſiderable part of the revenue. The King has alſo the ſeventh fleece, and the ſeventh of the breed of the cattle in thoſe lands which are not appropriated to his uſe, and this is a great addition to his revenue, for the ſhepherds of Perſia, like the antient patriarchs, poſſeſs vaſt flocks and herds, on which they continually attend, living in tents, and removing from one place to another as they can meet with paſture for them; for thoſe lands which are not the property of particular perſons, are at liberty for all men to graze upon, though they are deemed the King's; and this payment of the ſeventh beaſt, ſeems to be an acknowledgment of his dominion and property in them.

Theſe wealthy ſhepherds the people of the eaſt call ſaranet-chin, from whence we have the word ſaracen, that is to ſay, an inhabitant of the fields, for they live in tents far from towns, two or three hundred together, and ſometimes you ſee a thouſand or two encamped in one place: they perfectly cover the plains with their flocks and herds, that you will be two or three hours in paſſing through them: and the King has an officer called ichomban baſhi, or chief of the ſhepherds, reſiding in every province, who takes the ſeventh of the cattle for the King's uſe, viz. of ſheep, aſſes, mules, camels, and goats; as to horſes, it ſeems, the King is entitled to every third colt; of ſilk and cotton alſo, it is ſaid, the King has a third part over the whole kingdom.

Minerals and precious ſtones belong to the King only; and he has two per cent. of all money: the money that is raiſed by the waters is another conſiderable part of the revenue; for every perſon pays for its being let into his fields or gardens; nothing will grow in that parched country without it. A tribute is alſo paid to the crown by all people who are not of the religion of the country, whether natives or foreigners, and this amounts to a ducat a head: and there is a tax of ten pence on every ſhop of the working trades, and twenty pence on the reſt.

Cuſtoms.

The cuſtoms and port duties are another branch of the revenue; but theſe do not amount to much here, for they have no conſiderable port, except Gombron. As for the merchandizes carried into Perſia, or out of it, by land, they only pay a ſmall ſum for a camel's load, and proportionably for

for every mule or ox, without examining what the packs contain.

But that part of the revenue which is caſual exceeds all the reſt, it is ſaid, namely, what ariſes by the confiſcated eſtates, and the preſents which are made by the great Lords, Governors of provinces, &c. And particularly thoſe which are made on new-year's-day. They preſent the King with wrought ſilks, horſes, aſſes, beautiful boys and girls, gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, perfumes, and every thing which is rich, and curious, and may ſerve for uſe or ornament, or contribute to the pleaſure of life.

And as there are ſeveral handicraft trades which pay no duties to the crown, as carpenters, maſons, and ſome others; theſe are obliged to work for the King when he requires it, without any pay: whatever buildings or palaces the King erects or repairs, he has only the materials to find; the warden or chief of the trade is obliged to ſend in a certain number of workmen, which ſaves the treaſury a great deal of money; and therefore the labour of thoſe people may well be eſteemed part of the revenue. The maintenance of Ambaſſadors, and the providing them with carriages is done alſo at the charge of the country they paſs through, and coſts the King nothing. When the King has a mind to reward any perſon for any ſignal piece of ſervice, this is done alſo at the expence of another: he ſends him perhaps to one of the Chans or great courtiers with the calaat or royal veſt; for which the Chan makes the meſſenger a preſent uſually of ten times the value, or more, according to the poſt he is in. The King ſometimes expreſſes the very ſum he expects ſhould be paid; which is moſt commonly exceeded, as the perſon values the Prince's favour. I have now given a ſummary of the principal branches of the Prince's revenue; and notwithſtanding the impoſitions above mentioned, the people do not ſeem to be oppreſſed or impoveriſhed; even the tradeſmen and husbandmen appear to be in eaſy circumſtances, and few of them but have their rings on their fingers and arms. One great advantage to the ſubject is, that ſcarce any of the duties are farmed out, and in times of ſcarcity we find the court is very indulgent and ready to make abatements of their rents and taxes in proportion to the occaſion. As to a poll, or perſonal taxes, there are none in Perſia, unleſs that which is levied upon thoſe of a different religion; nor are neceſſary proviſions of any kind taxed.

What the revenue of the crown may amount to in the whole is very uncertain, it depending ſo much upon caſualties: thoſe who have attempted to compute it ſay, that one year with another the revenue amounts to four millions ſterling of our money: which conſidering that their troops are moſt of them paid out of the lands of the ſtate, which are not reckoned into this account, is very conſiderable: but as the ſplendor and magnificence of the Perſian court is much beyond any thing we have ſeen in Europe, poſſibly very little of it may remain in the treaſury at the year's end. The court, whether it remains at Iſpahan, or remove from one province to another, as it uſed to do during the ſummer, if we conſider the women, the eunuchs, and other officers and ſervants, ſeldom conſiſts of leſs than ten thouſand perſons, which belong to the houſhold, not including the troops, or the great men and their dependents; which it muſt require an immenſe ſum to maintain.

The officers of the revenue ſend every year to court the ſtate of their province, and what every town and village produces, examined and atteſted by the principal inhabitants of the reſpective places; which are looked upon as ſo many debentures, and given in payment to thoſe who are entitled to penſions or ſalaries from the crown. In the like manner every Governor pays all the officers and ſoldiers of his province with aſſignations on the lands belonging to the province: there is very little money diſburſed on thoſe occaſions; and where the pay is ſmall, as that of the common ſoldiers, and inferior ſervants, one man is deputed from the troop or company to receive the wages of the reſt; and the reſidue, after all demands are ſatisfied, is remitted into the treaſury.

Seals. I ſhall add a word or two concerning the ſeals under which acts of ſtate are paſſed in Perſia: they have five ſeals which are uſed in five ſeveral branches of buſineſs: one is uſed in all ſuch affairs as concern the demeſn lands. A ſecond for commiſſions, letters patents, &c. The third only in military affairs. The fourth about the revenue. And the fifth in things relating to the houſhold. There are no arms engraven upon them; but on one of them there are the names of the twelve Imans or Patriarchs; on the others a ſcrap of the alcoran, or ſome pious expreſſions, ſhewing their dependance on GOD and his prophet MAHOMET. The form of one of the ſeals is round, two others are ſquare, and the other two of an irregular form. The largeſt are about the bigneſs of a crown piece, and the others about half that bigneſs. They are made of turquoiſes, rubies, emeralds, or ſome other precious ſtones. The principal ſeal the King always wears about his neck; and on Friday all inſtruments which require the Royal ſeals are carried to the palace and ſealed in the King's preſence. The impreſſion is made on the paper with a kind of thick ink, and not on wax, as with us.

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Treats of the Perſian religion.

THE Perſian religion is Mahometiſm, as explained and interpreted by HALY, the nephew and ſon in-law of MAHOMET, and one of his ſucceſſors in the empire, and according to the interpretations of the eleven Imans the ſucceſſors and deſcendants of HALY in a right line.

Original of the Perſian ſect.

As to the original of this ſect of Mahometans, hiſtory informs us that when MAHOMET died, HALY his ſon-in-law, and ABUBEKER the father-in-law of MAHOMET, both pretended to the ſucceſſion; and the people being divided in their opinions, their chiefs at firſt argued for their reſpective rights, but not being able to decide the matter this way, they came at length to blows, and ſeveral battles were fought between them with various ſucceſs. ABUBEKER dying within two years and a half, OMAR, one of MAHOMET's captains, ſucceeded to his pretenſions, which he maintained ſo well during the ten years he had the command, that HALY was reduced to very great ſtraits. OSMAN a relation of OMAR's upon his death cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed the ſucceſſor of MAHOMET, and was no leſs ſucceſsful againſt HALY, than his predeceſſors had been, but dying in the year 34, according to the Mahometan era, HALY was univerſally acknowledged to be the ſucceſſor of MAHOMET by both parties.

Upon the death of HALY the diſciples of MAHOMET became divided again: HASSEIN, the eldeſt ſon of HALY, laid claim to the empire as his inheritance; but the army oppoſed him, alledging that the ſucceſſion was elective, and gave their votes for MAHUVIA, one of their generals, who, it is ſaid, procured HALY to be aſſaſſinated. However HASSEIN and eleven of his ſons were killed by MAHUVIA, the twelfth only eſcaping, from whence the Perſian Kings pretend to derive their pedigree; but the ſucceſſors of MAHUVIA were always triumphant. CHEIC SEFI, as has been mentioned, many years after, however under pretence of being lineally deſcended from HALY, erected a kind of ſovereignty in the north of Perſia, whoſe dominions have been very much enlarged by his ſucceſſors.

But the Perſians and Turks differ as much about the interpretation of the alcoran, as they do about the ſucceſſors of MAHOMET: thePerſians hold that the comments made by HALY and his ſucceſſors the Imans, ought only to be regarded; while the Turks adhere to thoſe of ABUBEKER, OMAR and OSMAN, and theſe in many points are directly oppoſite to the other. The Perſian ſect, or the followers of HALY, are called Chia; and the Turks, who rely on ABUBEKER, Sunni. Neither of theſe ſects will believe that thoſe of the other can be ſaved, but hate one another to a greater degree than they do Chriſtians or Pagans, and ſeldom ſpeak of one another but with imprecations and curſes even in their devotions.

The Mahometans in general call their religion Iſlam, which ſignifies ſubmiſſion to the commands of God, but the ordinary appellation which they give themſelves is that of Muſelmoon, which we pronounce Muſulman, and ſignifies the being of the number of the faithful. In the beginning of Mahometiſm, the diſciples of that religion were more cruel and ſanguinary than they are at this day, affording no quarter to thoſe who did not make a profeſſion of their faith in theſe words, namely, There is no other God but God, and MAHOMET is his prophet.

The Mahometans in general make two articles of faith, and five of practice. 1. That there is no other God but GOD. 2. That MAHOMET was ſent from GOD. 3. That they ought to obſerve their corporal purifications. 4. That they pray to GOD at the appointed times 5. That they give alms to the poor. 6. That they faſt all the month of Ramezan. 7. That they go in pilgrimage to the temple of Mecca, if they can. To which the Perſians add another article of faith, viz. 8. That HALY is the vicar of GOD. On theſe eight heads therefore I ſhall collect what the Perſians hold moſt material. 1. That there is no God but GOD. This article, it is obſerved, is taken from the Jews; and they inſiſt not only on the unity of the Divine nature againſt thoſe who worſhip a plurality of Gods, but the unity of One Perſon in the Divine eſſence, contrary to the Chriſtian doctrine, which teaches us to adore a trinity in unity; and in all their books we find them aſſerting, that GOD neither begets nor is begotten, that he has neither wife nor ſon, that he is incorporeal, and there is none that reſembles him, that he is without beginning and ſhall have no end, that he is almighty and exalted above all ſenſible things, and circumſcribed within no ſpace or bounds, not menſurable or diviſible, nor can receive any addition or diminution of his happineſs, that he is omniſcient and nothing in the univerſe can be concealed from him, that he has willed or decreed from all eternity whatever ſhall come to paſs; but this they ſeem to qualify and ſay, that GOD neither lays a force or conſtraint on any man in his actions, neither does he leave him abſolutely to the freedom of his choice: to GOD, ſay they, belongs the glory and the praiſe if I do well, and to him the juſtice of my condemnation if I do ill; it is not for me or any man to glory if he does his duty, neither can any man juſtify or excuſe himſelf if he does amiſs: they will neither have a

man a meer machin, nor will they allow him a perfect freedom of choice, but by way of illuſtration they frequently repeat this parable.

There were three brothers, ſay they, who died about the ſame time; the two eldeſt were of an advanced age, of whom one had always been obedient to the commands of God, and the other had had no regard to them: the youngeſt was an infant incapable of diſcerning between good and evil. Theſe three brothers appearing in judgment before GOD, the firſt was received into paradiſe: the ſecond condemned to hell: and the third ſent to a place between both, where there was neither joy nor ſorrow, becauſe he had done neither good nor hurt: the youngeſt hearing the ſentence, was under the greateſt concern at his being excluded paradiſe; O my Lord, ſaid he, if you had permitted me to live as long as my pious brother, how happy ſhould I have been? for I ſhould have lived like him, and conſequently been advanced to eternal glory. My child, replied GOD, I know thee perfectly, and that if you had lived longer, you would have followed the ſteps of your wicked brother, and like him have deſerved the pains of hell. The unfortunate condemned brother hearing this diſcourſe, began to cry out, O my GOD! why then did you not extend the ſame grace to me, as to my younger brother, in depriving me of life before I had made ſuch ill uſe of it as to receive this ſentence of condemnation? I preſerved your life, anſwered GOD, to give you an opportunity of being ſaved. The youngeſt brother thereupon replied, why then, my good GOD! was not mine preſerved, that I might have had the means of ſalvation? But to ſilence their complaints, and end the diſpute, GOD anſwered, Becauſe my decree had otherwiſe determined.

They hold that good works are neither the cauſe nor the means of ſalvation; but that our good works are only a ſign we are intended for happineſs, and a mark of God's favour towards them that do them: and on the contrary, that wicked actions are a ſign of eternal reprobation. But a little to ſoften this text in the book of the ſayings and acts of MAHOMET, they relate a dialogue between MOSES and ADAM to this effect; 'You are that pure creature (ſays MOSES 'to ADAM) formed immediately by the hand of 'GOD; into whom he breathed of his own ſpirit to animate that incomparable wonderful 'body, which the angels themſelves adored, and 'with whom he converſed in that charming paradiſe prepared for the happineſs of reaſonable 'creatures; wherein they would have taſted the 'moſt ineffable delights, if your ſin had not precipitated them from heaven to earth. Very 'well, (ſays ADAM) and you are MOSES, whom 'GOD has choſen for his Ambaſſador and Legate 'to acquaint the world with his commands: you 'have for that purpoſe communicated to them the 'pentateuch, wherein the law is promulged and 'explained; and afterwards converſed with GOD, 'and received his farther directions: do me the favour to tell me now, how many years before I was 'created it was that GOD wrote this book of the 'law. To which MOSES anſwered, forty. But tell me farther, (ſays ADAM) do not you find in 'that book that ADAM wandered out of the right 'way in which the Lord had directed him to go? 'I have read to that effect, (replied MOSES.) 'Then I will anſwer you out of your own 'mouth, (ſays ADAM.) How can you then 'blame or condemn me for doing that which GOD 'had written I ſhould do forty years before I 'was? and I muſt tell you, he had pronounced 'that decree fifty thouſand years before the heavens and the earth were created.

To underſtand this dialogue the better, it is neceſſary to know, that the Mahometans believe the ſacred books were written before the creation, and that GOD kept them in heaven in order to ſend them into the world at ſuch times as he had determined. Such parables as theſe are diſperſed through all the Perſian books of divinity and devotion, as well as in their moral works.

The Perſians hold that all ſouls were created long before the world was made; and many of their Doctors believe the metempſychoſis, or tranſmigration of ſouls; eſpecially in relation to the ſouls of the prophets, ſaints and good men. Their hiſtory of the creation of the world has abundance of fable mixed with a great many truths which they have taken from the books of MOSES. As that the world was created out of nothing, &c. but then they add that the earth was created by the mediation of angels, and in another manner than the ſcriptures acquaint us.

Creation. Some of their Doctors are of opinion that the creation was begun on a Friday, which is their ſabbath: but the generality of them ſay it was upon the firſt day of the week, as the Chriſtians do, and that then God created the earth in the form we ſee it, with mountains and valleys. That the ſecond day he created the trees, plants, flowers and herbage. On the third minerals, light and darkneſs. On Wedneſday the rivers, cattle, fiſh and fowl. On Thurſday the heavens, with the ſun, moon, ſtars and angels. And that on Friday he created man, male and female.

Angels. They believe that both good and evil angels were made of the ſubſtance of light or fire; that they are compoſed of ſoul and body, and that their aerial bodies may be ſo condenſed as to become viſible. That the firſt time the evil angels diſobeyed GOD, the good angels fought with them, and brought them captives to heaven, where GOD pardoned

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pardoned them: but GOD afterwards creating man, and commanding all the angels to worſhip him, the evil angels through pride rebelled again; whereupon GOD curſed them, and precipitated them from heaven into that place which their deſpair and fury has made a hell of.

Original Sin.

As to what we call original ſin, they will not allow it to be a ſin in our firſt parents. They maintain that that act was only a deviating from perfection, or leaving the better for that which was not ſo good: and they found their opinion upon that ſuppoſition, that the prophets were impeccable and free from ſin, being ſanctified from their mother's wombs, and they eſteem ADAM a prophet of the higheſt rank. They ſay, he was permitted to eat all manner of fruit in paradiſe, and that the groſſeſt part evaporated thro' the pores: but he was forewarned that if he did eat wheat it would find another vent. However, he was not abſolutely forbidden to eat wheat, and therefore committed no ſin in eating it, as he and EVE both did, and were turned out of heaven by the angel GABRIEL; not becauſe they had ſinned, but leſt heaven ſhould be defiled by their excrements.

To ſhew the weakneſs of fallen man, and the force of concupiſcence, they relate this parable; that among the angels there were two named ARUTH and MARUTH, who repreſented to GOD their ſurprize that he ſhould continue to pardon men when they were not at all amended by it: a hundred, a thouſand, nay millions of times, ſay they, have you pardoned them, and yet they continue ſtill the ſame: there is no end of their wickedneſs. To whom GOD anſwered, that they did not know the force of concupiſcence. But they thereupon deſiring he would make a trial of them, GOD ſent them into the world in mortal bodies, where they fell into all manner of debaucheries, running after wine and women perpetually; among the reſt of the women they addreſſed to, there was a very fine Lady, who having underſtood their original, told them, ſhe muſt beg their pardon, ſhe durſt not yield to their importunities, for when they had abuſed her, they would leave her and fly away to heaven: that ſhe would never ſuffer their embraces therefore, but upon condition, they would carry her with them to heaven: which the angelick gentlemen conſenting to, after they had ſufficiently ſatisfied their curioſity in this world, returned with their prize to the celeſtial regions. At their arrival, the angel GABRIEL demanding who it was had the aſſurance to introduce a woman into paradiſe; and it being anſwered that it was ARUTH and MARUTH who had brought her thither; GOD was ſo provoked with thoſe wicked angels for attempting to defile heaven with their debaucheries, that he caſt them down to the earth again into a deep well near Babylon, where they are hanged up by the feet, but are buſied notwithſtanding in teaching magick and ſorcery to the Jews and others who converſe with familiar ſpirits.

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Day of Judgment.

As to the day of judgment, they believe that there is a private judgment paſſed on every grown perſon ſoon after death in this manner: ſo ſoon as the deceaſed is laid in his tomb, the grave cloſed and the company retired, the departed ſoul re-enters the body again, and there comes two black angels, terrible to behold, the one called NEKIR, and the other MUNKIR, who cauſe the perſon to ſit upright, and demand an account of his faith concerning the unity of the Godhead, and the miſſion of MAHOMET: and afterwards what good or evil he has done; all which is recorded in a book to be opened at the general day of doom. That in the mean time the ſouls of the faithful are filled with joy and comfort, while the wicked on the contrary ſuffer the cruceſt pangs of remorſe. They ſay the ſoul wanders from place to place till the body is interred, and that after it has undergone the firſt examination in the ſepulchre, it enters into a fine aerial body prepared for it, where it continues till the general reſurrection, when it will be reunited to its former body: for the ſoul, ſay they, can never act but by the mediation of ſome body: and they will by no means have it remain in a ſtate of inſenſibility till the laſt day. But the Perſians, it ſeems, are not all of one mind, either as to the place where departed ſouls ſhall remain, or their happineſs or miſery during this interval: but they have a middle ſtate for thoſe who have done neither good nor hurt, as infants and fools; theſe, they ſay, ſuffer neither pleaſure nor pain, as they have deſerved neither the one nor the other.

Reſurrection.

In the reſurrection, they believe, that the ſoul ſhall be reunited to the very ſame body it parted with: but then as to its being glorified in the manner our divines deſcribe, they deſire to be excuſed from agreeing with us: for they ſay, our bodies ſhall not be changed in any material point, they will neither be tranſparent nor aerial; they will not indeed be crooked or deformed, or ſubject to old age or infirmities, or troubled with excrements, &c. but, ſay they, if you deprive the body of all its ſenſes and appetites, and every thing that is material, with what propriety can you call it the ſame body?

After the laſt judgment, they hold, that all men muſt paſs over a certain bridge no wider than a razor's edge: that unbelievers and the wicked will infallibly fall in their paſſage into hell, or the bottomleſs pit, as we call it, where they will be everlaſtingly tormented: but the faithful ſhall be ſo guided and ſupported that they ſhall paſs

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As to the salvation of mankind, their opinions are as various as those of the Christians: some believe that none can be saved but those who believe in MAHOMET: others that good men of every religion may be saved; and a third sort allow salvation to all those who have been disciples of true prophets, as the Jews and Christians they acknowledge were: others believe that only atheists will be damned: and they say, that GOD will call to his assistance in judgment MAHOMET, HALY, and the Imans, his lawful successors; and all other true prophets, who will every one intercede for their respective disciples. The general opinion is, that GOD will pronounce the sentence of damnation himself; though there are great doctors among them which hold, that GOD will condemn no man to hell with his own mouth, but that the infernal spirits shall draw in the wicked as their proper prey. The same doctors hold, that man shall not be eternally punished, but that after a certain time the damned shall be annihilated, or turned into fire.

They are not agreed neither, about the beatifick vision; the general opinion is, that GOD will not be visible even to the happy, who will only behold a bright ravishing light, such a one as the imagination cannot at present conceive: but all their doctors hold that there will be degrees of rewards and punishments, according as men have deserved; and as the alcoran makes seven heavens, where the blessed will be placed according to the virtue they have attained to: so some of their doctors make seven hells for the wicked; in the first of which, they say, lye the wicked Mahometans: in the second those who deny the vicariate of HALY and the Imans: in the third those who deny MAHOMET was a prophet; namely, the Christians: in the fourth those who deny the mission both of CHRIST and MAHOMET; viz. the Jews: in the fifth the Pagans: in the sixth the apostates. And in the lowest hell the atheists.

Some of the Persian doctors take the promises and threatnings in the alcoran relating to another life in a spiritual and allegorical sense; while others adhere to the letter, and take every thing in the grossest sense which is spoken of a future state: the first say, that these things were delivered in this manner only to accommodate them to the dull apprehensions of the people; but that indeed the happiness of heaven consists in being employed about such objects as are proper for the soul, as in the knowledge of sciences, and in the sublime operations of the understanding: and as for the body, it shall be furnished with pleasures suitable to its nature, and receive as much satisfaction as it is capable of, but not by meat and drinks and sensual enjoyments, as in this world. That hell also consists in a cruel regret and despair for the loss of paradise; and that the body will be afflicted with the most violent pains, but after what manner they do not pretend to determine.

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The doctors on the other hand who take every thing in a literal sense say, that the torments of hell consist in being put into the hands of devils, who shall hang up the body in dreadful caverns full of dragons and serpents, and all manner of noxious and cruel animals, which shall be perpetually gnawing upon it, and fill the soul with rage and remorse: while the joys of heaven, according to these, consist entirely in sensual delights: the blessed, say they, after they have tasted the fountain of living waters, and entered into paradise, shall seat themselves on the banks of the grand Cauther, or river of delight, which is shaded by a tree of that immense size, that if a man was to ride post fifty thousand years he would not pass the extent of one of its leaves: that of the nectar of this delicious river MAHOMET and HALY shall be the cup-bearers, and serve the happy with it, being mounted on the Pay Duldul (these are animals said to have the foot of a stag, the hinder part like a tyger, and the head of a woman:) that they will be followed by innumerable companies of celestial Ladies endued with the most exquisite beauty, and created on purpose for the pleasure of the elect. They hold also, that they can never be capable of any crime in the use of these voluptuous entertainments, because nothing is forbidden, nor shall they know any satiety, but health as well as life shall last to all eternity.

If you demand of them, whether they do not think that the beatifick vision will be a thousand times more ravishing and delightful than all the pleasures of sense: they answer, there can be no such vision, because there must be some proportion between the power and the object; and that there is no proportion between a finite created being and an infinite, and consequently man can never see GOD. If you ask them how they can suppose that in paradise, where it is agreed on all hands that immortality reigns, we should be taken up with corporeal things which endure but for a time, and perish in the enjoyment: they boldly tell us, that those things are not made to supply any necessities of nature, but for pleasure; and that all those pleasures we enjoy in this life, we shall enjoy in a much higher degree in heaven; for this world, they hold, is but a type of heaven, and all that we see came from thence, although it be extremely degenerated from the original.

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nerally ſaid that the Mahometan women are excluded heaven, this is only to be underſtood of the women of this world who will not be in the ſame heaven with the men, but in another place will enjoy equal pleaſures: that there will be alſo other celeſtial women created for the faithful, far excelling any they have ſeen below.

As to the duration of the world after the laſt day, the greateſt part of the Perſian doctors hold that it will not be diſſolved, but changed and purified; and ſhall afterwards be the habitation of bleſſed ſouls to all eternity.

The miſſion of MAHOMET.

As to the ſecond article of the Mahometan creed, that MAHOMET was ſent from GOD, or was the ambaſſador or meſſenger of GOD, they teach, that after GOD had made man, he gave him precepts to regulate his conduct by, in the obſervance whereof he might have been happy: but that being inclined to evil, he revolted from his obedience, and threw off the belief and fear of his Creator; and that GOD ſent his prophets into the world that they might reduce him to a true belief and the practice of the divine commands; that they were ſent to bear witneſs of the truth, and to be lights in their generation: that ADAM, who was the firſt man, was alſo the firſt prophet, and MAHOMET the laſt, and that during all that time GOD never left the world without prophets. [I hope the reader does not expect I ſhould be anſwerable for all the abſurdities and inconſiſtencies in the Mahometan faith.]

They tell us farther, upon the authority of their alcoran, that there has been no leſs than one hundred twenty four thouſand prophets; but of theſe, it ſeems, they are not able to make out above two thouſand by name: and to do this they are forced to bring into the number all the eminent men both in the Old and New Teſtament, making no diſtinction between Prophets and Patriarchs: they reckon into the number alſo all the eminent women mentioned in the ſcriptures, as EVE, MIRIAM, the wives of ABRAHAM, ISAAC, and JACOB; the bleſſed virgin MARY, ANNA, ELIZABETH, &c. and they have books, or legends wherein the lives of many of their prophets are written.

Theſe prophets are diſtinguiſhed into great and ſmall; the great prophets are thoſe who have given laws to mankind for their belief and practice, whom we call legiſlators; of theſe they reckon four, namely, MOSES, DAVID, JESUS CHRIST, and MAHOMET. They hold alſo that the prophets were created many ages before the world began, and before the angels. That as to the three firſt prophets we have only ſome paſſages or ſcraps remaining of what they taught: but that MAHOMET cauſed the alcoran to be copied entire before he carried it with him to heaven again: that all the time between one of the prophets, legiſlators and the other, the religion eſtabliſhed by the former prophet was the only true way to heaven; but that it ceaſed to be ſo, and became erroneous and deſtructive ſo ſoon as a ſucceeding lawgiver appeared; and conſequently they hold that from the time of CHRIST till MAHOMET none could be ſaved out of the Chriſtian religion: but that ſince MAHOMET to the end of the world none can be ſaved out of Mahometiſm; for that there will be no more prophets, or any farther revelation.

The prerogatives they inveſt their prophets with are, firſt, impeccability, or a freedom from ſin, whether mortal or venial: and they are known, they tell us, to the world by a ray of light which ſurrounds their viſage at ſuch time as they reveal any myſtery to mankind, or publiſh any command. Another proof of a prophet's miſſion they hold is miracles, and it is not to be imagined with what profound veneration they always ſpeak of the prophets; adding always the term hazaret to their names, which ſignifies greatneſs or majeſty, as Hazaret IBRAHIM, Hazaret AISSA: the Majeſty of ABRAHAM, the Majeſty of JESUS, &c. And, as has been obſerved in another place, their clergy hold, that all temporal power belongs to the prophets and their lieutenants the prieſts. But this it ſeems the temporal powers do not entirely agree with them in.

MAHOMET.

As to the prophet MAHOMET in particular, they teach, that GOD ſent him into the world unlearned and ignorant in every ſcience, to be his Ambaſſador to all people, as well Arabs as Barbarians: and that this Ambaſſador has abrogated all other religions, except in ſuch points as have been eſtabliſhed and ratified by him afreſh. That this unlearned prophet was divinely conſtituted Lord of all mankind, and that GOD has made the belief and profeſſion of all thoſe things which the prophet taught and commanded neceſſary to ſalvation.

They pretend that their prophet was bred up in ſuch ignorance that he did not know a letter; and this they make a great evidence of the divinity of his miſſion. They ſay alſo, that he was poor and friendleſs; and appear wonderfully ſurprized when they hear us ſay, that their legiſlator eſtabliſhed his religion by the ſword. And as our Saviour is ſaid not to have preached till he was two and thirty years of age, they ſay, their prophet did not begin to preach againſt the worſhip of idols till he was forty years old.

They tell us, that GOD having intended from all eternity to ſend their prophet MAHOMET into the world, he gave notice of it by all the prophets which preceded him: but that the Chriſtians on one hand have applied to JESUS CHRIST, and the Jews to their Meſſias, thoſe things which were foretold of him, and which could not agree with

1147 with any but MAHOMET: and that they had 7. suppressed and altered several other passages which treat of him: and this the Mahometans in general firmly believe. As to the common people, they admire that any one can deny MAHOMET to be a Prophet; but much more that he should be thought an impostor. We, say they to the Christians, acknowledge your Prophet and honour him, and avow his mission: why then will you not acknowledge ours? and persuade themselves, that this can only proceed from pure malice, which is thought to be the occasion they so much detest and abhor those of our religion.

The third article of the Persian creed is, 'that 'HALY is the Vicar or Lieutenant of GOD;' and indeed they exalt him sometimes above MAHOMET himself, and make him almost equal with GOD. They will say, 'I do not believe 'HALY to be GOD, but I believe he comes very little short of GOD.' And the writers of his life relate so many extraordinary miracles of him, that the people are ready to adore him. Their doctors carry it so far as to say he was of a divine nature, and that GOD was incarnate in HALY. In their addresses to him, they say, 'thou art he that is,' as they do in their addresses to GOD. They hold also that HALY is not dead, but taken up into heaven, and that he shall come from paradise again, and fill the world with his doctrine: that it was by him that GOD created the universe, and gave his holy laws to mankind, &c. The painters when they draw a picture of his person cover his face with a vail, not only because it is impossible, they say, to represent that divine beauty which shines in his countenance, but because man is unworthy to behold it. The Persians never speak with that detestation of any thing as they do of ABUBEKER, OMAR and OSMAN, his rivals in power, whom the Turks say were the true successors of MAHOMET, but the Persians hold them to be no better than usurpers: however the Turks do not openly abhor HALY, but acknowledge him to be the true successor of the Prophet after the three former, and call them frequently the four friends and companions. But to proceed, the Persians hold farther, that HALY was succeeded by the eleven Imans, (HALY himself is reckoned the first Iman, which makes the twelve) these descended from him in a right line, and are all likewise held to be Vicars or Lieutenants of GOD, and had the power of working miracles; their names are, 1. HASSEIN. 2. HOSSEIN. 3. HALY II. 4. MAHOMET BEKER. 5. JAFER. 6. MOUSA. 7. HALY. 8. MAHOMET the ambitious. 9. HALY III. 10. HASSEIN II. and 11. MAHOMET MEHDY. The Persians say, that this last MAHOMET being persecuted by the Califs of Babylon (the Arabian Sovereigns) as his ancestors had been, GOD was wearied out with the impieties of those Princes and their people, and took him from among men and carried him to a certain place from whence he shall come before the end of the world to reduce the people to the Mahometan and Imanique religion. The twelve Imans then are HALY the cousin and son-in-law of MAHOMET, and his descendants to the eleventh generation by FATIMA the eldest daughter of MAHOMET. The Persians acknowledge no others for the rightful successors of MAHOMET, though in fact, none of them, except HALY, ever had any share in the government; and HALY himself was kept out of possession three and twenty years. The Persian sect however make it a kind of article of faith to acknowledge the right of the twelve Imans, and it seems the Califs of Babylon did not think themselves secure so long as any of the descendants of HALY were left, and therefore drove them, out of Arabia into the northern parts of Persia, and even there they continued to persecute them, till they themselves were despoiled of their power by the Turks and Tartars: there is scarce a province in Persia however but we find the tombs of some of the descendants of the Imans, and mosques consecrated to them, particularly in the territories of Com and Cashan. But the last Iman disappearing, as has been said, the present Kings of Persia style themselves Slaves and Lieutenants of the twelfth Iman, and pretend to hold the crown only in his right till he returns into the world again. The first Monarch of the present Royal Family was CHEIC SEFI, who pretending to a more than ordinary piety, and that he was lineally descended from the Imans, procured himself to be acknowledged Sovereign of part of Media, and his successors among the rest of their titles style themselves the descendants of CHEIC SEFI, MOUSA and HOSSEIN, as has been observed already.

12 Imans.

I proceed in the next place to speak of the lustrations and purifications of the Persians; they distinguish uncleanness into two kinds, one they esteem sinful, because absolutely forbidden by their law, as to drink wine and strong drink, to eat hog's flesh, &c. The other only communicates a legal incapacity to the person defiled, so that he may not perform certain acts of religion, as to pray to GOD or read the alcoran while he remains in this state of uncleanness: the superstition of the bigotted part of the Persians upon this subject is so extravagant, that if they were all equally affected with it, it would be impossible for people of another religion to live amongst them, for they look upon themselves to be defiled by the touch of a person of another religion, or by any thing that such a one has touched, and by consequence they will taste no food dressed by one

Their purifications and legal pollutions.

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of another perſuaſion, or drink out of the ſame cup with him.

As to wine, the Perſians hold that it was always forbidden even by the Jewiſh law, but the Jews and Chriſtians, they ſay, have altered or eraſed thoſe paſſages which prohibited it. They ſay alſo, that the ſtory of NOAH's drunkenneſs is all a forgery, for that the Patriarchs and Prophets never drank wine: they look upon every thing to be defiled in which wine has been put, or on which a drop of it has fallen; nor is it lawful for them to be in a room where wine is kept.

But notwithſtanding the drinking wine is ſo expreſly forbidden by their law, and their commentators are ſo very ſevere againſt the practice of it, ſeveral of them, and particularly the men of the ſword, will drink pretty freely of it; and when they are asked by a Chriſtian how they do to diſpenſe with this precept; they anſwer, in the ſame manner as you diſpenſe with drunkenneſs and wenching, which is no leſs forbidden Chriſtians; and yet there are many amongſt you who glory in their debauching women, and their exceſſive drinking.

The bigotted Perſians lay a much greater ſtreſs upon the ceremonial part of their law than the moral, their waſhings and purifications muſt be obſerved whatever is left undone; having that maxim of their Prophets frequently in their mouths, 'that religion is founded in purity, that one half 'of religion conſiſts in keeping one's ſelf undefiled.' They ſcarce perform any act of devotion without waſhing; their prayers are vain and criminal which are offered up with unwaſhed hands; and it is the higheſt profanation to touch the alcoran in ſuch a ſtate of uncleanneſs; which is the reaſon that there is frequently written on the cover of the alcoran and other books of devotion, theſe words, (viz.) 'touch not this book with 'impure hands.'

Their corporal purifications are called teharet, which ſignifies all manner of purifications on account of religion, whether done with water or earth; for when they cannot meet with water, as in the deſerts ſometimes, then they are allowed to ſcour themſelves with earth: and as they are obliged to pray five times a day, ſo they are obliged to clean themſelves as often, unleſs they are ſure they have not polluted themſelves between one prayer and another; but there are ſuch variety of defilements, according to their ſuperſtition, that this is ſcarce poſſible: they chooſe to waſh themſelves in running water if they have an opportunity, and have certain rules preſcribed them, which they are to obſerve in their purifications; as that they take up the water in their left hand and pour it into the hollow of the right, with which they waſh their faces; afterwards they are to waſh the arms and hands, and then the feet. They are obliged alſo to waſh their teeth, to gargle their throats, to clean their noſtrils, and to ſhave the head and face: they are alſo to cleanſe the parts where nature diſcharges itſelf, to cut their nails and pull off the hairs under the arms, and from other parts not to be named: however, theſe are not all to be done but upon ſome particular occaſions, as will appear hereafter; for there are three kinds of purifications among the Perſians; the firſt is called cazel, which is the cleaning the parts whereby nature diſcharges itſelf. The ſecond is called vouſou, which is the waſhing thoſe parts which are to be cleaned before they ſay their prayers, namely, the face, the arms, hands and feet. And the third, which is the grand purification, or the waſhing the whole body, is called, gouſſel, and this is uſually done in a bath.

Some of the caſes wherein that kind of waſhing only is required which is called vouſou, or the waſhing the face, hands and feet, are after ſleep, inebriation, after a ſwooning fit, or when one has broken wind, or accidentally let any urine or excrements come from him. The purification called cazel is required after a caſual ejectio ſeminis; and both the one and the other after the touching of a dead corps. And the purification called gouſſel, or the waſhing the whole body, is required before ſome extraordinary acts of devotion, a pilgrimage, or time of faſting, &c.

In the cleaning thoſe parts by which nature diſcharges itſelf, they are ſtrictly forbidden the uſe of paper, or any thing which may be written upon; but more eſpecially written paper, leſt there ſhould be any thing ſacred, as the name of GOD, or a ſcrap of the alcoran upon it: neither are they to uſe the right hand in theſe offices: and all the neatneſs imaginable is required in complying with the neceſſities of nature, as that they neither expoſe themſelves at thoſe times, nor do it in places where others may be defiled by their excrements.

Nor do their luſtrations or waſhings avail them but when the intention is right; that is, when they perform them purely upon the account of religion, without any other deſigns, either of pleaſure or convenience: and they are at the ſame time to expreſs themſelves to this effect, (viz.) 'I perform this neceſſary act of purification to 'render my devotions acceptable to GOD, and 'that I may be fit to approach him.'

They are prohibited in their luſtrations or waſhings, when they are done on a religious account, to be aſſiſted by any perſon to pour the water upon them, or to uſe water warmed either by the fire or the ſun; to uſe a veſſel that has any painting or imagery upon it, or that is adorned with gold or ſilver; to uſe water that has been perfumed or

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or coloured, or in which they have ſeen certain animals drink of a little before, or where they have ſeen a horſe, and ſome other beaſts waſhed. The grand purification, or waſhing the whole body, called gouſſel, is required after matrimonial embraces, or wherever there is a voluntary ejectio ſeminis, or after the being defiled by the menſes, or women in child-bed, and after touching a dead body.

There are ſeveral other things, it ſeems, will purify things polluted beſides water and earth; and firſt, the ſun; if a man or an animal have made water upon the ground, the place is defiled, and whoever touches it is polluted till it has been dried up by the heat of the ſun; nor can ſuch a one ſay his prayers till he has waſhed his face, hands and feet; but after the place is dried, a perſon incurs no pollution, though he ſeat himſelf upon it. The fire alſo purifies things defiled, but in another manner than the ſun does it; namely, by burning and reducing them to coals or aſhes; as the bones of a dog or a hog, things the moſt abominable to a Mahometan: bricks or earthen ware that are burnt alſo are pure, tho' made of polluted earth, after burning. The tranſpoſition of matter out of one animal into another is ſaid to purify it, as if a flea, or a fly ſhall ſuck the blood of an impure animal, the blood in the flea or fly are held to be clean; and if their doctors were of another opinion could never be ſure they were in a ſtate of purity: if wine be converted into vinegar, it is held to be pure; and wine, if it be mulled or boiled away to a third, is held to be pure, and they are allowed to drink it thus: an unbeliever by turning Mahometan becomes pure. Laſtly, if a Mahometan take the child of an infidel priſoner in war, that child becomes pure by being the property of a Mahometan.

The things which render a man unclean in the opinion of the Perſian doctors, are ſummed up together by a late writer, which I ſhall juſt mention, having ſpoken of ſome of them before, viz. The urine of any animal, the blood of any animal but inſects, except what remains in the fleſh after it is dreſſed for food; the ſemen coitus of any animal; a dog and a hog are reckoned impure creatures, and all infidels; though many of the Perſians except Jews and Chriſtians, and do not look upon their touch as impure, becauſe they allow their religions to be of divine inſtitution: mead and beer alſo are reckoned impure, as being intoxicating liquors; but opium, becauſe it is not liquid, is eſteemed pure, tho' it intoxicates no leſs than wine. And laſtly, the touch of any dead animal, as well as a dead corps, defiles a man: but waſhing, it ſeems, will purify things inanimate that have been polluted, as if a dog have drunk out of a veſſel, or licked a diſh, if it be ſcoured firſt with ſand, and waſhed afterwards twice with water, it becomes clean again; but ſome of their doctors have ſuch an averſion to a hog, that they ſay, the veſſel he drinks out of ought to be waſhed ſeven times: if blood or urine happen to be ſpilled on any clothes or furniture, they muſt be well waſhed and ſcoured, at leaſt the places ſoiled, before they can be uſed: the eating out of gold and ſilver plate, is ſaid to defile the meat, but if the meat be taken out of a gold plate and put into a china diſh it is not unclean. And notwithſtanding gold and ſilver utenſils are prohibited, the King and court and other grandees of the kingdom uſe them frequently, which their doctors tell us they atone for by their alms: but great men in moſt countries ſeem to act as if they were ſuperior both to the religion and laws of the kingdom where they live: it was a maxim of CROMWEL's, it ſeems, that neither divine or human laws were intended to reſtrain ſaints or heroes from doing what they pleaſed.

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Of their prayers.

From treating of purifications required by the Perſian religion, I come naturally to ſpeak of their devotions, it being principally on account of their addreſſes to heaven that theſe purifications are required; and they divide their prayers into two kinds, 1. Thoſe which they are indiſpenſibly obliged to offer up, and 2. Thoſe which are adviſeable or expedient, in order to arrive at a greater degree of perfection, which are termed by ſome prayers of ſupererrogation: however, theſe are not different forms, but only a repetition of the other. Every man is obliged to pray five times a day, reckoning from twelve at noon to twelve the next day; for the Mahometans begin their day at noon, as our mariners do. The firſt hour of prayer is exactly when the ſun is in the meridian. The ſecond is in the evening, viz. from the time the ſun is 45 degrees above the horizon, till half the diſk appears. The third, when it is ſo dark one cannot diſtinguiſh colours. The fourth prayer is to be made on lying down to ſleep, for which no fixed time is limited. And the fifth in the morning, which may be performed at any time between the diſappearing of the ſtars and noon: this, as one obſerves, would be an inſupportable burthen, conſidering the purifications and other preparations required to be made before they begin their prayers, if they were not indulged in ſome particulars; for example, they are allowed to offer up two ſets of prayers at the ſame time, and this reduces the five times of prayer to three; that in the morning is performed ſingly; thoſe for noon and the evening may be done together; and thoſe to be ſaid when it grows dark, and the others at bed-time, may alſo be ſaid at once: the prayers for noon-day may be poſtponed till three in the afternoon, and then may be ſaid with thoſe of the evening, as has been obſerved; and in the ſame manner, the prayer when it grows dark may be deferred till

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the time of their ſaying the next when they go to ſleep: and if they are prevented ſaying their prayers at the appointed times, by any preſſing occaſion, they may ſay them afterwards as ſoon as they have an opportunity, and it will be accepted. However, theſe ſet hours of prayer give the Perſians an opportunity of retiring from company they are engaged in, whenever they ſee fit, without being thought guilty of any rudeneſs: as they never ſcruple telling the occaſion of their withdrawing, ſo no body is ever importunate with a perſon to ſtay, when he declares he is going to his devotions.

The clergy, and thoſe who are proud of being thought to have more religion than their neighbours, keep exactly to the five hours of prayer, and will not take any of the advantages abovementioned of throwing two together, and ſo reducing them to three, but upon the laſt neceſſity; nor can a perſon poſtpone any of thoſe prayers which are voluntary, and which they look upon to be more meritorious than thoſe that are expreſly commanded, but theſe muſt be made preciſely at the appointed hours, or they loſe their value.

The times of prayer are proclaimed by the officers of the reſpective moſques or temples, from the tops of high towers or ſteeples, in moſt Mahometan countries; but this is not ſuffered in Perſia, it is ſaid, leſt thoſe criers ſhould diſcover their women on the tops of their houſes; the officers therefore declare the time of prayer from a terraſs not ſo much exalted; upon common days there is not more than one or two of theſe criers employed, but upon feſtivals there are ſometimes ten or a dozen of them, particularly on Fridays, their ſabbath, and in lent; and it is not to be conceived how far their voices are heard, for they rend their throats with all their might: they begin their declaration with theſe words, O GOD moſt great! which they repeat four times, turning themſelves to the four winds; then they make their confeſſion of faith, ſaying, 'The teſtimony we render 'to GOD is, that there is no other God but 'GOD. MAHOMET is the apoſtle of GOD. 'HALY is the vicar of GOD.' And this they repeat alſo four times as above. After which they ſay, 'Ariſe, ſay your prayers, perform that moſt 'excellent duty, which MAHOMET and HALY, 'the moſt perfect of created beings, have com-'manded.' If it be at midnight (which is one of the times for offering up their prayers of ſupererrogation) or in the morning, they add theſe words; viz. Awake out of your ſleep; and having repeated thoſe words, O GOD moſt great, four times, as at the beginning, they ſing ſome verſes of the alcoran, and then conclude, OMAR be curſed (one of HALY's competitors). When the people hear theſe criers call to prayers, every one riſes up and goes to his prayers, not to the moſque or temple, for they are not called thither, but in their houſes, or wherever they think fit: however, there are eight things ſaid to be requiſite towards praying acceptably, namely, application of the mind or attention, the affection of the heart, faith, modeſty, reverence, hope; and two outward qualifications, *viz. purity of body*, and of every thing one touches, or is ſurrounded by, and proper geſtures, as turning their faces towards Mecca, the motion of their hands, the proſtrating their bodies to the earth, &c. of which I ſhall ſpeak more particularly.

And firſt they put off their ſhoes and all their ornaments, and ſometimes their outward clothes, even their turbant ought to have no gold, or ſilver, or embroidery about it, and therefore on theſe occaſions they uſually put on a white callico turbant, eſpecially they take care to wear no skins or furs, at ſuch times, as belonged to any beaſt unclean or prohibited to be eaten by their law: they muſt alſo take care to perform their luſtrations or waſhings, of face, feet, and hands, before they offer up their prayers, as has been hinted already: company does not ſeem much to diſturb or interrupt their devotions, for ſome of them will go to prayers in a room full of people, and ſeem to chooſe ſuch places as are moſt expoſed to view, and where people are engaged in other buſineſs; but theſe are looked upon as hypocritical or affected at leaſt: but particular care is taken that there be no pictures or images about the place, for this is expreſsly forbidden by their law, and would render their prayers ineffectual.

Every perſon alſo has a little carpet, which he takes with him when he ſays his prayers about five or ſix feet long, and three broad, in this they wrap up ſeveral things which they uſe at their devotions, as the alcoran, which they always have in a little bag by itſelf, an earthen diſh, a bead roll, a pocket glaſs, a comb, and frequently ſome tattered relicks; when they have taken out theſe things, they ſpread the little carpet (though the floor before be covered with a carpet) and ſet themſelves upon it with their faces towards Mecca, which ſituation they term kebla from the word kebel, which ſignifies the ſetting ones ſelf over againſt any thing; thus the Jews always turn their faces towards Jeruſalem, and the Chriſtians theirs to the eaſt: it is not permitted to offer up their prayers upon the ground, or on the bare floor, for which reaſon all their moſques are covered with carpets, and the common people who have not carpets of their own, only bruſh a little part of that clean, and ſee there be nothing to defile them before they begin their prayers; and firſt they ſet themſelves down upon their heels, and range all the little trinkets

trinkets above-mentioned in order, then they take the comb and the glaſs, and comb their beards or whiskers, then they take off their purſe where their ſilver is, and their ſeals, and rings, and lay them down by the other things: they muſt have no gold about them, for this would render their prayers vain, which ſome ſay, is the reaſon the Perſians wear ſilver rings, and every thing they have of ſilver they lay down on thoſe occaſions, that they may preſent themſelves before GOD in the moſt humble and abject manner; for the ſame reaſon they never ſay their prayers with a ſword or dagger by their ſides.

Their beads are uſually made of ſome earth which they eſteem holy, they bring it either from places where ſome of the Imans were interred, or from the ſepulchres of ſome other celebrated ſaints: the beads are about the bigneſs of a pea, and generally they have ninety nine of them, but the number is not certain; they are for the moſt part all of a ſize, but ſome of them have every thirty third bead larger than the reſt, for at the thirty third bead, it ſeems, they repeat the words, O GOD moſt great; after the next thirty three, Glory be to GOD; and after the laſt thirty three, GOD be praiſed: ſometimes upon every bead they repeat their ſhort confeſſions of faith, and at other times ſome ſcraps of the alcoran, every one according as he is diſpoſed; and thoſe who affect to be thought devout are never without their beads in their hands. The little diſh they carry with them is of the ſame earth with their beads, this is uſually about the bigneſs of the palm of one's hand, and the uſe of it is to touch it with their foreheads when they make their adorations, and bow down themſelves to the ground, which is one conſiderable part of their devotions: they ſay, that being obliged to touch the earth with their foreheads, it ought rather to be holy than common earth they uſe on ſuch occaſions. As for the relicks, theſe are little pieces of the pall or hangings which cover MAHOMET's tomb, and hang the chapels at Mecca, or of the palls of the Imans: the Grand Signior, it ſeems, every year ſends a rich new pall for MAHOMET's tomb, and hangings for the chapel at Mecca, and then the pall and hangings of the preceding year are cut into ſmall ſhreds, and given to the pilgrims, and ſuch as will pay well for them; and as the Perſians have almoſt as much veneration for their Imans as for MAHOMET, a rag of one of their old palls is looked upon alſo as a ſacred relick.

When a perſon has placed all his trinkets and relicks in order, he riſes upon his feet, and turning his face towards Mecca, and hands hanging ſtrait down by his ſides, and feet ſtanding cloſe together, he endeavours to fix his attention on the ſacred offices he is about to perform, then he begins with the words, O GOD moſt great; he makes his confeſſion of faith, and repeats the firſt chapter of the alcoran, ſtretching out his hands and lifting them as high as his head, with the palms open as if he was about to receive ſomething, after which he makes two proſtrations and adorations, uſing at the ſame time ſome pious ejaculations preſcribed; then he repeats another chapter of the alcoran, which he pleaſes, and his devotions are ended. And the zealots among them which value themſelves upon their many and long prayers, as far as I can perceive, only repeat the ſame things over and over again: however, certain it is, that the Mahometans perform their devotions with inconceivable reverence and attention; nothing can divert them from what they are about, their eyes remain fixed, and every geſture is exceeding juſt and ſuitable to the occaſion; and they learn to model their voice according to the ſubject they are upon, whether prayers or praiſes; nor does the frequency of their prayers at all abate their zeal and devotion. Their forms of prayer on Fridays and others feſtivals, are the ſame with thoſe of ordinary days, they never vary unleſs it be in caſes of extraordinary calamity, as a famine, or the like, or when they give thanks for ſome particular ſucceſs: but by praying by forms we are not to underſtand that the prieſt uſes a form, and the congregation joins with him, as in Chriſtian churches; for every man goes to his prayers either in or out of the moſque as he ſees fit, and repeats the forms appointed by their liturgy for himſelf only, without any regard to others, who are performing their devotions at the ſame time, or perhaps engaged in other buſineſs.

Prayers on an eclipſe.

Although the Perſians are not at this day ignorant of the reaſon of eclipſes, yet they ſtill retain and uſe certain prayers at ſuch times, as if they ſtill thought they portended ſome dreadful calamity, or at leaſt that it is a mark of GOD's diſpleaſure to be deprived of the light of the ſun or moon. If you object to them, that at this rate a man might calculate how often, and at what times GOD would be angry with them for ſeveral years to come: they anſwer, that it was thus appointed by their Prophet; that they are not to ſearch into hidden myſteries, but ought to ſubmit their reaſon to divine revelation: in like manner thunder and earthquakes as certainly proceed from natural cauſes, as the eclipſes of the ſun and moon, and yet it will be impoſſible to perſuade the vulgar in any part of the world, that they are not marks of GOD's vengeance and diſpleaſure; notwithſtanding they ſee that earthquakes are in a manner peculiar to ſome countries where there is a more than ordinary quantity of combuſtible matter in the bowels of the earth, and that thunder and lightening returns regularly at certain ſeaſons; and if the latter muſt be deemed marks of

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of GOD's vengeance, it will follow that he is uſually better pleaſed with his creatures in winter than in ſummer. However, though it muſt be admitted, that thunder and lightening, ſtorms and earthquakes proceed from natural cauſes, yet it is highly probable that heaven by framing the world in this manner, ſo as to be ſubject to ſuch calamities, *intended thereby to manifeſt a divine power*, and to remind us of the viciſſitude of human affairs, to the end we might fix our minds upon a more durable happineſs; and poſſibly there are few people who do not make ſome ſerious reflections when they find the earth in motion, and they are every minute in danger of being ſwallowed up: a man muſt be arrived at a more than ordinary degree of ſtupidity who is not moved at ſuch calamities as theſe: it is obſervable alſo, that the moſt delicious countries are generally moſt ſubject to tempeſts and earthquakes, ſo that what our northern regions want in warmth, fruits, ſpices, evergreens, and other delightful products of nature, is abundantly made up in the ſecurity we enjoy; nor are we ſo infeſted with ſnakes, ſcorpions, and other venomous inſects, which their very gardens and houſes continually harbour; but to return to our ſubject.

The Perſians do not aſſemble in their moſques or temples to perform the publick worſhip, either on their ſabbath, or any other day of the week, as the Turks and Indian Mahometans do; the Grand Signior, and the Great Mogul indeed go regularly to the moſque on Fridays to perform their devotions, but the Perſians pray every man by himſelf, either in the temple or a private houſe, as they pleaſe, holding that no perſon ought to read the alcoran or prayers in their temples to the congregation, but an Iman, (a Patriarch or Prophet) or one legally deſcended from him: there are ſome of their doctors, 'tis true, who pretend to be deſcended from the Imans, and have their particular followers, and theſe do not only ſay their prayers together, but imitate their leader, who kneels at the head of them, in every motion and geſture; but theſe are only ſome few devotees or puritans: the Perſians in general ſay their prayers and read the alcoran ſeparately, and perform their devotions in all places indifferently, provided they be not polluted.

Prayers for the dead.

Prayers for the dead are recommended, but not commanded by the Perſian religion; they look upon it in general as an act of piety to commemorate their deceaſed friends at certain times, and ſome of them are of opinion that GOD will increaſe the happineſs, or leſſen the miſery of the departed ſouls at the importunity of their ſurviving friends; but they are not all agreed as to this matter: however, I don't perceive that any of them pray to their ſaints, or even HALY or MAHOMET as mediators to intercede for them; though they frequently pray that GOD would encreaſe the happineſs and glory of their Prophets and Patriarchs, becauſe they believe this to be acceptable to GOD: nor do they believe that their ſaints know what is done here below, but as GOD is pleaſed to reveal it to them. The Perſians however believe that they may receive ſome advantage from the prayers of holy men on earth, and that *their own omiſſions may be ſupplied by* others, and accordingly it ſeems they will hire devout people to repeat a certain number of prayers for them.

Alms.

I come now to enquire into the duty of charity or alms deeds required by the Perſian religion, of which there are two kinds, the one certain and fixed, and the other diſcretionary: in all their religious books and diſcourſes we find alms deeds highly recommended, without which, their prayers are held to be vain and ineffectual; they lay out their alms chiefly in publick buildings, as upon caravanſeras, or houſes of entertainment for travellers in great towns, and on the road, where they are lodged gratis; in making bridges, cauſeways, ciſterns, and receptacles of water, moſques, colleges, and bagnio's: but they have no hoſpitals for the ſick, as in Europe, either they have not ſo much occaſion for them through the clemency of the air, or their caravanſera's may ſerve in a great meaſure inſtead of them, where all people may lodge without paying any thing for it.

Fig. 1.

There are a multitude of derviſes and faquirs in all Mahometan countries, who are a kind of begging friers, and extort the people's alms from them almoſt by force, looking upon themſelves to be much holier, and in many reſpects ſuperior to thoſe they demand an alms of; they travel in large companies that it is hardly ſafe for people in villages to deny whatever they ask, and they may be ſaid rather to levy a tribute, than to live upon the charity of the people.

Tythes.

The alms which are aſcertained by their religion are a kind of tythes of corn, cattle, money, merchandiſe, &c. though they do not amount to near a tenth, and are only taken of the neat profits after all rent and charges deducted; and theſe are not given to the prieſt, but applied to pious and charitable uſes, like the other, from whence they have received the ſame denomination of alms: the clergy, as far as I perceive, live upon the glebe or revenues with which their churches are endowed, and what they get by the education of children; but they collect the tythes and have the diſtribution of them.

Infants under age, thoſe who are non compos, or ſlaves, are not required to pay any tythes; nor poor people whoſe effects do not amount to a certain ſum: of gold and ſilver coin a certain part is paid, but for plate or bullion they pay nothing nor do they pay for their money, unleſs they have had it eleven months in their poſſeſſion. The tythe of their corn and grain, fruits and garden-ſtuff, are to

to be paid after the rent and charges deducted, as has been obſerved already: they pay tythe alſo of their camels, oxen and ſheep, which they have been in poſſeſſion of eleven months, after the charges of keeping them is deducted: if a perſon has but four camels he pays no tythes, but if he has five he pays a ſheep for the tythe, and ſo for every five camels under twenty ſix, and if he have above that number, he pays one camel, or the value of it, for the tythe of them: if a perſon have leſs than thirty oxen he pays no tythe, and for every thirty a calf is paid: no tythe is paid where there are leſs than forty ſheep, but for every forty one ſheep is paid.

Theſe tythes are applied to the maintenance of the Mahometan faquirs, or begging friers, to the redeeming ſlaves hardly uſed by their maſters: for the relief of inſolvent debtors; and for the relief of ſtrangers who happen to be in diſtreſs in their country. The reſt are employed in publick buildings, in erecting temples, caravanſeras, colleges, &c. There is alſo the quantity of ſeven or eight pounds of rice, or other grain, or fruits, annually paid for every head, the day after their great faſt or ramezan, which is applied to the ſame uſes the tythes are applied: their ſaints and devotees, who ſet up for an extraordinary piety, pay ſeveral other ſums to the uſe of the poor, beſides thoſe expreſly commanded by law, and of ſpoils that are taken in war a fifth or double tythe is paid.

Having ſpoken of their prayers and alms, I proceed to their faſts, and the Perſian doctors define a religious faſt to be a total abſtinence from all kind of nouriſhment and carnal pleaſures, from the break of day till night with an intent to pleaſe GOD. Their religion does not expreſsly command any other faſt than that for the month of Ramezan, unleſs upon ſome extraordinary occaſion, as by way of penance, or to avert any calamity, or the like: but the diſciples of this religion, are adviſed to perform many other faſts, which their zealots do not fail to comply with: this word Ramezan is the name of the ninth month of the year, and their lent is ſo called, becauſe the faſt is obſerved from the beginning to the end of it: when this moon firſt appears, which is uſually in the evening immediately after ſun-ſet, it is proclaimed by the holy criers in great numbers, on the terraſſes of their moſques, who publiſh it as a moſt ſurpriſing piece of news, and ſing certain hymns on the occaſion; the people anſwer in joyful cries, and illuminate the ſtreets, and from the terraſs's of the bagnio's the horns ſound to give notice that the baths are ready; for they begin their faſts, as all other acts of devotion, with waſhing and purifying themſelves, which is ordinarily done at the bath: the end of the faſts is ſolemnized in much the ſame manner as the beginning; the criers give notice of the ſucceeding moon from the moſques, the people teſtify their joy by their acclamations, the ſound of muſical inſtruments, and the like: every one is obliged to faſt during the month of Ramezan, from break of day till ſunſet, but their zealots obſerve it ſtill more rigorouſly, and begin their faſt at midnight, eating nothing till the ſucceeding night; they are prohibited during this time to eat or drink any thing, to waſh their mouths, or even their face, leſt it ſhould be any refreſhment and abate their mortification; nay ſome of them make a ſcruple of ſwallowing their ſpittle, or opening their mouths to let in the air: during this time alſo (that is in the day time) all amorous commerce is prohibited even in words or looks: at ſun-ſet, when they are permitted to eat, the time is proclaimed every evening from the moſques, which is when half the ſun's diſk is under the horizon: then every perſon having performed his purifications and ſaid a ſhort prayer, they begin to eat ſome light food, as fruits and ſweet-meats; ſome time after they go to ſupper, in which they ſpend more time than ordinary, not that they eat more than at other times, but they eat very ſlowly, becauſe after ſo long a faſt they apprehend it of ill conſequence to eat too greedily: notice is given from the moſques at midnight, that the faſt is begun, for thoſe which keep it ſtrictly, which they prepare themſelves for by luſtrations and prayers, and afterwards lay themſelves down to ſleep, eating no more till the next night, but the reſt of the people are permitted to eat till break of day: thoſe who live by their labour uſually make a meal about two hours before day, and then lye down to ſleep. The libertines revel and feaſt all night to make amends for their abſtinence in the day time, which they ſpend too for the moſt part in ſleep; ſo that this month of Ramezan appears more like a feſtival than a faſt in many places: the only difference is, that, like our debauchees, they turn day into night.

People that live regularly, when they riſe in the morning go to bath, to purify themſelves from all pollutions, and their habits, their countenance and diſcourſe are ſuitable to the ſolemnity; in every thing they do there appears an air of devotion, great part of the day is ſpent in retirement, praying, reading the alcoran and other books of devotion, and though they do not ſcruple entring upon buſineſs, yet foreigners find more difficulty in treating with them at theſe than at other times, eſpecially in the latter end of the day, when they grow peeviſh and untractable by their long abſtinence: they are alſo more cautious then of converſing with people of a different religion, leſt they ſhould be defiled by them, and rendered

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rendered unfit for their devotions. There are not near ſo many people to be ſeen about the ſtreets in the day time, as in the other months: but in the evening the ſtreets are illuminated, and you ſee crowds of people in the markets, and other publick places of reſort: it is ſometimes called the feaſt of candles, from the multitude of lights ſet up in every part of the town.

Pilgrimages to Mecca.

The laſt thing required of the diſciples of the Perſian religion is to make a pilgrimage to Mecca once in their life time: this is the town in Arabia where their falſe Prophet MAHOMET was born; and here is the kabba, or houſe of GOD, towards which all Mahometans turn their faces when they pray; it is a little chapel, which according to tradition was built by ABRAHAM, of a ſquare form, as the word kabba ſignifies, not above fifteen feet long and twelve broad, and between thirty and forty feet high. But I ſhall give a more particular deſcription of this temple when I come into Arabia. The country for about ten leagues round Mecca, the Mahometans ſtyle their Holy Land, into which no Chriſtian or Pagan is ſuffered to enter on pain of being burnt alive: the principal end of the pilgrimage to Mecca is to viſit the kabba or chapel of the Patriarch ABRAHAM, and perform certain acts of devotion in the courts which ſurround it; and not upon account of being the place of MAHOMET's birth, much leſs becauſe his tomb is there, as is vulgarly ſaid, for that is at Medina, above two hundred miles to the north of Mecca; nor are any of the diſciples of HALY obliged to go thither, tho' ſome do voluntarily in a fit of devotion; but much the greateſt numbers, when they have performed their pilgrimage to Mecca, return home again without ſeeing Medina. And hiſtory informs us, that this temple called the kabba, was held to be more ſacred than any other by the Arabians long before the appearance of MAHOMET in the world; and that people came from all parts of that country to pay their devotions there: but then the kabba was filled with images of the ſun, moon and planets, which the Arabians adored; and it is thought highly probable, that MAHOMET obſerving the devotion which the Arabs had for this temple, and being pleaſed with the tradition of its original, believing it would be difficult to take off the veneration of the people for the place, he conſecrated it to the religion he was about to eſtabliſh, and only changed the rites, confirming the tradition, that the kabba was ABRAHAM's chapel, and founded by the expreſs command of GOD; ordering them alſo to make their pilgrimages thither as uſual, and to turn their faces towards the kabba whenever they prayed.

The principal things which the pilgrims perform at Mecca, are the going in proceſſion ſeven times round ABRAHAM's chapel; the kiſſing a black ſtone there, of which more hereafter; the ſpending a certain portion of time at mount Arafat; the ſacrificing a ſheep upon mount Menah in remembrance of ABRAHAM's going to ſacrifice his ſon; the drinking of the water of the well Zemzen; the taking ſeven turns between the little hills of Safa and Merva; and the throwing ſtones over their heads in the valley of Menah, all which, it is ſaid, they do in imitation of the Patriarch ABRAHAM, and which GOD has enjoined them as an indiſpenſible duty, particularly that of the ſacrifice.

As to the black ſtone above-mentioned, which all the pilgrims are obliged to kiſs, the Perſian legends tell us, that ABRAHAM tied his camel to this ſtone when he came to ſacrifice ISMAEL; for the Mahometans make HAGAR to be ABRAHAM's lawful wife, and ISMAEL his heir. They have another tradition, that when ABRAHAM was about to build the kabba, the ſtones marched thither of themſelves from mount Araſat ready ſquared and poliſhed, and that this black ſtone called barktan, being left when the building was finiſhed, demanded of ABRAHAM why he had not made uſe of it in building the houſe of GOD; whereupon the prophet bid the ſtone not to be concerned, for he would cauſe it to be honoured more than any ſtone in the building, by commanding all the faithful to kiſs it, as they went in proceſſion. They viſit mount Araſat, in commemoration of ADAM's meeting EVE there, after their being excluded the celeſtial paradiſe: for it is related in their legends, that they wandered about the world ſeparately ſome hundreds of years after the fall; and at length met upon this mountain. As to the well Zemzen, which they drink of in their proceſſions, this they ſay was miraculouſly made for the preſervation of ISMAEL when he was ready to periſh for thirſt: the legend relates, that the angel GABRIEL came to HAGAR, and directed her to bid the child ſtamp with his foot, which he had no ſooner done, but the water iſſued out of the well, from whence it had its name; the word Zemzen ſignifying to ſtamp or ſtrike. The pilgrims drink of the water, and waſh themſelves with it, and frequently dip a linen cloth in the water, which they preſerve for their winding ſheet; and ſome of the Perſian doctors hold, that the ſouls of the elect are purified by this water before they enter paradiſe.

The ſeven turns the pilgrims take between the little mounts of Safa and Merva, are to repreſent the trouble HAGAR was in when ſhe was diſtreſſed for water; and when they perform this rite, ſometimes they run, and ſometimes they walk ſlowly, then they look carefully on this ſide and on that, as people who are ſearching carefully for ſomething.

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The rite of throwing ſtones over their heads in the valley of Menah is to ſignify their ſolemn renouncing the Devil, and that they will reject his ſolicitations, as ISMAEL did when the Devil would have ſeduced him, and perſuaded him to reſiſt his father ABRAHAM, and not ſuffer himſelf to be ſacrificed (for ISMAEL, as has been obſerved, is put in the place of ISAAC among the Mahometans). They ſay, that upon ISMAEL's acquainting ABRAHAM with it, he commanded his ſon to throw ſtones at the tempter and he would fly him, which happened accordingly; that the Devil alſo made an attempt on ABRAHAM and HAGAR, to diſſuade them from offering ISMAEL, but they threw ſtones at him alſo, and drove him away: which, it ſeems, gave birth to this rite of throwing ſtones over their heads at the Devil.

After the ceremony of throwing ſtones, the pilgrims proceed every one to ſacrifice ſuch beaſts as the law requires, which muſt be either a ſheep, a goat, a cow, or a camel; if it be a ſheep, the devoted beaſt muſt be ſeven months old; if it be a goat or cow, it ought to be a year old; and if a camel five years old: the ſacrifice alſo muſt be whole and pure, without any maim or defect, and the throat of it muſt be cut by the offerer himſelf: this rite muſt always be performed on the tenth day of the month Zilhah, if poſſible, or as ſoon after as may be, and the offerer is to eat part of it himſelf, and give the reſt to the poor.

When the Perſians were maſters of Bagdat they frequently took that road, but the way the pilgrims go at preſent is by Boſſora or Bozra ſeated near the bottom of the Perſian gulph: they were forced to endure a thouſand inſults in this paſſage; the Arabian Princes, through whoſe territories they paſſed, extorting money from them almoſt every day, on one pretence or other, and they had the leſs mercy on them on account of their being hereticks: whereupon the court of Persia for ſome time forbad the pilgrims to go by land to Mecca, ordering them to ſail round Arabia into the Red Sea, as the pilgrims of India do: whereupon the Arabian Princes finding their revenues much leſſened, ſent Ambaſſadors to the Perſian court to aſſure them that all abuſes ſhould be regulated, and the pilgrims might have a free paſſage without thoſe exorbitant exactions: and probably it is on account of the difficulty the Perſians found in theſe pilgrimages, that the doctors hold that there is no abſolute neceſſity they ſhould be made in perſon; and accordingly we find numbers of Arabs in all parts of Perſia, who get their livelihood by going in pilgrimage to Mecca for others: they procure of the Prince and Governor of Mecca, and the magiſtrates there, certificates that they have viſited the holy places, and performed all ſuch acts as are required of pilgrims, which they deliver to thoſe who ſent them, or ſell to any other perſon that will buy them, the ordinary price for ſuch a certificate being between forty and fifty pounds ſterling; whereas a perſon cannot well make that journey under two hundred pounds, and ſome of them expend ſeveral thouſands; for it is expected that every one ſhould live according to his quality, and carry a ſuitable number of ſervants and attendants, and give alms by the way, in proportion to their ſubſtance.

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If any perſon dies in Perſia who has not gone in pilgrimage to Mecca, either in perſon or by proxy, the Cadi or Civil Magiſtrate ſeizes on ſo much of his fortune, as the charges of the pilgrimage would have amounted to, for the good of his ſoul, and this he employs in ſending one to Mecca for him; but this is to be underſtood of men of ſubſtance, for the inferior ſort of people are not obliged to go in pilgrimage.

The caravan of pilgrims ſets out from Bozra on a certain day, in order to be at Mecca at the time the law requires, and is convoyed thither by the Arabs, who keep them in the deſerts forty or fifty days, though the journey might eaſily be performed in twenty; they are guided by the ſtars in their paſſage, and for that reaſon, as well as on account of the heats, they travel in the night time, and as the air is dry and pure, the ſtars afford them light enough: there are no inns or caravanſera's in this deſert, but the pilgrims lye in tents, as they do alſo till they have performed their devotions at the kabba; in the day time they pitch their tents near ſome well by the Arabs camp, where they have all neceſſary proviſions brought them by the natives.

The pilgrims, having paſſed the deſert, pitch their tents at a little diſtance from Mecca, and on the day appointed for performing the rites above-mentioned, which is always on the firſt day of the month Zilhah, they put off all their clothes, and perform the purifications required in a great baſin or receptacle of water; after which they wear no other clothing but a linen cloth about their middles and another about their ſhoulders, intimating thereby, that they are dead to the world, having no regard to their ornaments, or reliſh for any thing but heavenly things.

Such of the Perſians as go from Mecca to Medina to viſit MAHOMET's tomb, are very ill uſed by the Turks, for which reaſon they uſually return home without ſeeing it: for the Turks expect the pilgrims ſhould proſtrate themſelves before the tombs of ABUBEKER and OMAR as well as MAHOMET, and nothing can be more deteſted than thoſe two Califs are by the Perſians, as has been obſerved already. The Perſians alſo are obliged to perform their purifications there

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after the manner of the Turks, which is no ſmall mortification to them. But it is ſaid, the Perſian doctors allow their diſciples to diſſemble here, rather than hazard their lives. From Medina the Perſian pilgrims uſed to return home by Bagdat, and viſit the tombs of their Imans, who lye buried in Chaldea near that city; of all which they take a certificate from the magiſtrates of the reſpective places, and return home in about the ſpace of a year. The performing theſe pilgrimages is held to be a great honour to themſelves, and all that are related to them; and ſeveral weeks are ſpent at their return in receiving the congratulations of their friends; and the reſt of their lives they enjoy the title of hagy, or pilgrim, which is added to their names; as Ismael hagy, &c. But altho' theſe pilgrimages are frequently made by their eccleſiaſticks; the men of the ſword, their magiſtrates, and the reſt of the laity ſeldom undertake them: ſometimes indeed we find the great miniſters and governors of provinces with this title of hagy added to their names; but this is not common.

Religious feſtivals.

I proceed next to ſpeak of their feſtivals: that of the new year I have mentioned already. Their principal religious feſtivals are thoſe in commemoration of Abraham's ſacrificing his ſon, and that of the martyrdom of the two Imans, Hossein and Hassein: the feaſt of the ſacrifice, as has been taken notice already, is always celebrated on the tenth of the month Zilhah. The Perſians aſſure us, that the Arabs and the neighbouring nations obſerved this feſtival antiently, long before the inſtitution of their religion: thoſe who keep it riſe early in the morning, and having got ready their horſes, and ſuch other beaſts as they ride on, go out of the city at break of day, where they ſacrifice a ſheep or a goat; after which they cauſe ſeveral to be killed in their own houſes, according to their ability, and diſtribute them amongſt the poor. But beſides this, in every great town there is on the ſame day one general ſacrifice made of a camel, at which the King himſelf aſſiſts at Iſpahan, and it is performed in the following manner.

Feaſt in remembrance of Abraham's ſacrifice.

On the firſt day of the month Zilhah, a camel is taken out of the King's ſtables, and delivered to the people, who having dreſſed him up with garlands and ribbons, lead him through the city, trumpets and muſick playing before them every day till the tenth, which is the grand day. The people follow the beaſt in crowds, with loud acclamations, and he is brought into the houſes of all the great men, that the women of the haram may ſee him without being perceived. This is a glorious time for the mob who attend the proceſſion, for they meet with money or good chear at every houſe they come to.

The day of ſacrifice being come, the camel is led to a field a little diſtance from the city, whither the King ſometimes comes, with his cap of ſtate, or crown, upon his head, and the whole court, with their caps ſet with precious ſtones, their habits anſwerably rich, and a magnificent equipage. They make the camel lye down on his belly with his head turned towards Mecca, ſeveral men holding him with ropes faſtened to his head and legs, that he may not ſtir when they kill him: and being ſurrounded by the King and the great officers on one ſide, and the clergy on the other, who offer up certain prayers on the occaſion, the beaſt is ſtruck on the left ſhoulder with a lance by the deroga, whoſe office it is, who prays at the ſame time, that GOD would ſhower down his bleſſings on the King and people. The camel immediately after has its head cut off and preſented to the King; the trunk of the body, and the four quarters, are given to five great wards, into which the city is divided, and the people carry them away in triumph, ſinging and rejoicing all the way they march. It belongs to a certain family in every ward to have the keeping of the ſacred fleſh, and the chief of this family makes an entertainment for thoſe who have aſſiſted at the ſacrifice, being furniſhed with proviſions by the ſubſtantial people of the neighbourhood; to whom, in return, he ſends little morſels of the camel which was ſacrificed the preceding year; for the quarters of the camel are always ſalted up, and kept till another camel is ſacrificed that time twelve month, and thoſe who can get the leaſt piece to eat, believe they receive all bleſſings with it.

The reaſon this ſacrifice is performed without the city, is, the better to repreſent Abraham's ſacrifice, who was commanded to go far from home; and on the ſame account it is that thoſe who aſſiſt at it are on horſeback, booted, and in a travelling dreſs; and they ſacrifice a camel rather than any other beaſt, becauſe they have a tradition that Abraham ſacrificed a camel, though this be contrary to the tenour of the alcoran: but beſides this publick ſacrifice of the camel, every one, as has been ſaid, kills ſheep or goats in his own houſe, according to his ability, always obſerving that the head of the victim be towards Mecca.

Feaſt of Hossein and Haſſein.

The next great feſtival the Perſians hold, is in the memory of the death, or martyrdom as they call it, of their Patriarch Hossein, who was ſlain in a battle with the Caliph of Damaſcus, who contended with him for the empire, in the ſixty-firſt year of the hegira, on the tenth day of their month Maharam, which is their firſt month of the year. After Hossein had loſt the battle, their legends tell us, that he retreated with his broken troops into a deſert near Babylon, called Kerbele, where, having been purſued fourteen days,

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days, he fell at length into the hands of his enemies, and died fighting valiantly, having first received several wounds. This festival continues ten days, viz. the first ten days of the month Maharam, during which time there are no trumpets, or musical instruments, sounded at the usual hours; and those who observe it strictly, neither shave their head or face, or go to the bagnio. They will never begin a journey, or undertake any thing of consequence at this time; many of them rend their clothes, paint their skins black, and appear with sorrowful dejected looks, as in a time of publick mourning: you will see from morning till night, in all the streets, parties of the mob, some almost naked, others stained with blood, and others in armour from head to foot, with naked swords in their hands; some appear faint, and ready to perish, with their tongues hanging out of their mouths, and all the signs of despair and anguish, crying with all their might as they pass by, HOSSEIN! HASSEIN! (HASSEIN was the elder brother of HOSSEIN, who lost his life in the same war). What they endeavour to express is, the heat and thirst with which the legend relates HOSSEIN was afflicted in the desert, to such a degree, it is said, that he became black, and his tongue hung out of his mouth. If they meet a stranger, either Pagan or Christian, they cry out Cursed be OMAR, who was the great enemy of their Patriarch HALY: in which it will be prudence to join with them, unless we design to be insulted. But the Turks are in the greatest danger when they meet with these zealous mobs; for they are ready to sacrifice every disciple of that sect. During the ten days of mourning, there are a kind of altars in the corner of every street, and a place enclosed and hung round with shields, fire-arms, drums, trumpets, colours, standards, and all kind of warlike instruments and utensils for men and horses. In the night time the streets are illuminated, and some of their doctors come and hold forth to the people on the subject of the festival; exciting their rage against the enemies of their saint, and their adherents; and exhorting them to lament his misfortune with all imaginable bitterness. The expressions of grief and anguish on these occasions are not to be conceived; they beat their breasts, they cry and howl like people under the most sensible affliction. On the first days of the feast their preachers usually entertain them with an account of the birth of HOSSEIN, wherein they relate a thousand fabulous legends in relation to this saint. The latter part of the feast their discourses run upon the resignation of HOSSEIN, in voluntarily devoting himself to death. They relate that four thousand angels came to offer him their assistance in his distress; but he thanked them, and refused it. That one angel in particular, in the form of an hermit, brought him a cup of water when he was ready to die with thirst; but HOSSEIN would not accept it, telling him, that if he pleased he could command a brook of water to issue out of the earth; and that touching the ground with his finger, there immediately sprung up a large fountain: but it is decreed, says he, that I must die under these misfortunes, and therefore he never attempted to quench his thirst at it. The sermon being over the people immediately renew their cries of HOSSEIN! HASSEIN! as long as their voice and lungs will permit them; and when they can bawl no longer they return to their houses. Thus the inferior people spend their time. The better sort send for the molla's to their houses, and hear them repeat the legends of HOSSEIN there every day, dismissing them in the evening with a handsome entertainment; and the night before the last or great day of the feast is usually spent in devotion. During this festival the Persians are extremely charitable; they look upon it as a crime to refuse a poor man an alms at this time: before the houses of the great men also stand great vessels of ice and water, that none may suffer thirst, as their great saint HOSSEIN did; and the King every day entertains at least four thousand people, who attend the processions: there are abundance of machines and pageants carried at this feast, chiefly to move the compassion of the people and excite their rage against their enemies the Turks; particularly we see open chariots and biers with the mangled carcasses of HOSSEIN, and his friends that perished with him; others carry their armour and arms, their swords, quivers, and bows, and the people are really worked up to as great a degree of grief and resentment as if the tragedy was then acting before their eyes, and would in their zeal sacrifice any Turk that should happen to come in their way.

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Before I conclude this head of religion, I must take notice of some other religions tolerated in Persia, besides the Mahometan; and first of the Gaurs, or antient Persians, generally styled ignicoles, or worshippers of fire, being distinguished thereby from all other people; they are dispersed throughout Persia, and have colonies in the suburbs of several great towns, and particularly near Ispahan, there is a village inhabited only by Gaurs; many of these people, who refused to submit to the Mahometan religion, fled into India, and are settled about Surat, as was mentioned in treating of that country: it is observed of the Gaurs, that they are neither of so good a complexion or make as the Mahometan Persians, which is thought to proceed from their not intermixing with the Georgians, and other northern nations, as the Mahometans do: but there may be also another very good reason assigned for

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it, namely, the Gaurs applying themſelves principally to husbandry, and laborious employments, in which they are more expoſed to the weather than the Mahometans; for this we ſee makes a remarkable difference between the gentry and husbandmen in all countries: it is very rare to find a peaſant whoſe complexion, ſhape, or mien are to be compared to thoſe of a ſuperior rank, though the health and innocence of a country life poſſibly may be a ſufficient equivalent for thoſe accompliſhments. The men wear their hair and beards long, a ſhort cloſe veſt, and a cap not much unlike our hats; they are all of them either husbandmen or mechanicks, never applying themſelves either to the liberal arts or merchandize, and their language and characters are underſtood by none but themſelves. They regard agriculture not only as a uſeful and innocent profeſſion, but honourable and even meritorious: they hold that this was the firſt buſineſs men were employed in, and for which the Gods themſelves have the greateſt regard: their prieſts teach them that, next to the begetting of children, the manuring the ground, and planting trees, are the moſt virtuous employments they can be concerned in: and this, ſome gentlemen obſerve, is the reaſon that Perſia was ſo much more fruitful under the dominion of the antient Perſians than it is at preſent; they encouraged nothing more than agriculture and husbandry, planting and gardening, and their religion taught them that thoſe things were meritorious; while the Mahometan race look no farther than the preſent generation, and do not ſo much as aim at improvements; on the contrary, they will ſcarce maintain what has been already planted to their hands; they ſay that life is ſhort and uncertain, and to what purpoſe ſhould they make ſettlements here, as if they were to remain upon earth to all eternity.

This remnant of antient Perſians are an innocent harmleſs people, and allowed to live under their own laws and magiſtrates, confirmed by the preſent government; their religion allows them to drink wine, and eat all manner of fleſh, except beef; nor are they ſcrupulous about the dreſſing it, as the Mahometans and Pagans are, who would think themſelves polluted, if one of another religion or ſect was to cook their meat; they do not care, however, to mingle with another people, and eſpecially the Mahometans, but match always in their own tribe; neither a plurality of wives, or divorces, are ſuffered by their religion, unleſs the firſt wife has remained barren nine years, and then they are allowed to take a ſecond: theſe people are as ignorant as other ruſticks uſually are, and can give but a very poor account even of their own religion or hiſtory; they pretend to hold that there is one almighty Being, which is the Creator and firſt Cauſe of all things; but this opinion is thought to be taken up only to gratify their Mahometan maſters, not being very conſiſtent with ſome other tenets; for they talk of two Beings beſides, the one the author of all good, and the other of evil; they hold alſo that the heavenly bodies are animated by certain intelligences, who concern themſelves in the conduct of human affairs: the ſun, according to them, is the grand intelligence, and the father of all ſenſible productions: the moon is the ſecond intelligence, and the other planets they rank in the ſame order we do. They look upon the moon to be in great diſtreſs from ſome other intelligence, during an eclipſe, and reckon up abundance of inferior and ſubaltern deities. As for their two gods, or principles of good and evil above-mentioned, they ſtyle the one light or fire and the other darkneſs; but whether they worſhip the fire as GOD, or as a repreſentation of GOD, is not eaſy to determine: the fire, ſome of them ſay, is light, and light is GOD, and then break out in raptures on the purity and activity of the fire, the light, and GOD, in ſuch a confuſed manner that no one can tell whether they make them one or three ſeveral deities, or whether light and fire are eſteemed only reſemblances of GOD: however, all of them maintain that the ſacred fire has been kept alive in Perſia, ever ſince the time of King KEYOMERSA, who has been dead three thouſand ſix hundred years, according to the Perſian chronology. As to the ordinary fire which they worſhip, they take care that it be not fed, or kept up, with any thing which may cauſe a ſmoke, or an offenſive ſmell, and always perform their devotions with their faces towards the fire or the ſun: their principal temple is on a mountain near the city of Yezd, and there the high-prieſt of their religion reſides with great numbers of his clergy, who live in a kind of convent, or ſeminary. The prieſts are employed there in much the ſame ſervice the veſtal virgins were at Rome, namely, in keeping in the ſacred fire, that it may never be extinguiſhed; and according to their traditions, this fire was firſt lighted about four thouſand years ago on this mountain, by their great prophet ZOROASTER, and they live in hopes of his return, and of ſeeing their religion and antient government triumphant again in Perſia: they differ from other Pagans, in their averſion to certain animals, for they look upon it as their duty to deſtroy all noxious vermin, and eſpecially ſuch as ſpoil the fruits of the earth. As to the manner of burying their dead, by expoſing their carcaſſes to be devoured by birds of prey: this has been deſcribed in treating of India, and therefore need not be repeated here.

Armenian religion.

I proceed now to ſpeak of the religion of the Armenians, who make a very conſiderable body in

in the Perſian empire, eſpecially if we include all thoſe other Chriſtians who have joined them on the account of the large privileges granted to them by the Perſian government, and go under the general name of Armenian Chriſtians. The great Shaw ABBAS finding his Mahometan ſubjects not inclined to merchandiſe or foreign trade, tranſplanted a colony of theſe from the northern part of his dominions, eſpecially from the city of Julpha in Armenia, and placed them in the neighbourhood of Iſpahan, where they built another city, and gave it the name of new Julpha, in memory of the town in Armenia from whence they chiefly came, and which is now only a heap of ruins, having been demoliſhed in the wars between the Turks and Perſians above an hundred years ago. Shaw ABBAS made theſe people his factors to all the trading countries in Aſia and Europe, aſſigning them a ſtock out of the publick revenues, which they managed to ſuch advantage as procured him an immenſe treaſure; but they have ſince been allowed to trade for themſelves, paying only an annual tribute to the crown; and are become the greateſt merchants in the world, inſomuch, that there is no place where there is any trade ſtirring but we meet them.

The Armenians were originally of the Greek communion, but of late it is ſaid they differ in ſeveral particulars both from the Latin and Greek churches: they have two Patriarchs of their own, who have under them many Archbiſhops and Biſhops, but the Archbiſhop of new Julpha and his ſuffragans, it is ſaid, are not ſubject to either of them, and the Perſian government, tho' Mahometan, has as great an influence on the choice of their Patriarchs and Biſhops, as the Chriſtian Princes have in the election of Biſhops in this part of the world. The Popiſh Miſſionaries have been indefatigable in their endeavours to procure the Armenian churches to acknowledge the Pope for their head, and in ſome few places, it is ſaid, they have prevailed; but for the generality, the Armenians of Julpha are not more ſet againſt the Mahometans, than they are againſt the Romiſh Miſſionaries: and however the Armenian Chriſtians are repreſented to us as a very looſe generation, in this they are highly to be commended, that notwithſtanding the temptations they lye under to turn Mahometans, and particularly from that law which gives every Mahometan convert all the eſtate and effects of his parents and neareſt relations, there are very few apoſtates amongſt them: they neither uncover their heads or kneel at their prayers, but chooſe to perform their devotions ſtanding.

The Armenian clergy conſiſts of Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prieſts and Monks of the order of St. Baſil. Simony is hardly looked on as any crime amongſt them: the Patriarch, it is ſaid, obtains his confirmation from the government by bribes or preſents; the Biſhops in like manner preſent them, and the prieſts the Biſhops to obtain orders: the Monks are not allowed to perform any other eccleſiaſtical office than the reading of maſs; and however are the only part of their clergy that are prohibited marriage: but a clergyman is not ſuffered to ſay maſs for the firſt ſeven days after his marriage; and whenever he is to ſay maſs, for five days before, and five days after, he is ſhut up in the church and ſuffered to eat nothing but rice and herbs, nor to go home to his wife and family: and if they marry a ſecond time, they are not ſuffered to officiate at all. They receive their orders from the hands of the Biſhops, and may be ordained at eighteen years of age: both clergy and laity are obliged to keep ſo many faſts, that one half of the year is ſpent in faſting, when they abſtain from all manner of fleſh and fiſh, and eat nothing till the evening at thoſe times; and ſo auſtere are the lives of ſome of their Biſhops, it is ſaid, that they ſcarce eat fleſh or fiſh more than four days in the year. GEMELLI tells us, that he went to hear maſs in the great Armenian church at Julpha, in which there was but one altar, that the choir was raiſed five ſteps above the body of the church, and both of them covered with rich carpets, for the Armenians put off their ſhoes when they enter into the church. The maſs was ſaid by the Archbiſhop, aſſiſted by two Biſhops, who ſerved as Deacon and Subdeacon, and during the ſervice there was a great number of lighted candles ſtood on the right ſide of the altar.

After the reading the Goſpel ſome little bells were rung, and the whole congregation, clergy and laity, ſung to the muſick of them: the bread being conſecrated, one of the Biſhops took the chalice out of a little window, and having carried it round the altar, placed it upon it, repeating ſome prayers at the ſame time: then the prieſt taking it up with the bread upon it turned to the people, who immediately proſtrated themſelves on the ground, and beat their breaſts, ſaying, this is the Lord who gave his body and blood for us: then the prieſt turning to the altar again, received the bread dipped in the wine, and going down to the bottom of the choir with the bread and chalice in his hands, he ſaid three times, the people repeating it after him; 'I confeſs, I believe that 'this is the body and blood of the ſon of GOD, 'who takes away the ſins of the world, and who 'is not only our ſalvation, but the ſalvation of all 'mankind:' Then he gave the bread dipped in wine to all the congregation, and even to the very children of two or three years old: they mix no water with their wine, alledging that our Saviour drank it pure when he inſtituted this ſacrament.

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The bread is without leaven, and made in little thin round cakes; they do not receive the ſacrament in lent, and ſay only one maſs upon Sundays in a low voice, the prieſt not to be ſeen, and repeating only the Goſpel and creed aloud. It is ſaid in the ſame manner on Maunday Thurſday, when all are allowed to communicate, but they defer it uſually till the maſs which is ſaid on Holy-Saturday before ſun-ſet, when they are permitted to eat oil, butter and eggs, for they are not ſuffered to taſte any of theſe all the time of lent. On Eaſter-Sunday another maſs is ſaid in a low voice, when the communion is again adminiſtered, after which they are allowed to eat fleſh, provided it was killed the ſame day, for it is not lawful to eat any thing which was killed in lent. Before their four great feſtivals, of Chriſtmas, the Annunciation of the Bleſſed Virgin, Aſcenſion-Day, and the feaſt of St. George. They faſt eight days without taſting fiſh, fleſh, eggs, butter or oil; and their devotion is ſo great for their national St. George, that ſome of them, it is ſaid, will faſt three or four days ſucceſſively before that feſtival, without eating any thing. They faſt alſo every Wedneſday and Friday in the year, except between Eaſter and Aſcenſion-Day, and have many other faſts.

As to the ſacrament of baptiſm, their firſt buſineſs is to provide a godfather, after which ſome woman carries the child to church, and puts it into the hands of the prieſt, who plunges it three times naked into a veſſel of water, pronouncing much the ſame words on the occaſion, as are uſed here; afterwards he anoints the infant with their holy oil, firſt on the head, then on the mouth, the ſtomach, neck, hands, and feet. This anointing is held as neceſſary as the baptiſm of water, or rather is baptiſm itſelf; for on the anointing the ſeveral parts, and making a ſign of the croſs, they repeat the words, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt. This oil is made of ſeveral ſweet flowers and aromatical drugs, by one of their Patriarchs, and as no baptiſm can be duly performed without it, they ſell the oil at an exceſſive rate to ſuch prieſts and Biſhops as are ſubordinate to them, who alſo make a large profit of it on theſe occaſions. When the child is thus anointed, it is wrapped up again in its clothes, and carried to the altar, where they put the ſacrament in its mouth, after which the godfather takes the child in his arms, covering it with a kind of mantle, with which he preſents it on this occaſion; then he returns with the child to the father's houſe, being preceded by ſeveral prieſts, carrying the croſs and lighted tapers in their hands, ſinging the Goſpel to the ſound of certain muſical inſtruments; and having delivered the child to the mother, the reſt of the day is ſpent in eating, and drinking, and making merry with the relations, as in other countries: they generally have the ſame godfather for every child, and when an infant is born but a little before the feaſt of Eaſter, or the feſtival of the baptiſm of the croſs, they are obliged to baptiſe it on thoſe feſtivals; and it is obſervable, that neither the godfather, nor his near relations, may marry with ſuch an infant to the third or fourth degree: alſo if a boy and girl of different families have the ſame godfather, they may not marry together. They give the child uſually the name of the ſaint that ſtood in the calendar next before the chriſtning, or that which immediately follows; and if the ceremony happens to be performed at Chriſtmas, or on the feſtival of baptiſing the croſs, the infant is dipped three times in the river Zenderhood, or ſome great water. The Armenian church keep to the old ſtyle in ſolemnizing their feſtivals as the Proteſtants do; they reject the doctrine of purgatory, but believe however that the ſouls of the juſt remain in a ſtate where they ſhall know neither joy nor ſorrow till the reſurrection, but what proceeds from a reflection on their paſſed lives; and hold that the prayers of good men may be of ſome advantage to them. As for the wicked, they believe that they are ſent immediately to hell. Extreme unction is adminiſtred by them either juſt before or after death; but for the moſt part, it is adminiſtred only to prieſts; they ſeem to be a little infected with the ſuperſtition of the Mahometans, among whom they converſe, as to lucky and unlucky days, and are apt to look upon ſome beaſts as unclean, and particularly dogs, as the Mahometans do, and do not care to touch them; they alſo give as great faith to ſome fabulous traditions as to the articles of faith; and among others, they relate a ſtory, that the holy Virgin being with child, and accuſed by her ſiſter SALOME of incontinency, ſhe bid her lay her hand upon her belly, whereupon there iſſued a fire out of it, which conſumed one half of SALOME's arm; but the bleſſed Virgin bidding her lay the remainder of her arm upon her again, it was reſtored whole as at firſt.

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They relate alſo, that JUDAS having ſold our Saviour, and deſpairing of pardon, reſolved to hang himſelf, becauſe he knew that our Saviour was to deſcend into hell, and would deliver all the ſouls he found there, but that the devil being apprized of the contrivance, held JUDAS by the feet till our Saviour was paſſed the limbus, and then let him fall into hell.

The Armenians as well as the Eutycheans, believe but one nature in Chriſt; they do not ſay however that the human nature was ſwallowed up in the divine, as the firſt Eutycheans did, nor do they believe a confuſion of natures in Chriſt, but that the divine and human nature are united in his ſacred perſon, as the ſoul and body

body are in man, and so make but one; but the Roman Catholicks glory much that they agree with them in the doctrine of transubstantiation, and from thence infer that it was once the doctrine of the universal church, as well the Greek as Roman.

At their great festival of the baptism of the cross, in memory of our Saviour's baptism, the Mahometan Persians, it is observed, assist in great crowds, and sometimes the King himself has appeared at this solemnity. The Armenian Bishops and their clergy go in procession on these occasions to some great reservatory of water, with a cross carried before them; and having read prayers suitable to the occasion, and sung several anthems after their manner, to the sound of the country musick, the Bishop plunges the cross into the water several times, after which, happy is the person that is sprinkled by it; their own baptism, it is thought, can scarce convey greater privileges to them. This ceremony of the baptism of the cross, is performed in all the churches of the Armenians, and begins before day, about four in the morning, and sometimes it is celebrated on the river, or some large pond, where there are scaffolds erected for that purpose. This is esteemed the best opportunity of baptizing their children, who are plunged three times into the consecrated water.

The Armenians marry their children usually in their infancy, to prevent their being carried into the harams of the great men; for either the Persians are so just that they will not take any man's wife from him, or they are too nice to meddle with a woman who has been in the possession of another: but though the parties are frequently contracted at four or five years of age, the marriage is seldom celebrated till they are eight or ten, and the bridegroom every year at Easter, in the mean time, sends the bride a fine vest suitable to her quality; that is, the parents transact all these matters among themselves, the consent of the young people being asked only for form sake, when they are brought to church.

On the day appointed for the celebration of the marriage, the bridegroom, being richly dressed, mounts his horse, and attended by his nearest relations, comes to the house of the bride's father; whereupon she also mounts, being dressed in the finest silks, but covered with a vail, and attended by their friends and relations, with lighted torches in their hands, they proceed to the church. Being alighted from their horses, the bride and bridegroom go up to the altar, where standing [illegible] together, face to face, the Bishop, [illegible] book upon their heads, reads the ser- [illegible] having received their consent, gives [illegible] blessing; whereupon the drums and [illegible] and the musick plays, and they return in the same order they came to the bridegroom's house, unless they hear mass, and receive the sacrament, as they frequently do on these occasions; for then the bride is carried to her father's house again, and the wedding is not consummated till some days after. The guests are splendidly entertained on these occasions, as in other countries, only the men and the women are separated, and do not eat and drink in the same room. In the evening the new married couple are conducted to the bridal chamber, and the company retire after a great expence of rose-water thrown about, and a thousand wishes for the happiness of the new married couple.

Some days after the wedding, the portion stipulated to be given with the bride, is sent to the husband's house, consisting of fine clothes, gold, silver, and jewels, according to the quality of the parties. They add also usually some fruits and sweet-meats, which are all carried in fine boxes and cabinets, attended by such musick as the country affords; sometimes this is deferred till the birth of the first child, when a rich cradle is provided, and all other necessaries proper for a new-born infant: but they marry often very privately in the night, as is practised by our quality.

Funerals of the Armenians.

When an Armenian dies, the person whose office it is, washes the body with consecrated water taken out of the church, and puts on the corps a new white shirt, and other linen. Then having sewed it up in a new linen bag, it is carried to the church on a bier, without a coffin, attended by the priests and relations, with lighted tapers in their hands; and having placed it before the altar, a priest reads the service appointed, and then they leave the body in the church with the candles burning about it all night. In the morning after mass is said, it is carried to the Archbishop or Bishop's gate, who says a prayer for the repose of the deceased's soul; after which it is carried to the burying-place, the Bishop and priests singing their prayers till it is laid in the grave; then the Bishop taking up a handful of earth, throws it on the corps, saying three times, 'From earth thou camest, and to earth thou 'shalt return, remain there till the coming of 'our Lord.' Then they fill up the grave, and the relations and friends return to the house of the deceased, where they find a good dinner, and are splendidly entertained for several days successively, if the relations are people of substance.

Besides the Armenian Christians, the Georgians who adhere to the discipline of the Greek church, are very numerous, but they are not found out of their own country of Georgia (the ancient Iberia) which is the most northerly part of the Persian empire: as for those of them, which come to Ispahan, they go under the general name of

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of Armenians, and communicate with them; but of the Greek and Georgian churches I ſhall ſpeak more largely when I come to treat of Turkey.

St. JOHN's Chriſtians.

There is ſtill another people in Perſia, who go under the name of Chriſtians, whoſe religion ſeems to be a compound of Chriſtianity, Judaiſm, and Mahometiſm: they are called Chriſtians of St. JOHN, and ſometimes Sabean Chriſtians, and inhabit near the gulph of Perſia, in the province of Chuſiſtan, where it is computed there are not leſs than twenty thouſand families of them. St. JOHN BAPTIST is their great ſaint, from whom they pretend to derive their original, and they have a tradition that his ſepulchre is at Chuſter, the capital of Chuſiſtan, or Suſiana. They do not acknowledge Chriſt to be the ſon of GOD, but for a Prophet, as the Mahometans do; and the reaſon they are called Chriſtians is ſuppoſed to be from their great veneration for the croſs, which they adore even to idolatry. They have loſt their antient ſacred books, and have only one at preſent filled with Jewiſh and Mahometan legends, and contains their doctrine and myſteries. This book makes GOD to be corporeal, and to have a ſon named GABRIEL. Angels and demons alſo they hold are bodily ſubſtances, and of the one and the other ſex; that the next ſtate does not differ from this, but as it is infinitely more perfect and agreeable. They believe a future judgment, and that thoſe who die infants remain in a place where they ſhall grow up to a full ſtature, and be capable of rewards and puniſhments at the laſt day: and they aſſure themſelves that all of their communion ſhall be happy at laſt, after they have ſuffered the puniſhment of their ſins. If they have any thing which bears a reſemblance to the other eaſtern Chriſtians, it is the two orders of Biſhops and prieſts, which they have amongſt them; but both are inheritable, and none can be a prieſt but the ſon of a prieſt, as it was among the Jews. Both Biſhops and prieſts are obliged to marry, but it muſt be with one they are ſure is a virgin, for otherwiſe the iſſue cannot ſucceed to the prieſthood. Sunday is their ſabbath, as with us, and this is the day they baptize all thoſe who have not been baptiſed that year, for they repeat their baptiſm every year, on a certain feſtival which laſts five days. The prieſt goes with his congregation to the banks of a river, and every one is either dipped or ſprinkled, according as the time will permit. They ſacrifice a hen in their religious worſhip, upon the banks of the river; the prieſt having firſt waſhed it in the water, by way of purification, he turns his face towards the eaſt, and cuts off the head of it, holding it up till all the blood is drained from it, praying at the ſame time that the fleſh may be ſo purified, that they may all eat thereof. Once a year alſo they ſacrifice a ram. They have ſome faſts, but not ſo many as the Oriental Chriſtians, and are almoſt as ſcrupulous in relation to clean and unclean things, as the Jews or Mahometans, requiring frequent purifications: they look upon fleſh killed by the Mahometans to be polluted, and will not eat out of the cups or diſhes they have uſed; but if they are made of earth, will rather break them to pieces.

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Marriages of St. JOHN's Chriſtians.

Their marriages, if travellers do not impoſe upon us, have ſomething very particular in them: But as all who ſpeak of this people, agree in their accounts of this matter, I ſhall venture to give the relation as I find it. And it ſeems the prieſts and the relations of the bridegroom go in the firſt place and demand of the bride if ſhe be a virgin; if ſhe anſwers yes, they make her ſwear to it; and not contented with this, the prieſt's wife is employed to inſpect her. Afterwards the bride and bridegroom are brought to a river; where the prieſt baptizes them; then the bridegroom leads the bride home to his houſe, where being ſeated cloſe together, the prieſt reads a very long ſervice upon the occaſion. Then he takes his book of divination, and caſts lots to diſcover the happy hour for conſummation. The bridegroom, having enjoyed his ſpouſe, goes with her to the Biſhop, and acknowledges that he hath found her a virgin, whereupon the Biſhop performs the remainder of the marriage ceremony, putting rings on their fingers, and baptizing them again. But if the bridegroom will not depoſe that his ſpouſe was a maid, the Biſhop will have no concern in the celebration of the marriage, but leaves it to an inferior prieſt, and the woman has the reputation of a ſtrumpet. But I don't find the husband has a power of parting with his bride after he has tried whether ſhe be a virgin or not, in his opinion; for the learned ſay, that it can be no more than opinion, it not being poſſible, in all caſes, to diſcover whether a girl be a virgin or not; and it is believed that the good women often impoſe upon ſuch coxcombs as will be ſatisfied with nothing leſs than ocular demonſtration. But to proceed, theſe diſciples of St. JOHN are allowed to take more than one wife at a time, but will not admit of divorces; and their widows are not permitted to marry a ſecond time.

Jews.

Beſides the Chriſtians which are tolerated in Perſia, we find the Jews diſperſed throughout that country; there are reckoned to be about twenty thouſand families of them, a poor miſerable people, many of them artificers, others of them pretend to magick, and telling of fortunes. Their women inſinuate themſelves into the good opinion of the Ladies in the ſeraglio's of the great, who it is ſaid give great faith to their predictions; they alſo prepare love potions, and ſuch trumpery for the ſilly creatures, who ſtudy all ways to gain the affection of their tyrants. The Jews were formerly

merly the uſurers of the country, but ſince the arrival of the Banians of India, they have had little to do with any thing of that kind, and are forced to take up with leſs beneficial employments; which brings me to ſpeak of the Pagan Indians in Perſia, who have now ingroſſed almoſt all the ready money of the country. Theſe are diſperſed all over Perſia, and it is computed, that there are not leſs than ſixteen thouſand of them in the city of Iſpahan. They are allowed the like liberty in the profeſſion of their religion, as the Jews and Chriſtians are. The Perſians endeavour indeed to gain proſelytes, by granting rewards and privileges to thoſe of a different faith who will turn Mahometans; but there is no country where the conſcience is leſs forced.

Before I conclude this head of religion, I ſhall take notice of ſome particulars in relation to the Mahometan, or eſtabliſhed religion in Perſia, which had eſcaped me. And firſt, the Perſians hold that circumciſion is not abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation; but however they never omit it, if there be an opportunity of performing it according to their rites; and ſome of their doctors, the better to recommend the practice, teach that MAHOMET was born without a prepuce, and when he demanded the reaſon of the angel GABRIEL, he anſwered it was to teach the faithful how agreeable circumciſion was to GOD. They pretend alſo that MOSES and HALY were both born circumciſed.

There is no ſet time for the circumciſing their children; ſome hold that it ought to be at thirteen years of age, becauſe ISMAEL was circumciſed at that age. Others think nine years old a proper time, becauſe then children begin to know the difference between good and evil: but they generally adminiſter it at four or five years of age, becauſe it is leſs painful and hazardous the younger they are. Surgeons, as has been obſerved, they have none, but ſome barber performs the operation with his razor, and applies ſtipticks and aſtringents to the part, to ſtop the bleeding. They obſerve neither day nor hour, nor place, for performing this ceremony, but they do it when they pleaſe: when it is done at any great man's houſe however, ſome mollah reads in the alcoran, or ſays certain prayers out of their liturgy, during the operation, but they have no office on purpoſe for it; and there is great rejoicing the remainder of the day: they receive a new name upon their circumciſion, tho' I find they have a name given them before, ſoon after their birth; and as they are wonderful ſuperſtitious, and apt to think the name goes a great way in the good or ill fortune of the child, they take the alcoran, or ſome other pious book, and the firſt name they meet with, that they apprehend will be the moſt lucky. At other times, they will write five or ſix names, and put them in a bag, and ſhake them together. and the firſt they draw out, is the name; but when there are ſeveral boys in a family, it is odds but ſome of them are called MAHOMET or HALY, theſe being their favourite ſaints. Sir JOHN CHARDIN tells us alſo they circumciſe the old women in ſome parts of Perſia, but never the young girls, becauſe there is nothing to circumciſe.

Their moſques or temples in Perſia are never conſecrated; but when they are built, the people are invited to perform their devotions there, which is all the ceremony uſed; but as their religion does not oblige them to pray in temples, the great men ſeldom come thither, and their mollah's preach as frequently in the ſtreets and publick places of reſort, as in their moſques; the common people, however, chooſe to perform their devotions in their temples, eſpecially on Fridays, their ſabbath, and upon the great feſtivals when there is uſually a ſermon, or a good moral diſcourſe delivered by ſome mollah; but the people are not very attentive to theſe preachments, I find, for ſome will be reading, others ſleeping, and perhaps others ſmoking or eating in ſermon time; every one does what he pleaſes ſo as he does not diſturb the preacher: their mollah's are never conſecrated, but take up the office of preachers, and lay it down again as they ſee fit: thoſe who deſign for the prieſthood, begin with clothing themſelves in a plain modeſt garb, a white turbant, and a kind of caſſock of camblet reaching down to their heels; then they apply themſelves to ſtudy, and obtain the title of talebolm, or ſearchers after knowledge; they alſo live abſtemiouſly, and put on a grave phariſaical look; afterwards they go in pilgrimage to Mecca, or to the tombs of their Imans, if they can raiſe money enough to defray the charge, and at their return get themſelves regiſtered in the ſedre's books, in order to obtain preferment when it falls, either in ſome convent or endowed moſque, and they are advanced higher uſually according to their diligence or merit. Sir JOHN CHARDIN, who ſeems to have an equal love for the mollah's, and prieſts of all other religions, charges them with hypocriſy, and ſays they have a proverb in Perſia wherein people are adviſed to guard themſelves from a woman before, from a mule behind, and from a mollah on every ſide.

Neither moſques or prieſts are conſecrated.

In every great moſque there are three principal officers, 1. The montevely, who takes care of the furniture and ornaments. 2. The mollah or preacher. And 3. The moazem, who calls the people to prayers. When a moſque hath large revenues, there are ſeveral mollah's, &c. belong to it, who are admitted by the ſedre or chief prieſt, or other eccleſiaſtical officers, who ſeal the inſtrument of their admiſſion: the clergy of Perſia in general are not rich, receiving no dues from the people, but depending altogether upon the endow-

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ments of their houſes or churches, and what they get by the inſtruction of children, either as private tutors, or maſters of ſome publick ſchool.

Beſides the mollah's, there are ſeveral other ſorts of people in Perſia who paſs for eccleſiaſticks, as the mir's and the zeriffs, who are of the family of MAHOMET by the male line; and the ſaieds, who are the deſcendants of FATIMA, MAHOMET's daughter; the mir's have the privilege of wearing a green turbant, but are not ſo much honoured in Perſia as in Turkey, becauſe they are looked upon to be in the Turkiſh intereſt: the derviſes and faquirs, which as far as I can perceive are but two names for the ſame profeſſion, are alſo looked upon as religious people, whom I have obſerved already are a kind of begging friers, but under no government, or obligation to continue in that ſtate, but may return into the world again, according to the monkiſh phraſe, whenever they pleaſe: theſe preach in the moſques, the market-places, coffee-houſes, &c. they expreſs a great contempt of the world, and ſometimes pretend to inſpiration, and the gift of prophecy, like our fanaticks, and by the help of a little opium will counterfeit raptures and extaſies with the beſt of them: but with all their pretences to a ſevere abſtemious life in publick, it ſeems they are perfect libertines when they get by themſelves.

CHAP. XVI.

Treats of the marriages of the Perſians, and of the condition of their children.

Marriages of the Perſians.

AS the women are never to be ſeen in Perſia, a man is obliged to be contented with ſuch an account of his miſtreſs's beauty and accompliſhments, as he receives from others; they are allowed four legal wives, with whom they may enter into formal contracts before the civil magiſtrate (who is alſo an eccleſiaſtick) but I do not perceive they often have more than one of theſe, and ſhe ſeems to be taken upon ſome politick view, upon account of the quality or intereſt of her family, or to ſerve as a governeſs or miſtreſs of the reſt of the women, who wait upon her, notwithſtanding they have the honour of their maſter's bed, and their iſſue are equally legitimate: for there is no ſuch thing as a baſtard in Perſia, thoſe born before and thoſe after marriage have the ſame privileges, nor is it any diſadvantage for a ſon to be born of a concubine, or even of a black ſlave, in regard to his inheritance.

Love is the leaſt motive for entering into a contract with a lawful wife, as ſhe is called, eſpecially among the great, nor does ſhe expect much of it, but it is the number of ſlaves, the clothes, the equipage, and the figure the man makes in the world, which are the great inducements for a woman or her friends to match into any family. If the woman is ſo unfortunate as to fall in love with her ſpouſe, ſhe is uſually very unhappy, for ſhe will frequently have the mortification of ſeeing him leave her bed for that of a ſlave, and perhaps for a common ſtrumpet, and inſtead of a return of her paſſion, poſſibly may be preſented with the French diſeaſe; and if ſhe diſcovers her reſentment, ſhe will probably ſee another wife introduced into the houſe to govern in her ſtead.

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The Perſians marry their children in their infancy when they meet with an advantageous match; otherwiſe they are in no haſte, as to their ſons, but give them a ſhe ſlave for a bedfellow in the mean time; ſo that though the men are ſaid to be very ſcrupulous in this country, as to the virginity of their brides: it is very rare if the lawful wife has her husband's maidenhead. One would think a certain lawyer of our own country had been educated among the Mahometans of Perſia, by his declaring that every man ought to have two wives at leaſt; the one a wife in love, as he termed it, and the other a wife in law: one upon account of wealth or a potent alliance, and the other purely for his pleaſures.

But to proceed, the parties having both of them given their conſent, and the terms ſettled by the mediation of friends, proof thereof is made before the Cadi or civil magiſtrate, who cauſes the ſame to be regiſtered: but as far as I can find, the parties themſelves do not appear in perſon before him, or go to the temple to ſolemnize the marriage, as with us: but the bridegoom the day before he takes home his bride ſends her a habit, ornaments and jewels ſuitable to her quality; and the next day towards the evening, mounting on horſeback, with the richeſt furniture he can procure, and attended by his friends, the muſick and dancing girls, he goes to fetch home his wife, who meets him part of the way mounted alſo on a camel or horſe; but ſo vailed, that her face cannot be ſeen; ſhe is alſo attended by her friends and relations in their gayeſt equipage, with her ſlaves, clothes and baggage: both companies being joined, they march to the husband's houſe, with lighted torches, the drums and trumpets ſounding, and muſick playing before them, the mob following with joyful acclamations, and wiſhes for the happineſs of the new married couple.

Being arrived at the houſe, the bride is led to her apartment, where the husband follows ſoon after, and this is the firſt view he has of her face: the company ſpend the remainder of the evening, and ſometimes ſeveral days ſucceſſively in feaſting and rejoicing at the bridegroom's houſe; but the men and women are in ſeparate apartments; the muſick, dancing girls and mob are alſo

also generally well entertained, if it happen to be a man of quality's wedding.

These are the only wives the Persians have, according to the notion we have of a wife: but they have also a kind of wives or concubines, whom they agree with either for life or for a certain time, to serve them in the capacity of a bed-fellow: these contracts also, it is said, are registred before a magistrate, and where a man parts with one of these, she must remain single forty days before she contracts with another, to see if she be with child; for in this case, the first man must keep her till she is brought to bed, and her children afterwards. The last kind of wives are a man's slaves, whom he takes to his bed, and disposes of as he pleases, without any ceremony; but the children of these are in as good a condition as the rest, inheriting according to their seniority; so that if the son of a slave be the eldest, he has an elder brother's portion: which brings me to speak of the distribution of their estates among their children. And in the first place, if I am rightly informed, every person has a right of disposing of his effects to such of his children, and in such proportions as he sees fit, unless he is limited by the marriage-contract to leave a certain part to his legal wife, which goes to her particular issue.

But where the father makes no will, and is under no obligation to leave any part of his estate to any particular woman and her issue, the eldest son takes two thirds of his estate and effects, and the rest are divided among the younger children, without making any distinction between the children of their lawful wives, their slaves or concubines. And if a woman be divorced without any fault on her part, she shall have the dowry he stipulated to give her, which after her death will go to her children. Divorces are very easily obtained here, especially where both parties agree to it: the usual suggestions for a woman to obtain a divorce, are that the husband takes up too much time with his slaves and concubines, and does not afford her due benevolence, or else that the husband is impotent; in either of which case the magistrate will grant a divorce, and both the man and the woman are at liberty to marry elsewhere.

By the Persian law the girls are held to be of age at nine years of age, and the boys at thirteen, and no longer under the direction of their guardians; and where a guardian dies, the magistrate will sometimes admit them to be of age sooner, upon examination. The eldest son is always guardian to the younger children, and in fact have that privilege, that their estates cannot be seized for the debts of the deceased till they come of age, and are able to plead for themselves. Where a person dies intestate, there is an officer in every city and province, who takes care to secure the estate and effects of the deceased, and see them distributed among the relations of the deceased, in such proportion as the law requires; which brings me to give an account of their funeral rites, and their behaviour towards the dying and dead.

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Treats of the funeral-rites of the Persians, and their behaviour towards the dying and dead.

Funerals.

WHEN a sick man is thought to be drawing towards his last hour, they set up lighted lamps, or make little fires on the terrasses of his house, that the people of the neighbourhood, and those that pass by, may pray for him. They also send for a molla, or priest, who puts him in mind of reviewing his pass'd life, and repenting of his sins; to which the dying man usually answers, taube, or, I repent. They also make him repeat his creed, viz. that there is but one only GOD, who has neither companion or equal; that MAHOMET was his prophet, and sent into the world to publish the true religion, and that it has prevailed against all other religions, notwithstanding the opposition made by those who give companions to GOD, meaning the Christians, who assert the divinity of our Saviour and the Holy Ghost. To which they add, that HALY, and the eleven Imans, are the true successors of MAHOMET: and as he has lived in this faith, so he professes that he dies in it. When he can speak no longer, they continue to read some chapters of the alcoran to him till he expires. His death is soon known by the dismal groans and lamentations of those about him: the relations immediately set up a great howl, rend their clothes, tear off their hair, beat their breasts, and act like people in the utmost despair, especially the women, intermingling sad complaints, and uttering the most tender expressions to the dead corps, as if it was really sensible of their grief.

In the mean time they send to the Cadi, or civil magistrate to give notice of his decease, and to procure an order to the person whose office it is to wash the dead, to send some of his people to wash the corps: if it be a man, he sends men, and if a woman, those of her own sex. these washers immediately strip the corps, taking all that is upon it for their own use; then they carry out the body to a certain pool, or large basin, provided in every town for this purpose, in some private place: this is to be understood of the common people, for the great men have basins in their own gardens, over which they pitch a tent, for the washing any of the family when they

they die. When the corps is clean, they ſtop up all the vents, as the mouth, noſe, ears, &c. with cotton, that nothing may iſſue from them. The corps is afterwards wrapped up in a new linen cloth, or winding-ſheet; and if it be a man of figure, there are certain paſſages out of the alcoran, or out of ſome other of their ſacred books, written upon it: and they tell us of one of their great Miniſters of ſtate, who was wrapped in ſo large a ſheet, that the whole alcoran was written on it. In this condition the body is repoſited in ſome place at a diſtance from the houſe; and if it be to be buried a great way off, it is put into a wooden coffin filled up with ſalt, lime and perfumes to preſerve it; for they embalm their dead bodies no otherwiſe in Perſia, nor do they ever embowel them, as with us.

If they are buried near the place where they die, they are carried thither directly from the place where they are waſhed without much ceremony, the people who attend the corps following in no manner of order; indeed at the interment of people of diſtinction, the enſigns of the moſque are carried before them on long pikes, one has an iron hand at the end of it, which they call HALY's hand; others have creſcents; and on the reſt are written the names of MAHOMET, his daughter FATIMA, and his twelve ſucceſſors: they have alſo ſtreamers of ſilk, and led horſes, which carry the turbant and arms of the deceaſed: there are no bearers appointed on purpoſe for carrying the corps to the grave, but the neighbours offer their ſervice, and if a perſon of faſhion meets a funeral, he will light from his horſe and aſſiſt in the carrying the bier, this being reckoned a great act of charity among the Mahometans.

They bury none in their moſques or temples, but in many towns they have their burying places by the road ſide a little diſtance from the houſes; however, in Iſpahan and ſeveral great cities, there are burying places within the city: their graves are much of the ſame dimenſions as ours; but on the ſide of them next Mecca there is uſually a hollow earth made, wherein they lay the corps in its winding ſheet without a coffin, with the face towards Mecca, and if it be a great man, they lay by him his turbant, his ſword, his quiver, and his bow. The reaſon of making this arch is upon the ſuppoſition that the ſoul re-animates the body ſoon after the interment, and is examined by certain angels, concerning his faith and manners, as has been taken notice of before. The Saieds, who are of the family of MAHOMET, have no earth thrown into the grave, but it is covered only with a great ſtone; they generally lay a tomb-ſtone on the grave, as with us, but inſtead of giving an account of the deceaſed or his character, there are uſually engraven ſome paſſages of the alcoran.

About eight or ten days after the funerals, and on certain feſtivals, the friends and relations of the deceaſed go to viſit the tomb, eſpecially the women with their children, where they renew their lamentations, weep and beat their breaſts, and expoſtulate with the deceaſed upon his leaving them, after the manner of the Iriſh; their friends in the mean time condoling with them, and endeavouring to comfort them, and ſometimes they leave on the tombs fruits, cakes, and ſweet-meats, with which they apprehend the angels who guard the ſepulchre are well pleaſed.

Their mourning uſually laſts forty days; it does not conſiſt in wearing black clothes (for black they deteſt, and look upon it to be the devil's colour, an infernal habit) but their mourning conſiſts in ſuch lamentations as have been mentioned, in a torn and negligent garb, and the moſt lively expreſſions of grief and deſpair, which they repeat two or three times a week during the time abovementioned; after which they bathe and ſhave, and dreſs themſelves in their uſual habits, and the mourning is finiſhed: their wives are the moſt inconſolable, for it is ſcarce ever ſeen that a widow marries a ſecond time in Perſia.

Many of the Perſian Kings are buried at Kom, as was the laſt Sultan SOLIMAN, of whoſe funeral we meet with the following account. This Prince died in the year 1694, the corps was preceded by a hundred camels and mules, which carried proviſions for a thouſand people who were to attend it on the road, then came the body in a large litter covered with a pall of cloth of gold, and carried by two camels led by the Nazir or High Steward, on the ſide of it went two ſervants burning perfumes in golden pans, and a great company of prieſts ſinging their prayers; after this came another empty litter covered with red and green, then all the great officers of the court followed on foot with their clothes rent, except the Prime Miniſter, who on account of his great age was permitted to ride; the people joined them upon the march to the number of many thouſands, who made the moſt diſmal lamentations as for their common parent; in this order they proceeded about a league out of Iſpahan to one of the King's garden houſes, where the corps reſted, and the night following thoſe, who were appointed to attend it, proceeded on their journey to Kom, and the great officers returned to Iſpahan to attend the new King: then the ſhops were opened, which had been kept ſhut ever ſince they had notice of the late King's death, and the court reſumed its uſual ſplendor.

Before I leave the head of funerals, I ſhall take the liberty to mention that of one of our Engliſh agents at Iſpahan, deſcribed by Monſieur LE BRUN,

CHAP. XVII.

CHAP. XVII.

Brun, which will give us ſome notion of the ſplendor and magnificence of our European factors and merchants in this part of the world.

In July 1704, died Mr. Owen, agent of the Engliſh Eaſt India company: he was about forty years of age, a gentleman of great honour and merit, and univerſally eſteemed. The day he was buried, the ſecond of the Dutch company, their director being ill, came to the Engliſh factory at break of day, with all his people, among whom were fourteen horſe, and two led horſes covered with black cloth, preceded by a trumpet and thirteen footmen. The gentlemen of the horſe of the deceaſed, the Perſian interpreter, and ſome others, began the march from the Engliſh factory, being followed by three led horſes clothed with black cloth, having white oſtriches feathers upon their heads. There followed fourteen perſons on horſeback, attended by ten or twelve valets; after theſe came the horſe belonging to the Dutch director, then the corps of the deceaſed, covered with white taffata, and a pall of black velvet over it; it was placed upon a bier, and carried by four perſons relieved from time to time, the burying place being at ſome diſtance.

After the corps followed the ſecond of the Engliſh factory, and the ſecond of the Hollanders, with ſeveral others of both nations, and ſome Armenian merchants from Julpha, all of them having white ſcarfs and hatbands, conſiſting in all of about forty perſons, and attended by thirty footmen. The French alſo met the company at the burying place, and the corpſe was interred about ſeven in the morning, the ſecond of the Engliſh company reading the funeral ſervice; then every one took a handful of earth and threw into the grave, and it was immediately filled up by the grave-diggers. Whereupon the company returned to the Engliſh houſe, in the ſame order they came, where having been handſomly entertained, they took their leaves.

I ſhall conclude with a deſcription Monſieur Le Brun gives us of the mourning of the Armenians, at the graves of their deceaſed friends, annually, the night before the ſolemnization of the feſtival of the diſcovery of the holy croſs.

The Armenian women, clothed in white linen vails, and ſo muffled up that nothing but their eyes could be diſcerned, about two or three hours before day, came to the Chriſtian burying-place, bringing with them wood, coals, tapers, and incenſe; there they made fires by the tombs of their reſpective relations and friends, and placed lighted tapers upon them, continually throwing incenſe on the fire, lamenting their loſs, and addreſſing themſelves to the deceaſed, in the moſt tender and affectionate expreſſions: then they threw themſelves on the graves, and embraced and bathed them with their tears. This was ſucceeded by the moſt diſmal groans and cries that can be imagined. At a little diſtance the place where this was tranſacted looked like the ruins of ſome town juſt deſtroyed by the flames in a dark night, there being ſuch an intermixture of ſtones and fire, with the cries and lamentations of people in the utmoſt deſpair.

The men, it ſeems, remained at home while the women were employed in this ſolemnity, but ſent perpetually after their wives, under pretence of enquiring how they did, poſſibly leſt the darkneſs of the night ſhould give them an opportunity of purſuing their intrigues, inſtead of viſiting their departed friends. There were alſo a multitude of prieſts attending at the burying-place, to offer up prayers for thoſe who deſired it; and theſe being all clothed in black, as the women were in white, made an odd ſort of a ſhow. The prieſts were paid for the prayers they ſaid on this occaſion, ſome of them ſix-pence, others ten-pence, but none give them more than twenty-pence. There are ſeldom leſs than three thouſand Armenian women, who come from Julpha, to attend the graves of their deceaſed friends at this time, who ſo perfume the air with the incenſe and aromatick gums they throw into the fire, that the city of Iſpahan is ſenſible of it, at more than a mile's diſtance. The ceremony being concluded about two hours after day-light, the common people continued to go thither moſt part of the day, not to mourn, it ſeems, and bewail the loſs of their friends, as thoſe in the morning had done, but to ſmoke and divert themſelves, as uſual at feſtivals.

THE

THE PRESENT STATE OF ARABIA.

CHAP. I.

Describing the situation, extent, and bounds of this country; the name, divisions, rivers, part towns, air, and climate.

CHAP. I.

Situation and extent.

ARABIA, if we include all those countries which go under that name, is of a very large extent, little inferior to any of those empires we have already passed through: the most southerly part of it lying in the latitude of 12 degrees 30 minutes, and the north part of it in 32 degrees 30 minutes north, longitude from 34 to 61, reckoning from the meridian of London. It stretches itself from the north-west to the south-east, and is said to resemble the head of an axe, being much broader on the south-east than it is on the north-west. It lyes between the fifth and the fourteenth north climate; the longest day in the south being fourteen hours and a half, and in the north eighteen.

Boundaries.

This country is bounded by Palestine, Syria, and Diarbeck (or Mesopotamia) towards the north. By Eyrack Arabick (formerly Chaldea or Babylonia) and the gulph of Persia towards the east. By the Ocean towards the south; and by the Red sea, and the isthmus which divides Asia from Africa towards the west. It is twelve hundred English miles in length, and between eight and nine hundred miles in breadth, in the broadest part, but scarce half so much in the narrowest part, towards the north.

Divided into three parts.

It is usually divided into three parts, according to the nature of the respective soils, viz. Arabia Fælix, Arabia Deserta, and Arabia Petræa. Arabia Fælix, the south-east part of it, contains, at least, four parts in five of the whole. Arabia Deserta, which lyes to the northward, is the largest next; and Arabia Petræa, which lyes to the north-west, on the isthmus which divides Asia from Africk, is much the least. But the boundaries are very uncertain, or rather, there are no bounds at all; for the inland country being under the government of abundance of little Emirs, or Arabian Princes, who march from place to place, and encamp according as they can find water and pasture for their cattle, there respective dominions have scarce any fixed boundaries, nor is it easy to say which part of the country belongs to one of these divisions, and which to another: as to those Princes who live in towns upon the sea-coast, their dominions indeed may be set out with a greater degree of certainty.

CHAP. I.

Name.

Some derive the name of this country from the Hebrew word harabi, which signifies a thief or a robber. And others from ARABUS, a supposed son of APOLLO and BABYLONIA; but the people of this country have been known more by the name of Saracens than any other, from the word sarra, which signifies a desert, and taken, to inhabit; for all the Arabia's have very large deserts, though one only carries the name of Deserta, as being eminently barren.

Rivers and springs.

There are but few springs, and scarce any considerable river in this country, unless we take in part of the Euphrates, which divides Arabia Deserta from Diarbeck or Mesopotamia. The seas which encompass it on three sides, are the Persian gulph, the Indian or Ethiopick ocean, and the Red

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ARABIA

Agreable to
Modern History.

By H. Moll *Geographer*

PART OF PERSIA

50 55 60 D. East from London

30 25 20 15 10

60 120 180 240 300
English Miles

Ispahan
Schouster
CHUSISTAN
Schiras
FARSISTAN
Gombroon
Bender Longo
Kerman
KERMAN
MAKERAN
Mina
Tiz
Guadel
Ormus
GULPH of BASSORA
Catif
Bahara I.
Inlpha
BAHARA
Sohar
Gulph of Ormus
C. Muscledon
Falaja
El Ahsa
Cat.
to Persia
Almada
Oman
OMAN or MUSCAT
Soh
Sohar Isl.
Muscat
Kellat
Tsur
C. Rosalgate
Sandy Desart
El Ganca
Coutreki
Gebel-el-ared
or the Great
Mountains
ARABIA FELIX
MAHRE T.
C. Rouze
Macira I.
Harmin
Frin R.
GADTER.
Kara
SEGER
Hasen
Niban
Dofar
Curia
CARESE.
Sirnbar
ARABIAN
SEA
C. Fartuack
Haswel
Calansin I.
Socatra to
Cawsen in Arabia
C. d'Abdaleurin
C. Gardafui
Aden
of Babelmandel
Schar R.
Chader I.
Magian R.
Hadramut
Shehar
Shibam
Viah
Sanda
Gionium
Sanaa
Zingui
Abin or Abra
Tarbora
Mahra
ARABIAN

Red ſea. Of the gulph of Perſia I have treated already: as to the ocean which lyes to the ſouth-eaſt of Arabia, it is obſervable that there are no regular tides in it, and the current uſually ſits as the wind blows, except on the full or the change of the moon, and then for three or four days together it will ſit directly againſt the wind, and at thoſe times the water riſes eight foot perpendicular upon the coaſt.

The wind blows on this coaſt from the ſouth-ſouth-weſt and ſouth-weſt, and ſo variable to the weſt, with hard guſts, and ſometimes rain, from the beginning of April to the middle or latter end of Auguſt, and then it turns about to the eaſtward, blowing gently from that quarter, until the latter end of March, with ſometimes land and ſea-breezes, but very feint. But there is no enduring this coaſt from the beginning of April till the latter end of July, for the wind blows hard then from the ſouth-ſouth-weſt, and there is no harbour upon the coaſt but what lyes open to thoſe winds, and no ſoundings to be had ſix miles off the ſhore in many places.

Red ſea. I proceed now to treat of the Red ſea, which lyes to the weſtward of Arabia, and firſt as to the name of it, about which, there are great variety of opinions: antiently, it ſeems, the Red ſea was not confined to this narrow channel, which lyes between Arabia and Africk, but was extended alſo to the Perſian gulph, and to all that ocean which lyes between Africk and the Eaſt-Indies, though the late weſtern writers apply it to that gulph only which lyes neareſt, and was firſt diſcovered to them, holding that becauſe King ERYTHROS, who had the ſovereignty of this ſea, was buried in one of the iſlands of it, that therefore it bears the name of Mare Erithræum, or the Red ſea. Some again apprehend that the redneſs of the ſands, or the coral which is found at the bottom of it, or the redneſs of its waters, were the occaſion of its name: and others, that the redneſs of the bordering hills might juſtly give occaſion to the name: but as to the ſand of this ſea, and its waters, travellers aſſure us they are no redder than thoſe of other ſeas, though ſome of the mountains near it are. They obſerve alſo that the Holy Scripture calls it yam ſouf, or the ſea of ruſhes, becauſe its banks are covered with ruſhes or weeds. The Arabs call it the ſea of Clyſma, the name of a town which formerly ſtood at the bottom of the gulph. No ſea was more frequented than this, before the diſcovery of the way to the Eaſt-Indies by the cape of Good Hope: but of late few ſhips, except the Turkiſh galleys, and the veſſels which tranſport the Mahometan pilgrims to Mecca, go higher than Mocha. I ſhall however, according to my uſual method, deſcribe the ſituation of the principal port towns, in this and the other ſeas belonging to Arabia. And firſt, at the entrance upon this ſea from Egypt ſtands the town of Suez, in the latitude of 30 degrees, it is held by ſome to be the antient Arſinoe, it is a little town belonging to the Grand Seignor, containing about two hundred houſes, and has a pretty harbour, but ſo ſhallow that ſhips of burthen cannot enter it: it is full of people when the Turkiſh galleys are there, and at the time when foreign ſhipping arrives; but at other times almoſt deſerted, there being no freſh water within two leagues of it: it ſtands about forty or fifty miles from Grand Cairo, to which it may be reckoned the port town.

Suez.

From the town of Suez to Tor, the next port town to the ſouthward, is about an hundred miles: from Tor may be ſeen the place where the children of Iſrael paſſed through the Red ſea, according to the tradition of the natives, being the midway between Suez and Tor; here the ſea is about fifteen miles broad, and thirty-five fathom deep in the middle of the channel. The Egyptian coaſt on the other ſide is obſerved to be very ſteep, except in that place through which the Iſraelites marched, where there is an eaſy deſcent for about eight or nine miles into the ſea; on each ſide of which there are impaſſable mountains, like high walls, which are called Gibbel Pharoon, or the hills of PHAROAH; ſo that except the ſea had divided, there was no poſſibility of their eſcaping, they muſt have periſhed by the ſword of PHAROAH.

Tor.

The next port to the ſouthward of Tor is Yamboe, which lyes in 25 degrees north latitude; here is a tolerable good harbour, but the entrance is very dangerous, on account of the ſands: the caſtle which defends it is ſtrong enough to reſiſt the attacks of the wild Arabs, but not to endure a formal ſiege. It is now the port town to Medina, where their prophet's tomb is, being diſtant from it about four days journey.

Yamboe.

To the ſouthward of Yamboe lyes the town of Siden or Judda, in 21 deg. 30 m. belonging to the Grand Seignor; but the entrance into it is ſomething difficult: this is the port town to Mecca, where the pilgrims uſually come on ſhore. The country about it is ſo very barren, that the Turks are at a great expence to furniſh it with proviſions, which are ſent from Egypt by the way of Suez; but in return, they import vaſt quantities of coffee, which the Arabians bring hither commonly at the time the Turkiſh galleys come into the road.

Siden, or Judda.

But the principal port in the Red Sea is Mocha ſituate near the mouth of it, in 13 degrees north latitude: hither come the ſhips of all European nations which trade into thoſe ſeas, as alſo the merchants of Egypt, Turkey, Abyſſina, &c.

Mocha.

Without

CHAP. I.

Without the ſtraits of Babel Mandel to the eaſtward, in the latitude of 12 degrees odd minutes, ſtands the port of Aden, one of the antienteſt and pleaſanteſt cities in Arabia, once in the poſſeſſion of the Portugueſe: it is defended by a wall on one ſide, and high mountains on the other; but has been found too weak to reſiſt the attacks of the Arabian Princes of late years.

Aden.

Sailing from Aden to the eaſtward, the next remarkable place we meet with is Maculla bay, in the latitude of 14 degrees 46 min. from thence to the port of Shahar is 12 leagues and an half: this place lyes in the latitude of 14 deg. 52 min. Farther eaſt lye the ports of Caſſeen or Careſen and Dofar; and in the gulph of Perſia on the Arabian ſide beyond cape Roſalgate we meet with Muſcat, in the latitude of 23 degrees north, whoſe King ſeems to be much ſtronger in ſhipping than any of the Arabian Sovereigns.

Maculla bay.

Shahar.

Caſſeen.

Dofar.

Muſcat.

The air of Arabia is exceſſive hot, and in many places very unhealthful, particularly that part of it which lyes upon the coaſts. The winds alſo are hot and poiſonous, as thoſe on the oppoſite ſhores of Perſia; and their ſands very troubleſome and dangerous, being driven like clouds by the wind, inſomuch, that whole caravans, it is ſaid, have been buried and loſt in their deſerts by a ſtorm of wind and ſand. It rains in Arabia but very ſeldom, in ſome places not more than twice or thrice in two or three years; but the great dews which fall in the night refreſh the ground and ſupply the plants with ſome moiſture.

The air.

CHAP. II.

Treats of the kingdoms and provinces which are known to us in Arabia; and of their towns, fortifications, camps, buildings and furniture.

Provinces of Hagiaz, or Mecha.

THE kingdoms and provinces we have any account of in Arabia Fælix, are firſt Hagiaz, which lyes along the Red Sea between Arabia Petræa on the north, and the province of Tchama on the ſouth, and is by ſome called the principality of Mecha, in which the chief towns are Medina, Mecha, Sidin, Hagiar and Hageſa.

Tchama.

2. Tchama, which has Hagiaz on the north, the Red Sea on the weſt, and the kingdom of Moha or Moco on the ſouth; the chief towns whereof are, Haran, Sibit and Ghalafecka.

Moco.

3. The kingdom of Moco, which has the Red Sea and the ſtraits of Babel Mandel on the weſt, the ocean on the ſouth, the province of Hadramut on the eaſt, and Tchama on the north; the chief towns whereof are Moco, Aden, Abra and Sanaa.

Hadramut.

4. Hadramut which has the kingdom of Moco on the weſt, the ocean on the ſouth, and the kingdom of Careſen or Caſſeen upon the eaſt; the chief towns whereof are Hadramut, Aragui, Maculla and Sahar.

5. The two kingdoms or provinces of Careſen or Caſſeen and Seger or Seer, of which Moll makes but one kingdom, is bounded by Hadramut on the weſt, the ocean on the ſouth, and the kingdom of Oman or Muſcat on the eaſt and north; the chief towns whereof are, Haſwel, Fortach, Dofar, Mirabat and Niban.

Caſſeen and Seer.

6. The kingdom of Oman or Muſcat, in which I conclude Bahrelia, is the largeſt of the Arabian kingdoms, and has the kingdom of Jamama on the north, the gulph of Perſia on the eaſt, the ocean on the ſouth, and the province of Seger or Seer on the weſt; the chief towns whereof, are Haſen, Harmin, Ganca, Muſcat, Sohar, Julphar and Elcatiff; in this province alſo lyes the remarkable promontory of Roſalgate, being the moſt eaſterly point of Arabia, and Cape Muſledon, which lyes over againſt the iſland of Ormus.

Oman, or Muſcat.

7. Jamama, an inland provence but little known to us; the chief towns whereof are Jamama, Hujor and Tuna.

I proceed next to the deſcription of ſome of the principal towns, and firſt of Medina where MAHOMET's tomb is: this is called by the Arabians Medina Talmabi: the city of the prophet, being the place MAHOMET fled to when he was driven from Mecca, and where he was firſt inveſted with regal power. It lyes in the latitude of 24 deg. 30 min. north, about eighty miles to the eaſtward of the Red Sea, and two hundred miles to the north of Mecca. It conſiſts of about a thouſand houſes built of brick and ſtone, but not very lofty, having but one floor: there are ſeveral noble moſques in the city, the principal whereof is called Mos a Kibu or the moſt holy: it ſtands in the middle of the town, and is a ſquare building an hundred paces in length, and fourſcore in breadth, and ſupported by four hundred columns, on which there hang four thouſand lamps. MAHOMET's tomb ſtands in a tower in this temple covered with a dome, and encompaſſed with iron rails: the tomb itſelf is ſurrounded by a ſilver grate, and the wall on the inſide is hung with rich ſilks, upon which are abundance of precious ſtones, the gifts of Mahometan Princes. The pilgrims never ſee the tomb itſelf, only the tower which it is encloſed in; but when the pilgrims are returned home, and the crowd is leſs, they make no difficulty of ſhewing it to any Mahometan for a piece of money. The ſtory of MAHOMET's coffin being drawn up to the roof by a loadſtone here, was an impoſition upon us, it ſeems; there never having been any colour for that report.

Towns of Medina.

Mecca ſtands about two hundred miles ſouth of Medina, in the latitude of 21 deg. ſome odd min. and is a day's journey to the eaſtward of the Red Sea in a valley almoſt ſurrounded with mountains; it is twice as large as Medina, built of brick, with flat roofs, and ballufters on the top. In the middle of the town ſtands the kaaba or houſe of GOD, which according to the Arabian tradition was built by ABRAHAM, and to which MAHOMET obliged all his followers to go in pilgrimage once in their lives. This houſe is not above fifteen foot in length and twelve in breadth, and about five fathoms high; the door is in the corner, on the left hand, about a fathom and a half high and a fathom wide, made of beaten ſilver, and opens with two leaves; they go up to it by a ladder, it being raiſed ſix foot above the ground: the roof is flat, and ſupported by three pillars of aloes wood of an octogonal form; the ſides are hung with red and white ſtuff, with the following words ſeveral times wrought in them, viz. La Illa Illalla, MAHOMED reſoul allah, i. e. GOD is a great GOD, and MAHOMET his prophet.

There is a large court about this houſe encompaſſed with a piazza, ſupported by three rows of pillars: in this court the pilgrims of the four principal Mahometan ſects have their reſpective places to perform their devotion in; for I do not find they ever enter the kaaba, and indeed it is ſo ſmall, that it would admit but of a very few people: the houſe is girt round with two belts of gold, and hung on the outſide with damask; and every year there are new hangings preſented by the Grand Seignior, when the old ones are cut into relicks, and ſold to ſuch pious people as will pay for them.

Mocha or Moha, which I have already mentioned as the capital of a conſiderable kingdom, ſtands on the right-hand at the entrance of the Red Sea from the ocean: it was within theſe two hundred years but a ſmall village; but is now the moſt populous trading town upon the coaſts: it ſtands on a flat, upon a ſandy barren ſoil cloſe by the ſea ſide. The ſtreets are large and clean: the houſes of brick or ſtone, two ſtories high with flat roofs, terraſſed on the top to walk on. The ſhops make a good appearance, being furniſhed with all manner of commodities. What the Europeans bring from thence is chiefly coffee, which grows in the neighbouring country and no where elſe; and this plant I ſhall take an opportunity of deſcribing hereafter.

Muſcat, the next moſt conſiderable place and the capital of a large kingdom, is about three miles in circumference, ſituated on the left hand at the entrance of the gulph of Perſia or Ormus, about ſixty leagues to the north weſt of cape Roſalgate, and was once in poſſeſſion of the Portugueſe, when they commanded all the trade of the Perſian gulph; but the Portugueſe having loſt Ormus on the other ſide the bay, and being much weakened by the Europeans, who ſucceeded them in the Indian trade, the Arabians made themſelves maſters of Muſcat; ſince when the Portugueſe and the people of this place have been always in a ſtate of war, and under pretence of carrying Portugueſe merchants or their effects, the Muſcatters frequently ſeize other European ſhips which come into theſe ſeas, if they are not in a condition to defend themſelves.

There are ſeveral redoubts and batteries for the defence of the harbour of Muſcat; but not kept in very good repair. The city ſtands at the bottom of a bay ſurrounded with hills, or rather rocks, which renders it prodigious hot. The houſes are two ſtories high, but indifferently built, and ſcarce any furniture in them: the ſtreets are irregular, and ſo narrow, that more than two people can ſcarce walk a-breaſt in them. The market place however, in the middle of the town is well ſtored with fiſh, fruit, and other proviſions exceeding cheap.

Elcatiff. The laſt town I ſhall take notice of, is Elcatiff to the northward of Muſcat higher up the Perſian gulph, in the latitude of 27 degrees north. This was formerly a place of great trade, and much reſorted to when the pearl fiſhery near it was in repute; but ſeems to be upon the decline at preſent: the King of Muſcat or Oman, having brought all this coaſt under his ſubjection.

Moſt of the Arabs live in tents without any ſettled habitation. But the Arabs who live in towns are a very inconſiderable number, compared with thoſe that live in tents, and are called Bedouins: theſe people have no fixed habitation, but being poſſeſſed of large flocks and herds of camels, ſheep and goats, rove from one part of the country to another, where they can find paſture and water for their cattle; and when they have deſtroyed all the forage, they load their goods and baggage on their camels, with their wives and children, and march on in ſearch of freſh paſture. Their tents make a very indifferent appearance when they encamp, being made of black or dark coloured goat's hair.

CHAP. III.

Treats of the genius and temper of the Arabs; of their complexion, ſhape, and habits; their diet, liquors, diverſions, roads, and way of travelling.

Genius and temper of the Arabs. WHether the Arabs are naturally inclined to that roving wandring life they have always been remarkable for, or whether the nature of their country requiring frequent removals on account of its barrenneſs, and the ſcarcity of water

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in the deſerts puts them under a neceſſity of wandring from place to place, is not very material to enquire; but as they have lived in this manner for ſo many ages, it is probably as agreeable to them, as a more ſettled life is to the reſt of the world: but this people are not more taken notice of for rambling than they are for thieving, both by ſea and land, and that not in ſmall parties only, but by publick authority in a manner, with their Princes at the head of them. There are ſome modern travellers indeed, that cry up the Arabians for their juſtice, their humanity, temperance, and other virtues at a very great rate; but this ſeems contrary to univerſal experience, or, they muſt mean that juſtice which they exerciſe among themſelves; for certainly foreigners very often ſuffer by their rapine: I ſhall take the liberty of repeating, however, what Capt. SAY relates of the juſtice and other virtues of thoſe Arabians who inhabit near Muſcat: he ſays they are very courteous in their behaviour, extremely civil to ſtrangers, and offer no violence or affront to any, and though they have the higheſt veneration for their religion, never endeavour to force it upon others; that a man may travel hundreds of miles in their country, and not ſo much as meet with abuſive language, and if the traveller has a charge of money, he needs no arms to defend it, he may ſleep with it ſafely in his hand by the highway ſide: that though he lived in that country for ſeveral years, and had travelled much, he never heard of a robbery amongſt them. He adds, that happening to be ſhipwrecked on the iſland of Macira near this coaſt, and eſcaping to ſhore with the reſt of the mariners, the Arabs came to him and offered their aſſiſtance to ſave the goods, as he underſtood by the ſigns the Arabs made, for they could not underſtand one another a word: that one of the Arabs, who looked like the Governor, having gathered a little heap of ſand, divided it into three parts, reſerving two to himſelf, and giving the other to the Captain, at which the Captain expreſſing ſome diſlike, the Arab divided the heap in two equal parts, reſerving one to himſelf and giving the other to the Captain, whereupon they ſhook hands, as well contented on both ſides. The money which was brought on ſhore and ſaved in the wreck, amounted to twelve or fourteen thouſand pounds, which they weighed in baskets, delivering rather more than a moiety to the Captain. And this Mr. SAY ſeems to admire as a great piece of juſtice in the Arabs, applauding his good fortune that he was not caſt away upon a Chriſtian coaſt, where he might have fared much worſe.

But notwithſtanding this relation of Capt. SAY's, I am very well aſſured, that the Arabs have both before that time and ſince, taken ſeveral ſhips of ours, which they found weakly manned at ſea: nay, they have fetched them out of the very road at Gombron on the coaſt of Perſia in the night time: and have more than once defrauded and robbed our merchants of their goods, who came to trade with them at Muſcat. It is very rare alſo that any caravan of merchants paſſes over the deſerts, but they loſe part of their goods: the Arabian Emirs and Princes themſelves extort money from them, though they do not take all indeed, and ſo according to Capt. SAY, may be deemed to have more juſtice than ſome other robbers: and indeed there is ſomething to be ſaid for thoſe Arabian Princes, for the country being theirs, they might refuſe to let the caravans paſs through their country at all, and poſſibly take what they impoſe upon caravans, by way of duty or toll, and this ſeems probable, becauſe the ſums are not very large, or it would diſcourage the caravans from coming that way; and as to private robberies, no country can be anſwerable for them. Their depredations at ſea ſeem moſt inexcuſable, where nothing but a ſuperior force can protect our merchants againſt them.

Stature and complexion.

The Arabians are of a middle ſtature, thin and of a ſwarthy complexion; and black hair and black eyes are common to them with other people in the ſame climate: their voices are rather effeminate than ſtrong, but they are ſaid to be a brave people, expert at the bow and lance, and ſince they have been acquainted with fire arms are become pretty good markſmen.

Habit.

The habit of the roving Arabs is a kind of blue ſhirt, tied about them with a white ſaſh or girdle, and ſome of them have a veſt of firs or ſheep skins over it: they wear alſo drawers, and ſometimes ſlippers, but no ſtockings, and have a cap or turbant on their heads, many of them go almoſt naked, but the women are ſo wrapped up, that nothing can be diſcerned but their eyes. Their food is beef, mutton, goats fleſh, veniſon and camels fleſh, which they eſteem more than any other, and they make thin cakes of flower and water inſtead of bread: but many of them chooſe dried dates before them: they eat alſo moſt ſorts of fiſh, except ſuch as have no ſcales: but whatever animals they eat, they are very careful to have all the blood well drained out. Thoſe about Muſcat do not only abſtain from wine, as other Mahometans do, but deny themſelves even tea and coffee, and other innocent liquors: nor do they indulge themſelves in ſmoking tobacco: water is their ordinary drink, or a ſherbet made of oranges, water and ſugar.

Food and liquors.

Way of travelling.

There are no roads laid out in this country, but the caravans travel over ſandy deſerts, where there is no manner of track; guiding themſelves by a compaſs, as at ſea, or elſe by the ſtars, for they travel chiefly in the night on account of the heats. People chooſe to travel with the caravans, in which are frequently two or three hundred men,

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men, and perhaps a thouſand beaſts of all kinds, in order to ſecure themſelves from the thieviſh Arabs. There are no wheel carriages in this country, all their merchandize is loaden upon camels or dromedaries, between which there is very little difference in the ſhape, unleſs it be that the camel has but one bunch, and the dromedary two upon his back; the camel alſo is largeſt, and will carry ſix or ſeven hundred weight, but the dromedary is the ſwifter, and uſed chiefly for riding: he will trot, it is ſaid, forty leagues a day with eaſe. Both the camel and dromedary kneel down to take up their burthen, and will upon occaſion travel five or ſix days without drinking, ſome ſay nine. Here are no inns or caravanſeras to bait at, but thoſe who travel with the caravans carry their proviſion and tents with them, which are ſet up in bad weather, for if the weather be good, they chooſe to lodge upon a carpet in the open field, that they may not be ſurprized by the Arabian robbers.

The ſlaves and ſervants which belong to the caravan get ready their maſter's meat upon the road; their uſual way of dreſſing it is, by making a little hole in the ground, in which they make a fire, and ſet a pot over it: if there be no brakes or ſhrubs to be found in the way they go, they carry charcoal along with them for firing. They alſo carry water in ſkins, for ſometimes they do not meet with water in ſeveral days travelling. It is an obſervation among the Arabs, that where there are trees, the water is not far off, and when they draw near a pool, their camels will ſmell it a diſtance, and ſet up their great cry to come to it, eſpecially if they have been without water for any time.

When a caravan ſets out the merchants elect among themſelves a caravan baſha or captain, who appoints the order of their march, and the place they are to lodge at, and with the principal men in the caravan adjuſts any differences that ariſe in the way; but it is an employment, it ſeems, that no honeſt man is fond of; for being impowered to pay and compound for ſeveral ſmall duties in the countries through which they paſs, their fidelity is generally ſuſpected. The merchants uſually ride upon horſes or mules, and thoſe who cannot be at that expence, on aſſes, it being very tireſome riding on a camel when he goes a foot pace, but pleaſant enough when he is put into a trot, which is a pace the caravans ſeldom go, becauſe the camels are heavy loaden.

The Franks are obliged to provide pack-horſes to carry their wine, becauſe the camel maſters, who are Mahometans, will not ſuffer their camels to be laden with this liquor, the camel being conſecrated to MAHOMET, who ſtrictly prohibited the uſe of wine. The wine is carried in goat-skins, as their water is; the skins have the hairy ſide inwards, and are well pitched; if the hair be taken off they are not ſo ſerviceable, but generally leaky.

The ſtages of the caravans are not every day alike, but ſometimes ſix hours, and other days ten or twelve, according as they can meet with water: every merchant with his ſervants rides by thoſe camels which are loaden with his goods, eſpecially in the dark nights; for there are a ſly ſort of thieves which will cut the ſtrings by which they are faſtened to one another, and drive a camel or two off, before they are well apprized what is a doing. The caravan, as has been obſerved, lodges in ſome place near the water ſide, if they can meet with any; and after ſun-ſet there are a ſort of poor people called Shaoux, who make it their buſineſs to attend the caravans, and are very diligent in guarding the whole field and taking care of the goods; they walk about like watchmen, crying out GOD is one, GOD is merciful, adding frequently, have a care of your ſelf. When the proper time for marching approaches, they give notice to the caravan baſha, who orders them to cry ſaddle your horſes, and afterwards to load their goods; and it is ſurprizing upon this ſecond cry, to obſerve how every thing is ready in an inſtant, the caravan ſetting forward in great order and ſilence.

When the ſtages are long, and they do not expect to come to the ground where they are to lye before ten or eleven in the morning, the merchants will ſpread a carpet on the ground and open their wallets, which every one carries upon his horſe filled with proviſions, and ſit down to breakfaſt, while the caravan marches ſlowly on.

It is neceſſary that the traveller clothe himſelf in an Arabian veſt and cap, or at leaſt put himſelf into the garb of a Mahometan as he paſſes through this country, or he will be ſubject to many inconveniencies, and ſcarce be allowed to paſs ſome towns. Boots of black, red or yellow leather lined with cloth muſt alſo be provided, which reach no higher than the knee, and are as eaſy to walk in as ſhoes. Spurs they never wear any, but prick the horſe with an iron which is fixed to the ſtirrup.

One great inconvenience in travelling with the caravans is, that the water being found chiefly in wells and ciſterns, where no more than two or three people can draw water at a time, a traveller is forced to ſtay two or three hours ſometimes before he can get any, for thoſe who belong to the beaſts of burthen will ſcarce ſuffer any body to come near the well till their camels and other cattle are ſerved: they are a rude ſort of people, like our waggoners, with whom there is no contending without running ſome hazard.

CHAP. IV.

Treats of the nature of the ſoil; their husbandry, gardening, plants, animals and minerals.

ARABIA, even that part of it which goes under the name of hyaman or the happy, conſiſts for the moſt part in ſandy deſerts, or dry barren mountains: but there being ſome parts of ſouth Arabia tolerably fruitful, and abounding in corn and herbage, as well as aromatick gums, it is compared with the other parts of Arabia, a happy country.

Their hills they never endeavour to cultivate, being for the moſt part a rocky ſoil, and ſcarce capable of improvement: their valleys ſeem equally barren when water is wanting, and bear ſcarce any herbage; but where they can bring water into them, they produce corn, herbs, flowers, and all manner of garden ſtuff; and no country in the world affords a more agreeable proſpect. They draw water in large skins out of their wells morning and evening with oxen, conveying the water along little canals, by the ſides of which their trees and plants are ſet: they cut alſo little channels through their corn fields, by which they let the water into them as there is occaſion, for rain they have very ſeldom any.

Fruits. They have a great variety of excellent fruits, ſuch as oranges, lemons, grapes, peaches and apricots; but what this country is moſt famous for, is their dates and their coffee, with which abundance of ſhips for Europe and India are loaden every year, beſides vaſt quantities that are ſent to Turkey. **Dates.** Of dates I have ſpoken in treating of Perſia, which are found ſcarce any where elſe but in this country and that.

Coffee. The coffee ſhrub grows eight or ten foot high, and has a gray ſmooth bark, the wood is white, and has not much pith; the twigs riſe by pairs oppoſite to each other, and the leaves on the twigs in the ſame manner, one pair about two inches diſtance from another. The leaves have foot ſtalks a quarter of an inch in length, and are about four inches long and two broad in the middle, from whence they decreaſe to both extremities, ending in a point. They are ſmooth, whole and without any inciſures on the edges, and near the form of a bay leaf; the fruit comes ex alis foliorum hanging to the twig by a foot ſtalk, ſometimes one, two or more in the ſame place. Theſe ſhrubs are planted in a rich ground, and watered by artificial channels, as their other vegetables are, and after three or four years bearing, the natives plant new ſhrubs, becauſe then the old ones begin to decline. They dry the berries in the ſun, and afterwards take off the outward husk with hand-mills; and the Arabians in the hotteſt ſeaſon make uſe of theſe husks roaſted in the room of coffee berries, eſteeming the liquor made of them more cooling.

Coffee has been in uſe about two hundred years in Aſia: in the year 1652, Mr. EDWARDS, a Turkey merchant, brought a Greek ſervant into England to make coffee, and this ſervant of his, named PASQUA, was the firſt, it is ſaid, who kept a coffee houſe here. The beſt coffee berry is large and plump, with a greeniſh caſt, and has a tranſparency on the thineſt parts: the other has a yellowiſh caſt and is more opaque; but when they are roaſted, it is difficult to diſtinguiſh them. The beſt way of keeping the berries when they are roaſted is, in ſome warm place, where they may not imbibe any moiſture, for this palls it, and takes off the briskneſs of the taſte; and it is beſt to grind it as it is uſed. It is obſerved that coffee diſtilled yields double as much oil as beans, and almoſt treble as much as wheat. This account of the coffee ſhrub is taken from Mr. HOUGHTON's deſcription of it, inſerted in the philoſophical tranſactions. No. 156. P. 311.

Arabia alſo abounds in myrrh, manna, caſſia, incenſe, aloes, olibanum, balm and frankincenſe, beſides ſome other valuable drugs: among their plants, nothing is more wanted than timber trees, and indeed they have very little wood of any kind in the country. Produce of Arabia.

Animals. Of their animals, thoſe that are moſt uſeful and excellent in their kind are camels and horſes: their camels are extremely proper for this ſandy country, and the largeſt of them will carry a vaſt burthen, ſome ſay, near a thouſand weight: the leſſer ſort, which have two bunches on their backs, are generally called dromedaries, and are as remarkable for their ſwiftneſs, as the others for their ſtrength; but of theſe I have ſpoken already. Their breed of horſes are only fit for the ſaddle, and are never uſed either for draught or burthen: the fineſt horſes we ſee in the Perſian court are brought from hence, and are admired for their make as well as for their high mettle and ſwiftneſs. The common food both of camels and horſes is barley or barley meal made into dough: but Mr. THEVENOT informs us, that in ſome parts of Arabia, they feed them with camel's milk, butter and wheat, and ſometimes with camel's fleſh dry'd in the ſun. And a more modern author tells us, they feed their cattle at Muſcat with fiſh, not when they are freſh taken, but they dig a little pit, and having thrown a large quantity of fiſh in it, they let them lye till they are rotten and turned to a kind of earth, after which it is taken up and boiled in water, which they let ſtand till it is cool, and then give it to the cattle: this makes them very fat, nor does their fleſh taſte amiſs by living on this kind of diet. They have oxen, buffaloes, goats and veniſon

niſon here, but their beef and buffaloes fleſh is very coarſe. As to hogs they never breed any, being all Mahometans, who abhor the ſight of this animal. Fiſh and fowl they have in great plenty on their coaſts; but the inland parts are indifferently ſtocked with either, there being neither wood nor water to be found in ſeveral days journey. *Lions, bears, tygers, wolves, jackals* and other wild beaſts alſo are found in ſome parts of Arabia, but not in ſuch great numbers as elſewhere, there being but little cover for them.

As to minerals, ſome part of this country was formerly held to be rich in gold, but I cannot learn there are mines of this or any other metal open at preſent. Pearls they have good ones near the coaſts, both in the gulph of Perſia and in the Red Sea; and the King of Muſcat, it is ſaid, has the command of the pearl fiſhery at preſent in the gulph of Perſia, but I preſume he makes little of it, for our people who have been there very lately inform me, that pearls are as ſcarce and as dear here as in other parts of Aſia.

Before I proceed farther in the deſcription of Arabia in general, I ſhall take a view of thoſe places in Arabia Petræa, which are mentioned in the holy ſcriptures, a country famous for the children of Iſrael's wandering in it forty years. Thoſe who have a mind to viſit theſe places, uſually go from Suez on the borders of Egypt, to Tor, a port town on the Red Sea, not far from mount Sinai, the ſituation whereof has been deſcribed already. In the neighbourhood of Tor, there is a convent of Greeks dedicated to St. KATHERINE, and the apparition of GOD to MOSES on the burning mount. In the way from thence to Sinai is the place which in ſcripture is called Elim, where the Iſraelites found ſeventeen palm trees and twelve wells of bitter water, which MOSES ſweetned by a miracle, only caſting a piece of wood into them. Theſe wells Mr. THEVENOT and other travellers inform us are ſtill in being, and moſt of them in a garden belonging to the monks of Tor: they are all hot, and are returned to their former bitterneſs. One of them is in a little dark cave, and uſed to bathe in, and is called by the Arabs hummam MOUSA, or the bath of MOSES. In this garden of the monks there are ſcarce any other plants but palm trees, of which there are great abundance, but they have the modeſty not to affirm that any of them are the ſame which were growing when the Iſraelites were there. About half a day's journey farther is a plain, ſuppoſed to be that which the ſcripture calls the deſert of Sin, where the Iſraelites longing for the fleſh-pots of Egypt, GOD ſupplied them with quails and manna: in this plain are a great many acacia trees, from which comes the gum which the Arabians call acakia: the trees are about the height and bigneſs of an ordinary willow, and the leaves thin and prickly. The Arabs gather the gum in autumn, without making any inciſion on the tree, it ouzing out of it ſelf. About two days journey from Sin, after having travelled thro' a hilly country, we come to the place which in ſcripture is called Riphidim; and not far from hence, the Greek monks have ſeveral gardens walled round, and full of fruit trees and vines: here we find the rock out of which MOSES brought water, by ſtriking it with his wand: it is a ſtone of a prodigious height and thickneſs, riſing out of the ground, and the monks ſhew the channels on each ſide, by which the water flowed, but there is no water iſſues from it at preſent. Two or three hours beyond the rock, is a monaſtery of Greeks, dedicated to the honour of the forty martyrs: it is a pretty neat building, and has a fair church with a very fine garden; in which are planted apples, pears, walnuts, oranges, lemons, olives and a variety of other fruits; and, it ſeems, moſt of the beſt fruit which is eaten at Grand Cairo comes from the neighbourhood of mount Sinai, and as it is ſo pleaſant and fruitful a country, it is no wonder the Iſraelites remained ſo long here. From the monaſtery of the forty martyrs to the great monaſtery at the foot of mount Sinai, where the body of St. KATHERINE lyes, is about two hours travelling, but it is a very ſteep aſcent from the forty martyrs to Sinai, being a hill upon a hill.

The body of St. KATHERINE, if we may credit the monks, was brought hither by angels immediately after ſhe was beheaded at Alexandria: it remained at the top of the hill, they aſſure us, three hundred years, when it was revealed one night to a certain monk where it lay, who the next morning with ſeveral of his order brought it down to the monaſtery, and put it into a rich ſilver ſhrine, which was there not long ſince. They ſhew the print of a body in the rock, where they tell us the angels firſt placed it; and many other ſuperſtitious tales which I ſhall not weary the reader with the relation of.

There is another head of this mountain, which is called the mount of MOSES, on which there are two churches, one of the Greeks, and the other of the Latins; and not far from a little moſque, and by the ſide of it the cave, as they tell us, where MOSES faſted forty days: they ſhew alſo a little grotto on the ſide of the Latin church, which they relate is the place where MOSES was hid when he deſired to ſee the face of GOD, and ſaw his back parts: it was upon this mount, we are informed, that MOSES received the ten commandments in two tables: in the way down, they ſhew a great ſtone, which the monks ſay, is the place where the prophet

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ELIAS sat himself down when he fled from JEZABEL: and a little lower the Arabs shew the print of a camel's foot in a rock, which was made, they tell us, by the foot of MAHOMET's camel as he passed that way, and accordingly kiss it with great devotion; and indeed the Christians and Mahometans seem to vie with one another here, which of them shall carry the prize of bigotry.

All over the mount are to be seen little chapels with cells near them, in which, it is said, no less than fourteen thousand hermits formerly inhabited, but were forced to remove on account of the oppression of the Arabs. Every cell had its garden and receptacle for water; and as the country is exceeding fruitful and pleasant, might pass away their time here agreeably enough.

The monastery of St. KATHERINE's at the foot of Sinai, the Greeks have been in possession of upwards of a thousand years. being given them by some of the Greek Emperors: the Arabs, it seems, suffered them to enjoy it peaceably till very lately, on account of the great hospitality they always met with here; though they have a tradition, that when this monastery was in its most flourishing condition, MAHOMET served the monks in the quality of a camel driver, and that an eagle hovering over MAHOMET's head as he slept, the abbot foretold his future greatness, desiring he would be kind to them when he should be advanced, which he promised; and afterwards, being vested with the authority of a Prince, he confirmed them in the enjoyment of their house and all the lands belonging to it, obliging his successors and disciples not to disturb them; but it was upon condition they should never refuse entertainment to the neighbouring Arabs. But however that matter be, certain it is, that when the monks were in possession of this monastery they gave half a peck of corn to every Arab that visited them, which sometimes were two or three hundred in a day; but the Arabs having plundered the camels that were bringing provision to the convent, the monks forsook it, and retired to Tor, having first walled up their gate. The walls of this convent were so high and thick that it was not very subject to the insults of the Arabs, and standing on the brow of a steep rock, they used to let down the provisions they gave the Arabs by a rope; for notwithstanding the pretended grant from MAHOMET, they did not think his country men the Arabs were people to be much confided in. They used also to draw up the pilgrims and let them down by a basket, leaving no way open by which it was possible for an enemy to approach their convent.

From mount Sinai we easily see mount Horeb, where MOSES kept the flocks of JETHRO his father-in-law when he saw the burning bush, where also there is a monastery with a pretty chapel and garden, and they pretend to shew the impression in a rock where AARON cast the head of the golden calf; but this no doubt has been long since carved out by the monks, and may be reckoned among the number of their holy cheats.

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Treats of the language and learning of the Arabs; of their force and arms; and of their coin, weights and measures.

THE people of the east hold that the Arabian is the richest and most copious language in the world: that it is composed of several millions of words; the books which treat of it say, they have not less than a thousand terms to express the word camel, and five hundred for that of a lion, and that no man can be master of all their terms without a miracle, (but possibly no person was ever master of all the terms in every profession, in any language whatever) and they look upon it to have been the language of paradise: however, it is certain that there are many words in this language, which have a particular force and energy, and are not capable of being translated into any other, whithout a great deal of circumlocution: but then, it is observed, that great part of this language is lost at present, and that the richness and beauty of it is to be learnt chiefly from antient authors.

It is generally agreed that the Arabick and the Hebrew proceed from the same source, there being a very near resemblance between them; but the learned, in this part of the world, will have the Hebrew to be the mother language; whereas, the eastern people contend for the Arabian; but however that be, the Arabick is become the learned language of the east, as the Latin is of the west, and the alcoran is never read but in that language in Persia and India, as well as in Arabia, where it is their mother tongue.

But notwithstanding the Arabs have been famous in former ages for learned men, versed in all the liberal arts, there is scarce any country at this day, where the people are so universally ignorant as in Arabia; which is imputed very much to the Mahometan religion and principles, it being observed, that Greece as well as Arabia, and all other countries where they have had the dominion for any time, are sunk into sloth and idleness, and the neglect of every art and science; neither the principles of their government nor religion will bear examining, and therefore they discourage every attempt towards the advancement of learning, which might shew the absurdity of the

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the maxims they are governed by; and they tell us of ſome Chriſtian countries, where they have entertained ſome thoughts of diſcountenancing all ſeminaries of religion and learning upon the ſame account, for it is certainly much eaſier to impoſe upon an ignorant mob, than men of a liberal education: it is a maxim, it ſeems, with ſome people, that ignorance is the mother of devotion.

The Arabian kingdoms which lye upon the coaſts, (the boundaries whereof are already deſcribed) appear ſome of them to be of a very large extent, and their monarchs are frequently ſtyled Xerifs, as the Xerif of Mecca, and others I find called Imans; but both the one and the other, I perceive, ſignify the office of prieſt as well as King, as the Caliphs of the Saracens, the ſucceſſors of MAHOMET were, till conquered by the Turks, whoſe Emperors do not indeed pretend to the prieſthood, but govern and controul the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction however, as they pleaſe, and give laws to the Mufti or High Prieſt, as will appear when we come to treat of Turkey. As to the form of the Arabian government and laws, what I can learn of them is, that their Monarchs are abſolute both in ſpirituals and temporals, and the ſucceſſion hereditary; that they have no other laws than what are to be found in the alcoran and the comments upon it, which I ſhall enquire into when I come to the head of religion.

I do not find that they have any ſtanding regular militia by land, but their Kings command both the purſes and perſons of their ſubjects whenever they ſee fit: the moſt potent Monarch by ſea, is the King of Oman or Muſcat, who is indeed become very formidable, not only to the Aſiaticks, but to the Europeans themſelves: they are always at war with the Portugueſe and Danes, and if an Engliſh veſſel come in their way, if ſhe be not a ſhip of force, they won't ſcruple making a prize of her. Mr. LOCKHART informs us, there were no leſs than fourteen ſail of men of war in the mole at Muſcat when he was there, beſides twenty merchant men. That one of their men of war carried ſeventy guns, and none of them leſs than twenty, but the biggeſt of them would not have made an Engliſh fourth rate, their ports being as cloſe as they can well ſet their guns by one another. There were at the ſame time fifteen or ſixteen ſail of their men of war cruiſing abroad, which were expected home in the ſouth weſt monſon, when it uſually blows hard; for though they are always full of men they cannot endure bad weather. Their colours are red, which they diſplay in ſtreamers and pendants at every yard-arm, and maſt-head, and other remarkable parts of the ſhip, which make their fleets look exceeding fine.

They have ſcarce any timber of their own growth fit for ſhipping, but their ſhips are built at Surat, or at the mouth of the river Indus, and many of them are prizes taken from other nations.

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Arabians of the inland country.

The Arabians of the inland country are divided into tribes, and their tribes into families: every tribe hath its Sheik el Kebir or Grand Sheik, and every family its Sheik or Captain. The Sheik el Kebir is the Prince or Monarch of the tribe, and inveſted with a ſupreme civil authority. The offices of the Sheiks are hereditary, but when a Sheik of a family dies without children, the family chooſes another with the leave of the Sheik el Kebir or Sovereign. And if the Sovereign dies without iſſue, the whole tribe are aſſembled to chooſe another. Theſe Sheiks or Emirs which lye next Turkey, are ſome of them, it is ſaid, tributary to the Turk, but it is certain their leaders receive large gratuities from the Turk, for protecting the pilgrims which paſs through their country; and the Grand Seignior is always glad to have a good underſtanding with them, for it is in their power to do his ſubjects a great deal of miſchief by their excurſions and robberies, and very difficult to puniſh them for it: it is true the Arabians are not a match for the Turk in a fair field, but it would deſtroy the beſt enemies to purſue them through their deſerts, where there are no towns, no proviſions, or ſcarce any water to be met with, and the heats inſupportable to any but the natives; and this is the true reaſon that the greateſt part of Arabia was never conquered. The Arabian tribes, which conſiſt perhaps of three or four hundred families, and are acquainted with all the watering places, and where paſture is to be met with, may by roving from one part of the country to the other, make a ſhift to ſubſiſt with their flocks and herds, when a great army muſt inevitably periſh, which ſhould attempt to follow them. As to their great towns upon the coaſts, the Turk, the Perſian and the Portugueſe have made themſelves maſters of ſeveral of them; which ſhews that it is not their bravery or skill in military affairs, beyond the reſt of the world, which has preſerved their country from being conquered, but purely the barrenneſs of the ſoil and their poverty; for what ſhould any people that were uſed to a fixed habitation, do in a country where there is no ſubſiſtence to be had, without perpetually roving from place to place? Were it poſſible to make a complete conqueſt of them, the conqueror muſt quit the country again, or be reduced to worſe circumſtances than the people he had ſubdued, having been uſed to a different way of living.

Arms.

The uſual arms of the Arabs are a lance or half pike, a broad ſword, a dagger, and a bow and arrows, and of late, fire arms and great guns have been introduced amongſt them; they have alſo ſhields covered with the skin of a beaſt or fiſh, but

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but theſe muſt grow out of uſe, now they are become acquainted with fire arms. The Arabs, like the Perſians, haraſs an enemy in his march, and obtain the greateſt advantages by ſurprize; they do not care to fight upon equal terms, but truſt much more to the fleetneſs of their horſes than to their arms.

Coins, weights and meaſures.

The coins which are current at Mocha, the principal port in the Red Sea, are dollars of all kinds, but they abate five per cent. on the pillar dollars, becauſe they are reckoned not to be the pureſt ſilver, and the dollar weight with them is 17 drams 14 grains. All their coins are taken by weight, and valued according to their fineneſs. The gold coins current here, are ducats of Venice, Germany, Turkey, Egypt, &c. The comaſſees are a ſmall coin, which are taken at ſuch a price as the government ſets upon them, and they keep their accounts in an imaginary coin of cabeers, of which eighty go to a dollar.

Their weights are the bahar, which is 420 l. Engliſh. The fraſſel or 28 l. whereof 15 go to a bahar. The maun, of which 10 go to a fraſſel. The fakea, of which 40 go to a maun. And the coffila, of which 10 go to a fakea.

Their dry meaſures are the medeeda, which is three pints Engliſh; and they meaſure cloth and ſilk by the cubit, which is 24 inches.

Mr. LOCKHART, who was at Muſcat, informs us, that the current coin there was budgerooks and mamoodas: that the budgerooks are a mixed metal, not unlike iron, with a croſs on one ſide, and were coined by the Portugueſe when they were in poſſeſſion of Muſcat. Thirty of theſe budgerooks make but a ſilver mamooda of eight pence value. Surat rupees go for three mamoodas and half. And Spaniſh dollars at ſeven mamoodas and half. Venetians, Ibrahims, and other pieces of gold, are alſo current at Muſcat. Goods are moſt commonly weighed in this port by the maund, which is 8 ; l. Engliſh here: and the merchants in the town ſometimes weigh by the fraſſel and bahar, but moſt by the maund, which is different from that of Mocha, as are their weights for gold, and ſilver, and fine goods.

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Treats of the firſt eſtabliſhment of the Mahometan religion in Arabia, and of that great impoſtor MAHOMET, *the founder of it.*

Mahomet his family.

MAHOMET, the author of the Mahometan religion, was born in the city of Mecca (above deſcribed) in the month of May, in the year of our Lord 571, JUSTINIAN the ſecond being then Emperor of Conſtantinople, and CHOSROES the firſt, King of Perſia. He was of the tribe of the KOREIS or KORASHITES, eſteemed the moſt honourable in that part of Arabia, and deſcended in a direct line of primogeniture from PHER KORAISH, the founder of it, and conſequently of the nobleſt family of that tribe. However, he ſeems to have been in no extraordinary circumſtances in the beginning of his life; for his father ABDOLLAH dying when he was two years old, his grandfather ABDOL MOTALLAH being then living, left the bulk of his eſtate to his two other ſons, who ſurvived him. MAHOMET, after his father's death, remained with his mother till he was eight years of age; when ſhe happening to die, his grandfather ABDOL MOTALLAH took him into his houſe, and dying the year after, left him to the care of his uncle ABU TALEB, who being a conſiderable merchant introduced MAHOMET into his buſineſs as he grew up. When he was arrived to a competent age, his uncle ſent him with his camels into Syria; and at Boſra, a city on the borders of that country, the Mahometans relate, that BAHIRA, a learned Chriſtian monk, ſeeing him in the market place, diſcovered that he was a prophet by a prophetick light which ſhone round his viſage, and preſſing through the crowd ſaluted him, foretelling at the ſame time his future greatneſs. And though the ſtory of the light about the viſage of MAHOMET muſt certainly paſs for a fable, yet from hence is obſerved the intimacy that was between MAHOMET and ſome learned Chriſtians, without whoſe aſſiſtance he could never have framed his alcoran, or ſucceeded in his impoſture.

Raiſes himſelf to ruine by marriage.

He continued to trade as factor to his uncle till he was five and twenty years of age, and then was invited into the ſervice of a rich widow, whoſe name was CADIGHA, for whom he traded about three years to Damaſcus and other places; but the widow being ſmitten, it ſeems, with the perſon and accompliſhments of her ſervant, thought fit, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, to admit him to her bed in the quality of a husband, the widow being then about forty years old; by which match MAHOMET became one of the wealthieſt men in Mecca. And this good fortune, it was obſerved, begun to inſpire him with more ambitious views; he reflected that his anceſtors had for ſeveral generations been chiefs of their tribe, and that himſelf was deſcended from the eldeſt branch, and ought to have poſſeſſed the wealth of his grandfather ABDOL MOTALLAH, his father ABDOLLAH being his eldeſt ſon, and on the ſame account had the right to be Sovereign of his tribe: but having weighed all means to arrive at that dignity, he could think of none more likely to attain his ends than a pretence to an extraordinary ſanctity, and a concern for the reformation of the world.

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By his trading to Egypt, Paleſtine and Syria, it is obſerved, he became well acquainted both with Chriſtians and Jews; and he could not but take notice of the diviſions and animoſities among the ſeveral ſects of Chriſtians in the eaſt at that time; from whence he concluded, it would be no difficult matter to ſet up a new religion; or rather, as he pretended, to revive the primitive way of worſhip and purity practiſed among the Patriarchs. He did not propoſe the aboliſhing of any religion abſolutely, but to collect from Jews, Chriſtians and Pagans what he thought moſt ſuitable to his deſign, and to reject the reſt as innovations and corruptions. But having hitherto been an idolater himſelf, and led a very licentious courſe of life, he apprehended it might be ſomething ſhocking to the people to ſee him ſet up on a ſudden for a prophet and a preacher of righteouſneſs; he thought fit therefore firſt to reform himſelf, and lead an abſtemious courſe of life, and every morning retired to the cave of Hira near Mecca, where he remained all day, exerciſing himſelf, as he gave out, in prayers, faſting and pious meditations. And here it is ſuppoſed he met his accomplices who aſſiſted him in framing his alcoran.

When he returned to Mecca in the evening, his cuſtom was to entertain his wife CADIGHA with the viſions he had ſeen, and the ſtrange voices he had heard in his retirement: but ſhe for a great while laughed at theſe relations as idle ſtories, or the effect of a diſtempered brain. He proceeded however to acquaint her with the intimate converſation he had with the angel GABRIEL, and continued to repeat his viſions with that aſſurance that the woman began to give ſome credit to them; and conſulting about them with a fugitive monk, who reſided in their houſe, he confirmed her in the belief that whatever MAHOMET had revealed to her was really true; whereupon ſhe became her husband's firſt proſelyte, it is ſaid; for as to the monk he was in the ſecret, it ſeems, and aſſiſted in framing the impoſture.

Having thus led a ſevere retired life for about two years, and acquired, as he thought, a ſufficient reputation of ſanctity, he ventured, in the fortieth year of his age, to take upon him the character of an apoſtle of GOD, among his friends and acquaintance, but did not think fit to avow his miſſion openly, till three or four years after. The ſecond proſelyte he made after his wife CADIGHA, was ZAYD EBN HARESH his ſervant, and the third his couſin HALY, the ſon of ABU TALEB his uncle, who from hence uſed to ſtyle himſelf the firſt of believers, looking upon the other two as people of no great conſideration. He prevailed upon his ſervant ZAYD to become his diſciple, it is ſaid, by offering him his liberty: and it is ſince become a law among the Mahometans, to give their freedom to ſuch ſlaves as embrace their religion.

Declares his miſſion.

ABUBEKER, one of the richeſt men in Mecca, was his fourth diſciple, whoſe wiſdom and popularity brought the impoſture into ſome reputation; and his example was ſoon followed by OSMAN, and ſeven or eight others, who were afterwards the Generals of his armies, and great inſtruments in eſtabliſhing his empire, and propagating his doctrine through the world. Being thus ſupported by theſe men, who were ſome of the principal inhabitants of Mecca; he proceeded openly, in the forty-fourth year of his age, to publiſh his new doctrine to the people, and declare himſelf a prophet ſent from GOD to reform his pagan countrymen, and reclaim them from their idolatry.

The firſt doctrine he taught was, that there is but one GOD, and he only to be worſhipped, and that all idols ought to be deſtroyed. That thoſe, who teach that GOD hath ſons or daughters, or companions aſſociated with him, were impious, and ought to be abhorred, reflecting on thoſe who taught the doctrine of the Trinity and Incarnation: as alſo on the idolatrous practices of the Arabians, who worſhipped ſeveral female deities as the daughters of GOD.

He aſſured them that this was the religion which GOD firſt gave to ADAM, and reſtored by revelation to ABRAHAM, who taught it to his ſon ISMAEL, from whom they derive their pedigree; but that his poſterity afterwards corrupted their ways, and became addicted to idolatry, which GOD had now ſent him to deſtroy, and reſtore the religion of ISMAEL, their great anceſtor; and accordingly the Jews, in contempt, call the Mahometan religion Iſmaeliſm; whereas the Mahometans call it Iſlamiſm, or the ſaving religion.

MAHOMET, as was obſerved in treating of Perſia, did not deny the miſſion of JESUS CHRIST or MOSES, or the divine authority of the Old and New Teſtament in general, but charged both the Jews and Chriſtians with corrupting the ſacred writings, declaring that he was ſent to purge them from the errors which were crept into them, and reſtore the law of GOD to that purity in which it was firſt delivered: and accordingly there are few paſſages he has cited from the ſcriptures, but what he has altered in ſome particular or other, and given them a different turn. The angel GABRIEL, he pretended, was ſent from GOD, on purpoſe to communicate his will to him; and being ſubject to the falling ſickneſs, he gave out that he was then in a trance, and that the angel deſcending with ſome new revelation, he was not able to bear the ſplendor of his appearance, which occaſioned his falling into a trance

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MAHOMET publiſhes his alcoran.

a trance when the angel delivered the divine meſſages to him.

Theſe revelations the impoſtor publiſhed by chapters, teaching his diſciples that the book itſelf was repoſited among the records of heaven, and that the angel GABRIEL brought it him chapter by chapter, as occaſion required, to be publiſhed to the world; part of them he publiſhed at Mecca before his flight from thence, and the reſt at Medina, in the following manner: when he had forged a new chapter he dictated it firſt to his ſecretary, and then delivered the writing to be read to his followers till they had learned it by heart; then the writing was brought to him again, and laid up in a cheſt, which he called the cheſt of his apoſtleſhip, and left it in the keeping of HAPHSA, one of his wives, out of which the alcoran was compiled after his death, (in much the ſame manner as HOMER's rhapſodies were out of his looſe poems) which was the work of ABUBEKER, the immediate ſucceſſor of MAHOMET; but ſeveral of MAHOMET's papers being loſt, he was forced to ſupply the want of them from the memory of thoſe people who had learned them by heart; and under this pretence he alſo made uſe of the aſſiſtance of his moſt intimate diſciples, to new model the book after ſuch a manner as might beſt anſwer his purpoſe, and then returned it to the ſame cheſt out of which he had compiled it, which was ſtill in the keeping of HAPHSA, having firſt delivered out ſome copies of it among his followers; but ſo many groſs abſurdities were ſtill found in the book, that OSMAN, when he came to be Caliph, thought it neceſſary to call in all the copies which had been given out, under pretence of correcting them by the original, in the keeping of HAPHSA; and having cauſed them to be burnt, new modelled the alcoran as he ſaw fit, in the 23d year of the hegira, A. D. 652, being one and twenty years after the death of MAHOMET, which was the laſt alteration the alcoran underwent. But to return to MAHOMET. When he firſt publiſhed his miſſion, he was ſufficiently laughed at and derided, ſome called him magician and ſorcerer, and others an impoſtor, of which he complains in his alcoran, ſo that in his firſt year he prevailed but very little. However, this did not diſcourage him, he proceeded in his deſign, which he managed with great skill, for he was a man of wit, and of a very inſinuating addreſs, could bear an affront without any ſeeming reſentment, and knew how to apply himſelf to all degrees of men; the rich he flattered, and the poor he relieved, and managed with that cunning and dexterity, (in which no man exceeded him) that the next year he gained ſeveral new proſelytes.

The people of Mecca being alarmed at the progreſs he made, obſerving plainly that he had a deſign upon the government, reſolved to cut him off before he became more formidable; but his uncle ABUTALEB, having an intimation of their deſign, preſerved him at this time, and he continued to publiſh more chapters of his alcoran, in which he preſſed the obſervance of ſome moral duties, the belief of the unity of GOD, and the dignity of his miſſion, *which, with ſome heatheniſh and Jewiſh rites, contained the ſubſtance* of his new religion: but on theſe I ſhall not enlarge till I come to treat of Turkey.

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He does not pretend to miracles.

What perplexed the impoſtor moſt, was the objection that he worked no miracles for the proof of his miſſion, as MOSES and CHRIST had done, which he endeavoured to evade by ſeveral anſwers; ſometimes he told them he was only ſent to preach; at others, that their anceſtors having contemned the miracles of former prophets, GOD for this reaſon would work no more among them: and ſometimes he told them, that thoſe whom GOD had ordained to believe would believe without miracles, and the reſt would never be convinced by any miracles whatever, and therefore miracles were altogether needleſs. But confeſſing plainly by theſe anſwers the want of the power of working miracles, many of his followers hereupon forſook him, of which he complains in his alcoran. Therefore, when he came to Medina, and had a ſufficient force to ſupport his pretenſions, he began to talk at another rate, telling his followers, that GOD had ſent MOSES and JESUS with the power of working miracles, and yet the world would not be obedient to them; and therefore he had now ſent him in the laſt place, without miracles, to reduce them to obedience by the ſword, and accordingly prohibited his followers to enter into any farther diſputes about his religion; but inſtead thereof, he commanded them to maintain it by force, and deſtroy all thoſe that refuſed obedience to his laws, promiſing glorious rewards in the next life to thoſe who ſhould take up arms in his cauſe, and the crown of martyrdom to all who died fighting for it.

Some of their legendary writers, however, aſcribe ſeveral miracles to MAHOMET, as that he cleft the moon in two parts; that trees went out to meet him; that a camel complained to him; and that a ſhoulder of mutton gave him a caution not to eat of it becauſe it was poiſoned, &c. But their great doctors do not inſiſt upon his working miracles, and in his alcoran he acknowledges he wrought no miracles. His followers, however, ſay, that his compoſing the alcoran is inſtead of a thouſand miracles, for that MAHOMET, an illiterate man, ſhould be able to compoſe ſo eloquent a book, and containing ſuch excellent doctrine, without ſupernatural aſſiſtance, was altogether impoſſible, and itſelf a ſufficient proof of his divine miſſion: and MAHOMET himſelf

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himſelf inſiſts in his alcoran, that it was not in the power of men and devils, by their united skill, to compoſe another book, or a ſingle chapter, like it for eloquence and inſtruction, which his diſciples take for granted, and therefore conclude that it could come from none but GOD.

And it is allowed that the alcoran, as to the ſtyle and language, is the ſtandard of elegance in the Arabian tongue; and farther, that MAHOMET was as illiterate as his followers give out, and could not ſo much as write or read; and this, it ſeems, was not any particular defect in him, but the tribe which he was of deſpiſed all manner of literature; and when MAHOMET firſt declared himſelf a prophet, there was ſcarce a man in Mecca who could either write or read; and for this reaſon the men of Mecca were called the illiterate, in oppoſition to the people of Medina, who being compoſed of Jews and Chriſtians, could all write and read, and were from thence called the people of the book, or book-learned people; and from them ſeveral of MAHOMET's followers, when they came to Medina, learned to write and read; but OSMAN, proving to be the greateſt proficient, was on that account advanced to be MAHOMET's ſecretary. For want of paper MAHOMET was at firſt obliged to make uſe of the plate-bone of a ſhoulder of mutton, or of a camel, to write on, which were antiently uſed by other tribes of the Arabs for the ſame purpoſe; and their books in which their poems and other works were written, were only ſo many plate-bones tied together on a ſtring.

The alcoran therefore being written in ſo elegant a ſtyle, and MAHOMET the ſuppoſed author of it being acknowledged to be ſo very illiterate, it is evident he muſt have ſome able aſſiſtants, notwithſtanding his bigotted diſciples abſolutely deny he had any foreign help. It is no leſs evident that thoſe who compoſed it muſt have a tolerable knowledge both of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian religion, from whence the greateſt part was apparently taken; but as it was MAHOMET's buſineſs to conceal this part of the contrivance, it ſeems very uncertain what particular perſons were his fellow labourers, nor is it very material to diſcover; ſome indeed pretend to give us their very names, and aſſure us that SERGIUS, a monk, who fled from his monaſtery for ſome miſdemeanour, was one of them, and ABDIA BEN SALON, a Perſian Jew, another; but they bring but ſlender proofs to maintain their aſſertions.

There have been alſo a great many ridiculous ſtories related concerning MAHOMET's preaching and publiſhing his alcoran, for which there is no manner of foundation; as that he taught a bull to bring him the alcoran on his horns into a publick aſſembly, as if it had been ſent him this way directly from GOD: that he taught pigeons to come to his ears, from whence he inſinuated that the Holy Spirit converſed with him; which (with abundance of other ſtories of the ſame nature) have been fathered upon him without any colour, and are now looked upon as idle tales, though ſome very great men in the learned world formerly gave into them.

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In the eighth year of MAHOMET's pretended apoſtleſhip, his party was obſerved to be ſo conſiderable, that the government of Mecca prohibited all people to join him, or have any correſpondence with him; however, as long as ABU TALEB, MAHOMET's uncle, lived, he ſkreened his nephew and his followers from any farther proſecution; but he dying about two years after, MAHOMET's doctrine was ſo diſcountenanced that many of his followers left him, looking upon his cauſe to be deſperate.

MAHOMET's wives.

CADIGHA, MAHOMET's firſt wife, dying about this time, he married two others, namely, AYESHA, the daughter of ABUBEKER, and SEWDA, the daughter of ZAMA; and not long after HAPHSA, the daughter of OMAR, being of three very conſiderable families in Mecca, whereby he hoped to ſtrengthen his intereſt. In his twelfth year he pretended he was carried up to heaven by the angel GABRIEL: that as he was in bed one night with his beloved wife AYESHA, he heard a knocking at his door, and upon the opening it, found the angel with ſeventy pair of wings expanded, whiter than ſnow, and clearer than cryſtal, who mounting him upon the beaſt alborack, not ſo big as a mule, in the twinkling of an eye carried him to Jeruſalem; and from thence by a ladder of light, (leaving his beaſt there) he aſcended to heaven, and from one heaven to another, till he came to the throne of GOD, in the ſeventh or higheſt heaven: but for the particulars I refer the reader to the alcoran and Dr. PRIDEAUX, and only obſerve with what ſtuff he entertained his credulous diſciples: he tells them, that the ſeven heavens are five hundred years journey diſtant from each other, and that in one of them he ſaw an angel of ſo prodigious a ſize that it was ſeventy thouſand days journey between his eyes, according to our way of travelling. But here Dr. PRIDEAUX obſerves, he was out in his mathematicks, for the diſtance between a man's eyes being in proportion to his height but as one to ſeventy-two, at this rate the height of the angel muſt have been near fourteen thouſand years journey, which is four times as much as the height of all his heavens put together. This journey of MAHOMET's to heaven, he tells us, was performed in the tenth part of a night: but when he came to relate it to the people the next morning, it was received, as it deſerved, with a general laugh, and many of his

His journey to heaven.

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disciples were about to leave him, when ABUBEKER coming in, and professing his belief of the whole, gave them a better opinion of it; for which extraordinary service he acquired the title of assadick, or the just; and this fiction is now as firmly believed by the Mahometans as any other article of their faith; only, it seems, it was once disputed whether this was a vision or a real journey; but their doctors have at length resolved it to be a real journey.

And however extravagant this story might appear, MAHOMET, it seems, gained a very great advantage from it; for after this came once to be believed, all his sayings passed for sacred truths brought down from heaven; and every word which dropped from him, and every action relating to his religion were carefully observed; and being reduced to writing after his death, make up those volumes of traditions, which the Mahometans call the sonnah, of which they make the same use as the Jews did of their oral law, which they say they received from MOSES. And as the Jews had their books in which their oral law was recited, explained, and digested under several heads and chapters by many different authors; so are there great numbers of books among the Mahometans concerning their sonnah, in which all the acts and sayings of MAHOMET, relating to his religion, are recorded and commented upon; which books make up the whole of their theology, as well speculative as practical. But to return to our history.

MAHOMET proceeded to send his disciples to some other towns in Arabia, to propagate his new doctrine; but they were received no where so well as at Medina, then called Yathrib, which was inhabited partly by Jews, and partly by Christians, who persecuting one another with great violence, one of the contending parties, to strengthen themselves, fell in with MAHOMET; and it is generally supposed to be the Christians, from the good usage the professors of Christianity at first met with from MAHOMET, and his barbarous treatment of the Jews. In the thirteenth year of his pretended mission, there came seventy three men and two women from Medina to MAHOMET at Mecca, and embraced his new religion, out of whom he chose twelve apostles, whom he instructed and sent back to Medina to propagate his doctrine, in which they had such success, that they soon brought over a majority of the inhabitants. At the same time MAHOMET and his followers at Mecca were looked upon with a very jealous eye by the government there; and a design was actually laid to have surprized and cut him off; but he receiving timely intelligence of it, fled from thence with his disciples, and came safe to Yathrib or Medina, notwithstanding several parties were sent out to intercept him. It was on the 12th day of the month Rabia 1. which answers to our 24th of September, when MAHOMET came to Yathrib, and was received with loud acclamations by the party which invited him thither: he lodged first in the house of CHALID ABU JOB, one of his disciples; but he afterwards built him an house, wherein he resided as long as he lived: and the town which had formerly been called Yathrib, was, from his residence in it, called Medina Tal Nabi, or the city of the prophet.

The people of Medina adhere to him.

From this flight of MAHOMET from Mecca to Medina, the hegira, which is the era of the Mahometans, begins its computation, and was first appointed by OMAR, the third sovereign of the Saracens. Hegira, it seems, in the Arabick language, signifies a flight, and MAHOMET's flight from Mecca being on the sixteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord six hundred twenty two, from that occurrence the Mahometans compute their time, as the Christians do from the incarnation of our Saviour.

The hegira.

The Arabians, before MAHOMET as well as since, computed their year by lunary months, but then by intercalating seven months in nineteen years, as the Jews do, they reduced them to solary years, and consequently had their months fixed to the season of the year; but this being disused about the time of MAHOMET's appearing in the world, their year hath ever since been strictly lunary, consisting of three hundred fifty four days, eight hours, and forty eight minutes, which odd hours and minutes in thirty years making eleven days exactly, they intercalate a day on the 2d, 5th, 7th, 10th, 13th, 15th, 18th, 21st, 24th, 26th, and 29th years of this period; so that their year, in those years of this period; consists of three hundred fifty five days, by reason of the intercalated day, which they then add to the last month in the year; so that according to this account, the Mahometan year falling eleven days short of the solary, it comes to pass that the beginning of the year of the hegira is unfixed and ambulatory, the succeeding year always beginning eleven days sooner than the former; so that sometimes their year begins in summer, sometimes in winter, and at others in autumn; and within the space of thirty three years, thro' all the different seasons of the year, till it comes about and begins again at the solary year, altho' not exactly on the same day. Dean PRIDEAUX, life of MAHOMET, p. 66.

Of the Arabian year.

The Arabians have twelve months, as we have, the first of which hath thirty days, and the second twenty nine, and so alternatively to the end of the year; only in the intercalary years, the month Dulhaga hath thirty days, because of the day added; but in all other years but twenty nine. However, the

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the Mahometans of Perſia, as has been obſerved already, have another Æra, called the Æra of YESDEGERD, from a King they had of that name, and compute in all civil matters, by ſolary years of three hundred ſixty five days to the year, without any intercalation, as do moſt of the aſtronomers alſo in the eaſt. This Æra had its beginning ten years after the hegira, not from the death of YESDEGERD, as ſome relate, but from his advancement to the throne of Perſia.

MAHOMET, having fixed himſelf at Medina, married his daughter FATIMA to his couſin HALY. This was the only child living of ſix, which he had by his wife CADIGHA, and indeed the only one that ſurvived him, notwithſtanding the many wives he took, and from her all thoſe derive their pedigree, who are of the family of MAHOMET. The impoſtor uſed to reckon her the moſt perfect of women; for he held, it ſeems, that there never were but four good women in the world, and thoſe were ASIAH the wife of PHARAOH, the Virgin MARY, CADIGHA his own wife, who made his fortune, and his daughter FATIMA above-mentioned.

MAHOMET, being now maſter of a conſiderable town, and having a body of troops under his command, begun to pull off the mask; and inſtead of uſing arguments to bring over the People to be of his opinion, he made it capital for any man to diſpute the truth of his doctrine; commanding all his diſciples to arm themſelves and fight for it, rather than diſpute about it, and that they ſhould ſpare no man who did not embrace it, or ſubmit to pay him tribute for being indulged in their infidelity: and accordingly in moſt MAHOMETAN countries to this day, the inhabitants who are of a different perſuaſion pay a certain duty purely on that account. His firſt enterprizes looked more like ſo many robberies than warlike expeditions, for he attacked only ſome caravans of merchants who traded between Mecca and Syria, in which engagements too he was ſometimes defeated, though at others he carried off a conſiderable booty, ſurprizing them at a diſadvantage; however, by this means, he mightily enriched his warlike diſciples, and brought over abundance of thieviſh Arabs to his party, in expectation of glorious plunder under ſo ſanctified a leader, who denominated the moſt notorious robberies, the fighting the cauſe of God.

In the ſecond year of the hegira, A. D. 623, the impoſtor altered the Kebla, or the place towards which his followers ſhould direct their devotions; he had before commanded his diſciples to pray with their faces towards Jeruſalem, which he ſtyled the holy city and the city of the prophets, and intended to have ordered his pilgrimages thither; but obſerving the mighty veneration which his followers ſtill retained for the temple of Mecca, which had for ſome ages been the chief place of the idolatrous worſhip of the Arabians, he changed his former determination, and ordered his diſciples to turn their faces towards Mecca when they prayed; and what induced him the more to make this alteration, was, the irreconcilable hatred which he began now to entertain towards the Jews, and to diſtinguiſh his followers from them. MAHOMET ordered alſo their pilgrimages to be made to the temple of Mecca as formerly, and many of their abſurd rites to be retained, which were uſed in the idolatrous times; for theſe being things which the Arabians had a high veneration for, by introducing them into his new religion, it was the eaſier ſubmitted to; and it is obſerved to be one of MAHOMET's maſterpieces, ſo to model his religion, as to make it moſt agreeable to the humours and intereſt of his followers.

In the third year of the hegira, A. D. 624, the impoſtor made war upon ſome tribes of the Arabs which were of the Jewiſh religion, and having defeated them and made many of them priſoners, ſold them for ſlaves, and divided their effects among his followers, but was himſelf defeated near Medina, by ABU SOPHIAN, who commanded the troops of Mecca, and was reduced again to a very low ebb. But when the people began to make his ill ſucceſs an argument that he was no prophet, and ſome were ready to mutiny on account of their friends and relations who were loſt in that battle, to ſilence the firſt, he told them that his defeat was occaſioned by the ſins of ſome in his army, and for this reaſon GOD permitted him to be beaten; and to the reſt, who were concerned for their relations, he told them that their fate was inevitable, and that if they had remained at home in their houſes, they muſt have died when they did, the period of every man's life being predeſtinated and determined by GOD, beyond which time it could not be prolonged: but however, as they died fighting for the faith, they had obtained the crown of martyrdom, and were now alive with GOD in paradiſe in a ſtate of everlaſting bliſs, which was infinitely to be preferred before this life, and all the ſatisfactions the world afforded. And theſe doctrines he found ſo ſtrengthened the courage and reſolution of his diſciples, that he did not fail to inculcate them ever afterwards.

He defeats the Jewiſh Arabs.

His doctrine of predeſtination.

The next year his Generals obtained a victory over another tribe of Jewiſh Arabs, and put them every man to the ſword: but his officers, it ſeems, in one of theſe expeditions, being heated with liquor and deeply engaged in play, fell out among themſelves, and had very near ruined his affairs; and therefore for preventing the like miſchiefs, it is ſaid, he prohibited the uſe of wine and all games of chance for the future; and in his fifth chapter of

The reaſon of his prohibiting wine and gaming.

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of the alcoran we find theſe words, 'The devil 'endeavours to ſow diſſention and hatred amongſt 'you through wine and games of chance, to di-'vert you from remembring GOD and praying 'to him, abandon therefore wine and games of 'chance.'

His native city of Mecca was ſtill reſolved to ruin the impoſtor, foreſeeing that if they did not ſubdue him, he would infallibly ſooner or later reduce them: they entered into a confederacy therefore with ſome tribes of the Jewiſh Arabs, and having aſſembled an army of ten thouſand men, advanced in ſearch of the impoſtor; but he not finding himſelf in a condition to give them battle, thought fit to intrench, and was in a manner beſieged by them in his camp; but while the armies lay ſo near each other, he found means to corrupt ſome of the enemies officers, who adviſed the retreat of their army; and by thi- means he eſcaped out of their hands; and having increaſed his forces, reſolved to return the viſit to his friends at Mecca: and a battle was fought between them near Judda, in which no great advantage being obtained on either ſide, a truce was concluded, whereby it was agreed, that all who were friends to MAHOMET in Mecca ſhould have the liberty of joining him, and thoſe in his army who deſired it might return to their houſes at Mecca; and that MAHOMET, or any of his adherents might have liberty to come into Mecca without arms, and remain there for three days.

MAHOMET proclaimed King.

MAHOMET at his return to Medina, looking upon his authority to be pretty well eſtabliſhed, cauſed his army to proclaim him King under a tree near that city, in the ſixth year of the hegira, ann. Dom. 627. He retained however the office of chief prieſt of his religion; and tranſmitted both the regal and prieſtly functions to his ſucceſſors the Caliphs; ſo that like the Jewiſh Princes of the race of the Maccabees, they were both chief prieſts and Kings of their people at the ſame time; both which offices they continued to exerciſe till about the 325th year of the hegira, when the Governors of the ſeveral provinces of the empire aſſumed the regal authority, and left the Caliph nothing but the prieſthood. They paid ſome deference indeed to the Caliph, as to a ſacred perſon, and ſuffered him to be prayed for in the moſques, even before themſelves, as if they had ſtill been no more than his lieutenants; yet as to civil affairs they renounced all obedience to him, and the Prince who commanded in Babylon where the Caliph reſided, frequently depoſed him, and ſet up another in his ſtead, if he found him in a different intereſt; till at length the Tartars overran the whole empire, and put an end to the very name, as well as to the authority of the Caliphs: and the Mahometan Princes have ever ſince conſtituted a Pontif in their ſeveral dominions, in the room of the Caliph, who in Perſia is called the Sedre, and in Turkey the Mufti; but they meddle only in ſpiritual matters, and in theſe are often obliged to act according to the caprice of their reſpective Princes, and may properly enough be ſtyled tools of the ſtate, as indeed the prieſts of a much better religion too often are. But to return to our hiſtory, MAHOMET having erected a moſque at Medina, where he uſed to officiate himſelf; praying and preaching to the people as he leaned upon the ſtump of a palm-tree, being now advanced to the regal dignity, he did not think this accommodation ſuitable to his grandeur, and therefore by the advice of one of his wives, he erected a pulpit with a ſeat in it, from whence he afterwards harangued the audience; whereupon there goes a tradition among the Mahometans, that the forſaken beam or ſtump he uſed to lean on groaned, that ſhe was no longer thought worthy to ſuſtain the weight of the impoſtor.

MAHOMET continued to make war upon the Jewiſh Arabs, and having taken the city of Chaibar from them, was at ſupper in the houſe of one of the principal inhabitants, when one of his captains ſuddenly dropped down dead, being poiſoned by a ſhoulder of mutton, which a daughter of the family had prepared for MAHOMET himſelf, and he had juſt begun to taſte of it, and taken ſo much that he was never well afterwards, though he did not die till three years after: and of this accident ſome people have made a miracle; telling us, that the ſhoulder of mutton ſpoke, and informed MAHOMET of its being poiſoned.

MAHOMET, having now an army of ten thouſand men under his command, marched again towards Mecca, and ſurprized the city, pretending that the inhabitants had broken the truce he made with them: and having cut off thoſe who moſt zealouſly oppoſed him, the reſt were content to ſubmit to his government and religion: whereupon he broke down the images he found in the kaaba, and conſecrated that temple a-new to his own religion, determining to make it ſtill the chief place of worſhip, and to enjoin all his followers to reſort thither once in their lives. The images of moſt note he found in this temple, were thoſe of ABRAHAM and ISMAEL; but there were a multitude of others both within and without, which the Arabians worſhipped as mediators and interceſſors for them with the ſupreme GOD; for the Arabians always held that there was but one only GOD, the Creator and Governor of all things, whom they call ALLAH TAEL, or GOD of Gods; the reſt being ſubordinate deities, and improperly called Gods, whoſe mediation they only made uſe of, as thinking themſelves unworthy to approach the Deity directly. This was the reaſon of their placing the images

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images of holy men in their temples, and directing their worſhip to them; but MAHOMET totally aboliſhed the practice at Mecca in the eighth year of the hegira, A. D. 629.

MAHOMET's ſucceſs, but more the alteration of their religion, united the Pagan tribes of the Arabians againſt him, and aſſembling their forces, they gave him battle, and drove him under the walls of Mecca; but in a ſecond battle he defeated them, and compelled them to embrace his religion, deſtroying their images wherever he came; and did not only reduce moſt part of Arabia under his power, but ſome towns of Syria, then under the dominion of the Greek Emperor. In the year 631, being the 10th of the hegira, MAHOMET undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca, entring that city on the 10th day of the month Dulhaga, being the great day of their ſolemnity; where a vaſt concourſe of people reſorted to him from all parts of Arabia, whom he inſtructed in his new law, and then returned to Medina, when he found himſelf to be but in an ill ſtate of health, occaſioned by the poiſon he had taken three years before. Being delirious in his ſickneſs, he called for pen, ink and paper, telling his people he would leave them ſuch inſtructions as ſhould preſerve them from error after his death; but thoſe who were about him being ſenſible of his condition, put it off, and nothing was done in it, which many of the Mahometans ſeem to bewail; during his ſickneſs he complained much of the bit he had taken at Caibar, telling thoſe that viſited him, that he felt the torments of it in his body ever ſince; that at times it brought upon him very dolorous pains, that now his heart ſtrings were about to break, and ſoon after he expired in great torment.

Upon his death there was ſome confuſion among his followers, for many of them apprehended he could not die, or at leaſt that he would revive again, and went to the door of the houſe where the corps lay, crying do not bury him, for the apoſtle of GOD is not dead. OMAR was of this opinion, it ſeems, and drawing his ſword, ſwore, that if any one ſhould ſay MAHOMET was dead, he would cut him to pieces. But ABUBEKER, who ſeems by his addreſs on ſeveral occaſions to be the beſt qualified to ſucceed the impoſtor, came in and demanded whether they worſhipped MAHOMET or the God of MAHOMET? If you worſhip the God of MAHOMET, ſays he, he is immortal and lives for ever: but as to MAHOMET, he is certainly dead. And cited ſeveral paſſages in the alcoran proving he muſt die like other men. Whereupon OMAR and his party were ſatisfied. But there ſtill aroſe another diſpute about the place of his burial; thoſe who fled with him from Mecca, inſiſting that he ſhould be buried there; and thoſe of Medina would have him interred in their city. A third party were for having him carried to Jeruſalem, and buried among the prophets there. But in this particular they were governed alſo by ABUBEKER, who acquainted them that he had heard the prophet himſelf ſay, that a prophet ought to be buried in the place where he died: and thereupon commanded a grave to be made directly under his bed, and buried him there, where his aſhes ſtill remain, without iron or loadſtones to hang him in the air, as has been frequently reported; but over the grave a little chapel or tower was built, which ſtands at one of the corners of the great moſque in the city of Medina, which was founded by MAHOMET himſelf; and hither ſome Mahometans came in devotion when they are upon their pilgrimage to Mecca; but their religion does not require it.

MAHOMET was juſt ſixty three years old on the day he died, according to the Arabian account, or ſixty one according to ours. Of the three and twenty years of his pretended apoſtleſhip, he had ſpent thirteen at Mecca, and the laſt ten at Medina, in which time he laid the foundation of the greateſt revolution that ever happened in the world; for within the compaſs of fourſcore years, his ſucceſſors extended their dominion over more kingdoms than the Romans did in eight hundred; and though it continued not in its grandeur above three hundred years, yet out of it have ariſen ſeveral other kingdoms and empires, ſome of them the moſt potent now in the world, as thoſe of the Grand Seignior, Perſia and India.

MAHOMET's perſon and accompliſhments.

This pretended prophet is ſaid to have been of a good ſtature and comely aſpect, and that he affected to reſemble the patriarch ABRAHAM; he wanted neither parts nor judgment, and well knew how to apply himſelf to the paſſions and affections of weak men, and make every accident ſerve the ends of his ambition.

His wives.

While his wife CADIGHA lived, it does not appear he took any other, but though he was fifty years of age at her death, it is ſaid, he afterwards multiplied wives and concubines apace; thoſe that ſay he had feweſt give him fifteen wives, and others reckon up one and twenty, of which five died before him, and ſix he divorced. AYESHA, the daughter of ABUBEKER, was his beloved wife; her virtue being ſuſpected, MAHOMET was moved to part with her, but his love would not ſuffer him, and he publiſhed the 24th chapter of his alcoran, it is ſaid, to declare her innocence. MAHOMET, marrying her very young, took care to have her well educated, eſpecially in the elegancy of the Arabian language, and the knowledge of their antiquities, in which ſhe proved a very great proficient. She was always an inveterate enemy to HALY, for making ſome diſcoveries of her gallantry, and prevented his being choſen Caliph upon the death of the impoſtor, although he had the fairеſt

CHAP. VI.

faireſt pretence to it, having married MAHOMET's only daughter. She lived eight and forty years after her husband, and was in great reputation with his followers, who gave her the title of propheteſs, and mother of the faithful; and in difficult caſes they had recourſe to her, to know what the impoſtor's ſenſe of them was; and her anſwers were received as oracles, and looked upon to be of better authority than the traditions they received from his other diſciples, whoſe comments compoſe their ſonnah.

Next to AYESHA, HAPHSA the daughter of OMAR was moſt in favour with the impoſtor; to her he truſted the cheſt of his apoſtleſhip, as has been obſerved already, where he laid up the original papers of his pretended revelations. SEWDA was the leaſt beloved of any of his wives, and he was about to put her away; but upon her telling him ſhe would be content to reſign her turn to AYESHA, he was content ſhe ſhould retain the honour of being his wife. ZAINAH he took from ZAYD his enfranchiſed ſlave, whoſe wife ſhe was before; which giving great offence to his diſciples, he compoſed a chapter of his alcoran, wherein he brings in GOD approving his conduct in it: and the girl, it ſeems, uſed to boaſt that his other wives were given him by their relations, but ſhe was married to him by GOD himſelf, who dwells above the ſeven heavens.

His concubine.

Beſides his wives, the impoſtor had an Egyptian concubine in his old age, of whom he was extremely fond; with which his wives HAPHSA and AYESHA reproaching him, that a prophet, ſo holy a man ſhould prove falſe to their bed, and purſue his inordinate luſts at that advanced age, he pretended a new revelation to juſtify him in this point, which may be found in the ſixth chapter of his alcoran, wherein he introduces GOD giving permiſſion to MAHOMET and his followers to lye with their female ſlaves; which law gave great ſatisfaction to his diſciples, it is ſaid, on the publiſhing of it, and is univerſally practiſed in Mahometan countries to this day; and the children of ſuch ſlaves are as legitimate as thoſe they have by their wives.

Stories of his inſatiable luſt.

Many incredible ſtories are related of the inſatiable luſt of this impoſtor; as that when he was between fifty and ſixty years of age, he enjoyed all his wives, being eleven in number, within the ſpace of an hour, and that he had then the ſtrength of forty other men in venereal encounters. But theſe and ſuch like relations coming through the hands of his enemies, who ſeem reſolved to make him a monſter of a man, few people give entire credit to them. The taking more wives than one had been long practiſed in Arabia before MAHOMET's time, and he only confirmed them in the practice of it, and limited the number to four. It is not to be ſuppoſed that the principal men of his country would have matched their daughters to him in this manner, if it had not been deemed a reputable practice then amongſt them; and though it muſt be acknowledged MAHOMET was a very vile impoſtor, yet it is highly probable that many things are laid to his charge for which there is little foundation, eſpecially where he is reported to have had a conſtitution ſo much unlike that of other men, there the credibility of the relation may very well remain ſuſpected. One thing he ſeems pretty equitable in, which is, that no difference ſhould be made by a man in the clothing or diet of his wives, or the duties of the bed; and in caſe a wife complains of any injuſtice done her in any of theſe particulars, in a Mahometan country, it is ſaid, the civil magiſtrate will relieve her. He eſtabliſhed alſo a table of degrees, within which he prohibited his diſciples to marry, as with their mothers-in-law, their daughters and ſiſters-in-law, or with the daughters of women they had been too familiar with, or with the wife of another man; for though he himſelf had married the wife of his ſervant ZAYD, he brings in GOD, in the thirty third chapter of the alcoran, prohibiting him to take another man's wife for the future, how much ſoever he might be taken with her beauty.

At the ſame time he was ſo jealous of his wives, that he framed a chapter in the alcoran to prohibit his acquaintance to enter into diſcourſe with them, and forbids his wives to ſpeak to any man but with their faces vailed: he required them alſo to remain in a ſtate of widowhood after his death; and prohibits his followers to touch any of them: but whatever he propoſed to do, it is obſerved, he always brought in heaven approving it, and framed ſome chapter of his alcoran to countenance the thing; moſt of them were calculated to influence his party and induce them to ſubmit to his deſigns: but by this means it happened that abundance of irreconcilable contradictions were ſlipped into the book; for the impoſtor being obliged to alter his injunctions as his circumſtances altered, this could not be avoided, and his diſciples don't ſcruple to own it; but then they ſay, that the laſt precept repealed the former, as it is in human laws; and there are reckoned up no leſs than an hundred and fifty verſes in the alcoran which are thus revoked.

Before I leave Arabia, I ſhould take notice of the iſlands which lye upon the coaſt; but except thoſe in the gulph of Perſia, which have been mentioned already, there are none very conſiderable. The chief are, 1. Socatara or Socatra, which lyes in the Ethiopick ocean, in the latitude of 12 degrees 30 min. north. It is ſaid to be ſubject to the King of Caſſeen or Careſſen in Arabia Felix, one of whoſe ſons has ſometimes

GREAT or ASIATICK TARTARY.

Agreable to Modern History

By H. Moll *Geographer*

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THE FRO

MUSCOVIAN SEA

NOVA ZEMBLA

Cross I.

Ece P.t

Loom's Bay

Laurens B.

Str. of Nassau

Waygats

Lenska R.

SAMOIED's

White Sea

Archangel

Golonina

Mangasa now Stura

Beresow

Dwina R.

Palpa R.

Pinega R.

White Lake

Belozera

Schacksna R.

Wolga R.

Moscow

Pereslaf

Wologda

EUROPEAN

Kangarod

Syuchta

Oby R.

Desart

Lena R.

MUS

Oka R.

Nisna

Oka R.

Kama R.

Solokamskoi

Irgis R.

Tura R.

Samara R.

Kinel R.

Tobol or Toboleski

Irtisch R.

Tara

Tobol R.

Ufa R.

Ufimsi Tartary

Ural

Kiwa R.

SIBI

RI

Tomskoi

Kusnetskoi

Don R.

Don Cossacks

Asof

Zaporoby Tartary

ASTRACAN TARTARY

Astracan

Lenik R.

Oenack

Sbaikachil

CALP. OF TARTARY

Desart

Serachik

Kan Kisak Lake

Rudhak R.

Zaus Mass. R.

CIRCASSIA

BLACK SEA

GEORGIA

Armonia

Aras R.

CASPIAN SEA

PERSIA

USBEC TARTARY

Samarkand

Boohara

50

60

70

90 100 110 120 130

ZEN OCEAN

Orange I.
C. D'Isire
in Hemskerk
Winterd 1596

EASTERN OCEAN or Parts

Artick Circle

UNKNOWN

Parts

Somer Howes

UNKNOWN

Kamtzatka

Kamtzatka R.

Lena R.

Somer Howes

Lakutskoi

Parts

CHINESIAN UNKNOWN

60

Desart

TARTARY

Olekma R.

Simoeiskoi Kors

Lena R.

Mayskoi

Tungur R.

Sia R.

Kirilowskoi

Wergolenskoi

Leny

Wergolenskoi

Koicka

Samkgraf

Gomon R.

50

Ilimskoi

Baikal Moro

Udinskoi

Herzinskoi

Yamur R.

Albazinskoi

Karskoi

Bradskoi Jurte

Angera R.

Argun

Plotbus

TAIGAGIRI

Morgen

Xingal R.

BRATSKI TARTARY

Selinginsk

Naun

DAURE

Argun R.

Onon R.

Morgan Dalai

LEAOTUNG

Kirgisen

Selinga R.

Orkon R.

MONGUL TARTARY

Jurten

Cashemur R.

The Wall of China

40

Pekin

Desart

Kakotan

Osero Kologol Lake

Kutugt

Hoambo R.

CHINA

TIBET 90 100 D.E. from Lon. 110

CHAP. VI.

times the government of it. European ſhipping uſually touch here, and furniſh themſelves with water and proviſions; but it ſeems the iſland does not yield any thing valuable enough to tempt any European nation to ſettle here. There are two or three other large iſlands which lye with-

CHAP. VI.

in the Red Sea, particularly Ghale Fecca, in the latitude of 14 degrees. Camaran, another iſland in 15 degrees; and Dalacca, in 16 degrees odd minutes, which are inhabited by the Arabians, who differ little in any reſpect from thoſe on the neighbouring continent.

THE PRESENT STATE OF ASIATICK TARTARY.

ASIATICK Tartary, part of the antient Scythia, is bounded by the frozen ocean on the north, the eaſtern ocean and the land of Jeſſo on the eaſt; by China, India, Perſia, and the Caſpian ſea on the ſouth; by the river Oby, and an imaginary line drawn from thence to the mouth of the Wolga on the weſt.

I ſhall take the liberty of dividing Aſiatick Tartary into north and ſouth, and the north part again into Chineſian Tartary on the eaſt, and Muſcovite Tartary on the weſt; ſouthern Tartary may be thrown into four large diviſions, namely, Mogul Tartary, and Thibet on the eaſt, and the Calmucks and Usbeck Tartars on the weſt. There are alſo the Circaſſian Tartars, and Tartars of Aſtracan which lye farther weſt; but theſe I include in Muſcovite Tartary, being for the moſt part ſubject to that crown. Circaſſia indeed lying to the weſt of the Wolga, does not come within the bounds before laid down; but I find it, however, frequently reckoned part of Aſiatick Tartary, and in that caſe we muſt draw our line from the Oby to the mouth of the Don or Tanais, on which the city of Aſoph ſtands.

As to that part of Aſiatick Tartary which belongs to the empire of China, I have treated of it already. I proceed therefore to Muſcovite Tartary, which is generally held to extend as far eaſtwards as the river Argun longitude 105 from the meridian of London; and the weſtern boundary of it, if we reckon from the mouth of the Tanais, lying in the 39th degree of longitude, Muſcovite Tartary takes up no leſs than 64 degrees of longitude, which if we allow fifty miles to a degree is 3 thouſand two hundred miles in length, and if we extend it from 45 degrees of latitude to 75, it takes up 30 degrees of latitude, and conſequently is eighteen hundred miles in breadth, which with the Muſcovite dominions in Europe makes it a country of the largeſt extent in the known world ſubject to one Prince; and as the dominions are contiguous, were it proportionably populous and fruitful, might give the neighbouring Princes of Europe and Aſia ſome uneaſineſs.

It ſeems needleſs to obſerve that the air of this country, which lyes great part of it within or near the artick circle, is for the moſt part exceſſive cold, covered with ice and ſnow great part of the year, and ſome of it ſcarce habitable. The principal rivers are, 1. The Wolga, which riſes very far northward, and running towards the ſouth, falls into the Caſpian ſea near Aſtracan. 2. The Oby, which riſes in Calmuck Tartary, and runs northward a courſe of two thouſand miles and upwards, till it falls into the gulph of Mangaſia. 3. The Jeniſa or Jeniska, which riſes alſo in ſouthern Tartary, and running a courſe of two thouſand miles to the northward, falls alſo into the ſame ſea. 4. The Lena which riſes likewiſe in the ſouth, and runs into the frozen ocean. And, 5. The river Argun, which divides the Muſcovite and Chineſe empires, and

falls into the river Yamur, which runs directly eaſtward, and diſcharges itſelf into the ſea of Jeſſo. The laſt river I ſhall mention is Jaika, which riſes in Siberia, and running ſouth-weſt, falls into the Caſpian ſea, about fifty leagues to the eaſtward of Aſtracan.

The ſeas of that part of Aſiatick Tartary which belongs to Muſcovy, are the Frozen Ocean and the gulph of Mangaſia, both which lye on the north of it. Beſides theſe there are ſeveral great lakes in the country, the moſt remarkable whereof is the lake of Baikal, ſome hundred miles in length, and between twenty and thirty broad, of clear freſh water, into which the river Selinga empties itſelf.

Siberia. I ſhall comprehend all that part of Muſcovite Tartary, which lyes to the caſtward of the river Oby, and between that river and Chineſian Tartary, under the general name of Siberia; though the north-weſt part of it, I am ſenſible, frequently goes by the name of Samoieda, and the north-eaſt part of it is called the country of the Oſtiacks.

Chief towns The principal towns I meet with in Siberia, are 1. Tobolski the capital, ſituate near the confluence of the rivers Tobol and Irtiſch, in the latitude of fifty ſeven degrees odd minutes, being about two thouſand * werſts to the eaſtward of Moſcow: it ſtands on a high hill, and is defended by a ſtrong brick wall, having a monaſtery and ſeveral churches belonging to it, which make a good appearance a little diſtance from the town. At the foot of the hill runs the river Irtiſch, which has its ſource to the ſouthward in the country of the Calmucks; and along this river at the foot of the hill ſtands a fine large ſuburb inhabited by Coſſacks. Tobolski is the ſeat of an Arch-biſhop, who is the metropolitan of Siberia. Three werſts below this city, the Tobol falls into the Irtiſch, and being joined, take their courſe to the northward, till they fall into the Oby. About ſix hundred miles to the ſouthward of Tobolski, ſtands the city of Tara upon the ſame river Irtiſch; it is but a ſmall town, and inſtead of other fortifications, is ſurrounded only with a paliſade. The next remarkable town to Tara in the road to China, is Tomskoi, about a thouſand miles, as near as I can compute, to the ſouth-eaſt of Tara, between which two places lyes the great deſert of Barbaba. Tomskoi is ſituate on the river Tom (which falls into the eaſtern branch of the Oby) in the latitude of 52 north, long. 75 from the meridian of London. From Tomskoi the road to China lyes north-eaſt, till we come to the town Jenſeiska, which lyes upon the Jeniſa, and takes its name from that river, being in the latitude of 57 degrees north.

Between four and five hundred miles, as near as I can compute, to the eaſtward of Jenſeiska lyes the town of Bratskoy, at the confluence of the two rivers Angara and Ocea, which after they are joined, run weſtward, and fall into the Jeniſa. Irkutskoy, ſo called from the river Irkut on which it ſtands, lyes a little to the ſouthward of Bratskoy, and not far from the lake of Baikul. Having croſſed the ſaid lake, on the ſouth ſide of it lyes the town of Kabonski, near the mouth of the river Selinga, which falls into it. And on the ſame river Selinga, to the ſouthward, lyes the town of Udenskoy, ſo called from the Uda, which at this place joins its ſtreams with the Selinga. And about two days journey farther ſouthward upon the river Selinga lyes the town of Silinginskoi, being the laſt town in the Ruſſian dominions towards China, and here is a fort and garriſon, commanded by a Ruſſian governor. I ſhall take notice but of one town more in Muſcovite Tartary, and that is Stara, the antient Mangaſia, which lyes upon the river Taſs, four days journey to the ſouthward of the gulph of Mangaſia, in the country of the Oſtiacks: it lyes in the latitude of 68 degrees, or thereabouts, and is a wretched poor place conſiſting of a few hills, and the country ſo cold, that it would be difficult for any but the natives to ſubſiſt there.

* A Werſt is not three quarters of an Engliſh mile.

The north part of Muſcovite Tartary being inhabited by the Samoieds and Oſtiacks, I ſhall give the beſt deſcription I can meet with of this people from our modern travellers; they are, it ſeems, of a ſhort ſquat make, particularly their women, who have very ſmall feet; their complexion tawny, like thoſe in hot climates, it being obſervable, that extreme heat and extreme cold, in this and many other inſtances, have juſt the ſame effects: they have long little eyes, high cheek bones, broad flatiſh faces; and, in general, not very agreeable countenances: both men and women wear their hair hanging at full length, and there is litle difference in this reſpect between them, except that the women ſometimes braid their hair, and tie little bright pieces of copper and ſlips of red cloth at the ends of it. The men have ſcarce any beards, which makes it ſtill more difficult to diſtinguiſh them from women. They wear fur caps, with waiſtcoats and breeches of the ſame, and buskins almoſt white; but the women ſometimes diſtinguiſh theirs by a red edging. They wear coats of rain-deer skins over their waiſtcoats, and in the winter time have an upper coat of one piece of fur, which covers all, and ſerves even for a cap and gloves, ſo that nothing can be ſeen but part of the face; and they have boots which come up to their knees. The thread they uſe is made of the ſinews of animals.

The Samoieds.

Habits

Their houſes are built with poles and the branches of trees, and covered with bark: they are almoſt in the form of a bee-hive, and have a hole in the top to let out the ſmoke, for the whole houſe is but one room with a hearth in the middle, round which they ſit or lye upon rain-

Houſe

deer

deer skins, their only furniture, except the horſe fleſh, and other carrion, which hangs round the huts; for they ſeldom eat it while it is ſweet, which makes their habitations inſupportable to any but themſelves; and it is ſaid the fumes, that ariſe from their own unſavoury hides, are almoſt as diſagreeable as thoſe which proceed from the carrion, their diet. They eat the fleſh of horſes, oxen, deer, ſheep, and fiſh indifferently; but think it has the beſt guſt when it begins to be a little touched, and prefer the entrails of an animal to any other part of it; uſing neither bread, rice or ſalt at their meals,

Sledges. The Samoieds travel in ſleds drawn by a pair of rain-deer or dogs. The ſleds are about eight foot long, and three or four broad, and turn up before like ſcates; the driver ſits croſs-legged with a ſtaff in his hand, with which he puſhes and drives the rain-deer. They croſs the frozen rivers, ice and ſnow in theſe ſleds; and the rain-deer run with greater ſwiftneſs than a horſe, holding up their heads ſo high, that their horns touch their backs; they never ſweat, but when they are weary put out their tongues and pant like dogs. They are much like ſtags, but ſtronger, and have ſhorter legs: their colour is pretty near white, and ſome of them gray, with a kind of black hoof; they caſt their horns every ſpring, and generally live eight or nine years. The Samoieds ſet nets for thoſe that are wild, and hunt them in winter, being ſhod with wooden ſcates, with which they run even over hills with incredible ſwiftneſs upon the ſnow; and having a kind of ſhovel in their hands faſtened to a long ſtaff, with this they throw ſnow at the rain-deer to force them into the places where they have ſet their nets. The food of theſe beaſts is a kind of white moſs which grows in marſhy grounds; and they will dig through the ſnow if it lye a fathom deep to come at it: the tame ones eat graſs or hay.

Fishing. The principal water game which the Samoieds uſe is the hunting of ſea dogs, who in March and April couple upon the ice. Here the Samoieds watch them, being dreſſed more like brutes than men: they venture upon the ice ſometimes half a league from the ſhore, with a large hook and line in their hands, creeping upon their bellies, and when they come within diſtance, throw their hooks, and the ſea dog, attempting to get away, moſt commonly faſtens himſelf upon it. They extract an oil from them, eat the fleſh, and with the skin clothe themſelves; but the ſea dog ſometimes jumps into the ſea with ſuch a force, that he pulls the poor fiſherman in after him, the rope being faſtened to his middle. They take rain-deer alſo ſometimes by clothing themſelves with the skin of that beaſt, and creeping among the tame deer till they are within reach of the wild, kill them with their darts.

Marriages. They purchaſe their wives of their relations for three or four rain-deer, and take as many as they pleaſe, returning them again to their friends if they do not like them; and their loſs is only the rain-deer they gave for them. And in ſome parts of the country they take the liberty of ſelling their wives for ſlaves when they are offended with them. They bury their dead in the clothes they wore when alive, hanging by them on the next tree their bows, quivers, hatchets, and other utenſils.

Their religion. A gentleman who lately travelled in this country acquaints us, that examining one of the Samoieds about their religion, he anſwered, that they believed there was a heaven and a GOD, whom they ſtyled HEYHA. That they were convinced nothing could be greater and more powerful than GOD; and that all things depended on him: that we had one common father, and that good men would go to paradiſe. But notwithſtanding this, they worſhipped the ſun, moon and planets, together with ſeveral kinds of beaſts and birds, from whom they hoped to receive ſome benefits. Images they alſo worſhipped in human ſhape; but ſo very ill carved and dreſſed, that it was difficult to diſcover what they repreſented. They have prieſts among them, who pretend to the magick art, and to foretel future events: theſe they conſult upon all occaſions, as whether they ſhall recover of a fit of ſickneſs; what ſucceſs they ſhall have in their hunting, fiſhing, &c. When they come to enquire any thing of him, he works himſelf up into a kind of fit, and in this condition delivers his oracles; from whence ſome will have it, that he is poſſeſſed by the devil at theſe times: they give us alſo abundance of inſtances of the tyranny of wicked ſpirits among thoſe poor northern people, which poſſibly, when we come to be better acquainted with them, may appear to have as little foundation as ſome other tales of the like nature.

The Oſtiacks. I come now to ſpeak of the Oſtiacks, whom I look upon to be a people very little if at all different from the Samoieds: ſome travellers make them to inhabit the very ſame country, but generally the Samoieds are deemed thoſe people who inhabit that part of Muſcovite Tartary which lyes towards the weſt, in and next to Europe; and the Oſtiacks the north eaſt part of Muſcovite Tartary, Their ſituation. neareſt to the Chineſian Tartary, of whom a late writer gives the following account. You will meet with this people, ſays he, three days journey beyond Tobolski the capital city of Siberia: they extend along the river Irtis to the place where it falls into the Oby, from thence you will find them extending themſelves to the northward along the banks of the Oby and Jeniſa, till they fall into the guba or gulph of Mangaſia, and from the guba to the ſtraits of Waigats, inhabiting on the banks of the many rivers which fall into the Oby and Jeniſa.

Nova Zemla.

On the north ſide of the ſtraits of Waigats, and the gulph of Mangaſia, lyes Nova Zemla or the New Land, which the Dutch call the iſland of Waigats: hither the Oſtiacks and Samoieds frequently venture to go over high rocks of ice to hunt elks and rain-deer, carefully obſerving the wind, which they gueſs at the alteration of by certain ſigns; for if the north wind ſets in, there is no enduring the open country; if they cannot eſcape to ſome cave and ſhelter themſelves till it is over, they certainly periſh; from whence we may very well conclude there are no conſtant inhabitants there, though ſome pretend to have ſeen them. The water that flows from the mouth of the Oby into the gulph of Mangaſia immediately congeals, making mountains of ice, which it is thought never melt either winter or ſummer, tho' ſometimes the wind ruſhing through the ſtraits of Waigats breaks the ice and puts that ſea in motion. The wind blowing for the moſt part from Nova Zemla, makes the air in the country of the Oſtiacks ſo exceſſive cold, that in the latitude of ſixty there are no manner of fruit trees, nor will the land bear any grain whatever; and yet in ſome other parts of Muſcovy, and in Sweden, in the ſame latitude, the country is tolerably fruitful. The reaſon of which difference is ſuppoſed to be, becauſe the ſea lyes nearer to thoſe parts of Sweden and Muſcovy, from whence the winds blow much warmer than they do from Nova Zemla, where they come over a vaſt tract of frozen land, which lyes ſo far north, that no ſhips have ever yet gone beyond it, and may extend even to the pole itſelf for ought we can diſcover.

Oſtiacks their manner of life.

The lives of the Oſtiacks are taken up (ſays a Swediſh officer who was a priſoner amongſt them) in hunting, fiſhing, handling the bow and killing deer and wild beaſts. In ſummer they take and dry the fiſh, which ſerves them in the winter; and when that ſeaſon comes on, they go into the woods with their bows, dogs and nets, killing ſables, foxes and ermins, bears, elks, rain-deer, martens, &c. and of theſe skins the Empreſs has a certain ſhare by way of duty, the reſt are ſold to the Ruſſian Governors at a ſtated price, and ſometimes they are permitted to diſpoſe of them to private perſons.

Their diet is chiefly fiſh, veniſon, wild fowl and roots, for they have neither rice nor bread. Their drink is for the moſt part fair water, and ſometimes the blood of a rain-deer, or of any other beaſt they take; and, it is ſaid, they can diſpenſe with a draught of train oil. Tobacco they are immoderately fond of, but inſtead of blowing the ſmoke out of their mouths, they hold a little water in their mouths, with which they ſwallow the ſmoke down, which ſo intoxicates them that they ſoon loſe their ſenſes, and throw up the phlegm: this they will repeat ſeveral times in a day, and is thought to be as wholeſom as phyſick to an Oſtiack conſtitution.

Houſes furniture.

Their houſes are much like thoſe of the Samoieds already deſcribed; I ſhall only add here, that in winter they ſet up their huts in woods and foreſts where there are the greateſt plenty of wild beaſts and game; they dig deep in the ground to ſecure themſelves from the cold, laying a roof of bark or ruſhes over their huts, which are covered with ſnow in the hard ſeaſon: in the ſummer they build above ground on the banks of rivers, for the conveniency of fiſhing: and make no difficulty in forſaking their habitations, and removing from place to place; the materials of their houſes conſiſting of litttle more than ſome green poles and the bark of trees, with the skins of wild beaſts for their furniture.

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As to the religion of the Oſtiacks, I do not find it differs much from that of the Samoieds, except that they have ſome little brazen idols, tolerably well caſt, which, it is ſuppoſed, they had from their neighbours the Chineſe, and repreſent men and animals: the reſt are as ill made as the images of the Samoieds, every man being his own graver. They place them on the tops of hills or in groves, and in the pleaſanteſt places their country affords. They have no ſet time for performing divine ſervice, but apply to their Gods for ſucceſs, in all their undertakings. They have no particular ſort of men to exerciſe the prieſtly office, but any one when he grows into years, may devote himſelf to that ſervice, and the maſters and heads of families frequently perform that office. If theſe people do not meet with the ſucceſs they have prayed for, and expect from their houſhold Gods, it is ſaid, they will beat and diſgrace them by way of revenge; and when their paſſions are over, are at a great deal of pains to reconcile their wooden deities again, by cleaning and new clothing them. This is only to be underſtood of their ill-ſhapen houſhold Gods, for as for the others which they worſhip publickly, they have a greater veneration.

Their ſacrifices.

In their ſacrifices they preſent the beaſt before the idol, and having bound it, the prieſt puts up the petitions of thoſe who brought the offering; then he lets fly an arrow at it, and the people aſſiſt in the killing of the ſacrifice; after which it is drawn three times round the idol, and the blood being received in a conſecrated veſſel, their houſes are ſprinkled with it: they afterwards dreſs the fleſh and eat it, rejoicing and ſinging their country ſongs, which are ſome of them looſe enough it ſeems. They beſmear the idol alſo with the blood of the ſacrifice, and greaſe his mouth with the fat of it. What they cannot eat they carry to their families, and make preſents of it to their neighbours; and they as often ſacrifice a fiſh as a beaſt. At the concluſion of the feaſt, they

they ſhout and beat the air in honour of the idol to whom they ſacrifice, and to ſhew their gratitude for his attending and accepting their devotions; for they imagine that the ſaint or hero whom the image repreſents, always attends when they bring their ſacrifices, and when the ſolemnity is over returns to his airy abode.

Marriages. The Oſtiacks contract for their wives with their relations, in the ſame manner the Samoieds do, and have the ſame power of diſpoſing of them: upon the birth of their children, they give them the name of the firſt creature they meet or happen to ſee afterwards; and thus the child frequently carries the name of an animal, and you hear a man calling his ſon perhaps Sabatski, or my little dog. Others of them call their children according to the order of their birth, as the 3d, 4th, 5th, &c. And others again diſtinguiſh them by ſome defects, as from their being lame, purblind, or the like.

The late Czar, PETER ALEXOWITZ, it ſeems, gave directions to his biſhops and clergy, to endeavour the converſion of the Oſtiacks, and father PHILOTHEUS Archbiſhop of Tobolski the capital of Siberia made ſome progreſs in it, having baptized ſome thouſands of the natives; but I do not find they are much reformed, they were influenced poſſibly more by the power of their maſters the Ruſſians, than by their arguguments; however, it is not improbable but in time, the Ruſſians will eſtabliſh Chriſtianity amongſt them, ſuch as they profeſs themſelves, mixed with a multitude of barbarous rites.

I proceed now to enquire into the manners and cuſtoms of the Tartars, who inhabit the ſouthern parts of Siberia; and I find, that to the ſouth-eaſt of Tobolski, along the river Irtis, live ſome hords of Mahometan Tartars, wealthy in cattle, having vaſt flocks and herds, though there be not much money among them. That they live chiefly upon dried fiſh, veniſon, and barley-meal which they make into a paſte, and eat in much the ſame manner as the Indians do their rice. They drink mares milk, as moſt of the Tartars do, and ſometimes tea, but mix it with flower and butter. At great entertainments they uſually dreſs a young horſe, which is their moſt delicious food. Their drink, called braga, they make of oatmeal and ſpirits diſtilled from mares milk, with which they often get drunk and behave themſelves very brutiſhly. Their habit reſembles that of the antient Ruſſians, and the women wear rings in their noſtrils. They pay a tribute to Muſcovy of ſables, fox skins and other furs; but have notwithſtanding Princes of their own.

Beyond this people in the great deſert of Baraba live certain hords, called the Barabinsky Tartars, in the winter, where they hunt for ſables; but in ſummer they remove to the banks of their rivers, and are buſied in fiſhing. They are Pagans, and live wretched lives, more like brutes than men. They dig their houſes low in the ground, covering the roofs with ruſhes or skins, which ſtand about a yard above the ſurface of the ground. In every one of them they have their ſhaitan or idol, being a ſmall piece of wood, about half a yard long, carved in the ſhape of a man, and dreſſed up with rags. The deſert affording no other water, they drink melted ſnow, and eat dried fiſh and barley-meal, like their neighbours. For a little tobacco a man may purchaſe any thing they have, but they ſcarce know the uſe of money. Their clothes, caps and ſtockings are made of pieces of fur patched together: and they pay tribute likewiſe to the Czar.

At Tomskoy, to the eaſtward of this country in the road to China, there are plenty of fiſh, corn and other proviſions; and they have a particular kind of furs, which the Ruſſians call telansky bielky, as white as ſnow and larger than any other. The neighbouring mountains alſo yield lead, iron and copper; and the Swediſh priſoners in this part of the country relate, that gold duſt has been found in ſeveral places. Antient tombs alſo have lately been diſcovered, in which they find images of gold and ſilver, rings and coin; from whence it is conjectured, that this country was antiently inhabited by another kind of people than it is at preſent. There are alſo ſome cryſtal rocks here, and ſtones found not unlike our Briſtol ſtones in brightneſs and hardneſs. Mines. Antiquities.

Beyond the river Jenſeiska, in the road to China, live the Kamsky Tartars in huts covered with bark, like ſome of thoſe already deſcribed. They are Pagans, and their food is fiſh and veniſon, which they eat raw as well as dreſſed, and roots ſerve them inſtead of bread. More eaſterly lye the Bratsky Tartars, a more ſubſtantial people, where a private man is frequently maſter of four or five hundred horſes, and a proportionable number of other cattle. They live chiefly on veniſon, but value horſe fleſh much more. They drink mares milk, and diſtil a ſtrong ſpirit from it, as they do in moſt parts of Siberia, Tartary, and China. They purchaſe their wives, as in ſome other parts of Siberia, with their cattle, and give often an hundred horſes, or oxen, for a virgin they admire, and fifteen or twenty camels, beſides ſheep. The natives are very hoſpitable, and will ſometimes preſent travellers with ſheep, as they paſs through their country, reſerving only the guts and entrails to themſelves, which they look upon to be the moſt delicious eating. They are Pagans, and worſhip an idol made up of the skins of beaſts, which they hang upon their huts. Kamsky Tartars. Bratsky Tartars.

As

As for temples, I hear of none in Siberia but what the Ruſſians have lately built.

Both men and women are of a very tawny complexion, but better dreſſed than moſt of their neighbours. The women particularly wear long plaited gowns, and the virgins diſtinguiſh themſelves by adorning their hair with braſs, and other glittering toys.

The Czarina monopolizes the trade of Siberia.

The government of Ruſſia monopolize almoſt all Siberian commodities, under which denomination are comprehended not only ſuch things as are of the produce of Siberia, but whatever comes through that country from China. The produce of Siberia is principally the skins of Siberian foxes, ſables, hyenas, ermins, lynx's and other furs: Chineſe gold and ſilks, and the teeth of a beaſt called maman, not unlike elephant's teeth, being denominated alſo Siberian commodities, ſearch is made for theſe at all the paſſes on the road. The Waiwods and Governors of towns upon the leaſt ſuſpicion will take to pieces the very ſleds and carriages to prevent paſſengers carrying off any gold duſt: but if a paſs be obtained from the Governor of Siberia, which is not very difficult to get, a merchant may purchaſe almoſt any thing. This Governor living at ſo great a diſtance from court, exerciſes almoſt ſovereign authority. Prince GAGARIN, the late Governor, being charged with ſeveral high miſdemeanors, was ſent for to Petersburgh ſeveral times in the years 1715, 1716 and 1719, and was at length put to death, 'tis ſaid, by the late Czar, for ſome arbitrary proceedings.

Prince GAGARIN Governor of Siberia.

Prince GAGARIN's government extended from the river Oby to the frontiers of China, and he appointed all the governors of towns and provinces beyond the rivers Jeniſa and Lena, with whom he kept a conſtant correſpondence, and was early adviſed of every occurrence in that large tract of ground, by means of the ſledges, which travel at a greater rate than any horſe poſſibly can, and are drawn ſometimes by two or four deer or dogs, and ſometimes by men with their wooden ſcates.

During Prince GAGARIN's government, the late Czar ſent Monſieur BLUHER, a gentleman experienced in mineral works, into Siberia, to give directions about the mines diſcovered there; who, having ſpent eighteen months in making his obſervations, returned to Petersburgh with Prince GAGARIN, to give the Ruſſian court an account of that expedition. He ſays he went directly to Tobolsky, the capital of Siberia, and from thence travelling ſometimes to the right, ſometimes to the left, he proceeded ſome thouſand * werſts farther into Siberia, meeting with ſeveral places where copper and ſilver works might be eſtabliſhed, and the boyars and ſub-governors had ſet people to work in ſeveral parts of the country; but things were ſo ill managed, that the profits were not like to defray the expences. Prince GAGARIN nevertheleſs brought gold duſt with him, of which Mr. BLUHER made an eſſay in the Czar's preſence, and one pound weight of it was found to yield fourteen ounces of pure gold; and the Prince acquainted his Czariſh Majeſty alone with the place where it was found.

* A werſt is three quarters of an Engliſh mile

Upon the defeat of the Swedes at the battle of Pultoway, anno 1709, about ten thouſand Swediſh priſoners, including officers, were ſent into Siberia: there were no leſs than eight hundred officers priſoners in the city of Tobolsky. The common ſoldiers, it ſeems, received remittances from Sweden twice during their captivity, which amounted to no more than three crowns a head, and the officers received nothing; but were however very well uſed at firſt, till ſome of them who had leave to be abſent on their parole did not return, and others who had entered themſelves in the Ruſſian ſervice took an opportunity to make their eſcape: after this they began to be more ſtrictly guarded, and were ſeparated and diſperſed into remote parts; and thoſe who were ſecurity for the return of their comrades were cloſe confined. The Swediſh officers having no means left for their ſubſiſtence, were obliged to apply themſelves to all manner of mechanick arts to get their bread: and it is ſurprizing to ſee how many ways thoſe unfortunate gentlemen took to ſupport themſelves, and to what a degree of perfection they arrived in their reſpective employments. There were amongſt them, painters, gold and ſilver ſmiths, card-makers, turners, ſhoe-makers and taylors, and ſcarce any trades, except thoſe of peruke-makers and hatters were wanting: ſome of them made gold and ſilver tiſſue and brocade, others applied themſelves to muſick, and ſome of them who had fallen into a way of traffick, had liberty to travel about the country, the paſſes being ſo well guarded that there was ſcarce any poſſibility of their eſcaping to Europe. Some of them who could not attain to handicraft trades were forced upon the laborious employments of cutting down wood, and there were others who condeſcended to become chair bottomers.

Swediſh priſoners in Siberia, their way of living.

They introduce mechanick arts into Siberia.

Thoſe who had any learning ſet up publick ſchools, and taught not only the children of the Ruſſians, but thoſe of their fellow priſoners, many of whom either had their wives with them, or had married Ruſſian women. For the great towns of Siberia are inhabited chiefly by colonies of Ruſſians whom the Czar tranſplanted thither for the ſecurity of his dominions on that ſide.

And learning.

The Swediſh officers therefore in their ſchools or academies taught Latin, High Dutch, French, morality, mathematicks, and ſeveral manly exerciſes; and ſome of theſe ſchools were grown into that reputation, that, it is ſaid, the citizens of Moſcow

Moſcow ſent their children into Siberia for education; and perhaps the Czar could not have taken a more effectual method to civilize and improve his remote dominions, than by baniſhing the Swediſh priſoners thither, who had amongſt their officers ſome of the politeſt men in Europe, who upon the fame of the King of Sweden's ſucceſs had entered themſelves in his ſervice. And it was very happy for thoſe gentlemen it was ſo cheap a country, where a ſingle man might live tolerably well for eighteen or twenty * rubles a year. Prince GAGARIN alſo, the Governor, was very generous to the priſoners, never letting any of them that applied to him go away unrelieved.

* The value of the ſeveral ſpecies of rubles may be ſeen in page 45, to which the reader is referred.

The Swediſh officers thought they could never enough applaud his generoſity, and uſed to ſay, that their only misfortune was, their being baniſhed to a country ſo far from their relations. The private ſoldiers being diſperſed in towns, and on the eſtates of the boyars, were many of them married and conformed to the Ruſſian religion, never thinking of returning to Europe again: ſo that in another generation probably there may be little difference between the Siberians and other nations in their manners.

Circaſſian Tartary.

I come next to treat of Aſtracan and Circaſſian Tartary under the dominion of the Muſcovite; theſe countries being generally deemed a part of Aſia.

The kingdom of Aſtracan is bounded by Ruſſia on the north, Siberia and Calmuck Tartary on the eaſt, the Caſpian Sea on the ſouth, and Circaſſian Tartary on the weſt; and that part of it which lyes between the Wolga, the river Jaika, and the Caſpian Sea, is generally called Nagaia; as is alſo that part of the country which lyes to the weſtward of Aſtracan, and the natives Nagaian Tartars.

Nagaian Tartars.

Aſtracan city.

Aſtracan, the capital city of this kingdom, is ſituated on the eaſt ſide of the Wolga, in the lat. of 47 degrees north, lon. 52 from the meridian of London: the moſt fruitful part of the country lyes to the eaſtward of the city towards the river Jaika: to the ſouth weſt is a deſert of ſeventy leagues in length. The town is defended by a ſtone wall three miles in circumference, and has a cathedral and ſeveral other Ruſſian churches, being the ſee of an Archbiſhop, who lately built the cathedral.

The city of Aſtracan has ten gates, ſix whereof look towards the river, and two are in the citadel, which ſerves as a wall to the town on the oppoſite ſide. Within the citadel is the Governor's palace, being a large wooden building, and contains a great number of pleaſant apartments, particularly a great hall which has a noble proſpect on all ſides. Both the churches and houſes are built of wood, except the cathedral, the Biſhop's palace adjoining to it, and one church more: here are alſo a monaſtery and a nunnery built of wood. Beſides the Governor, there are three other great officers of the crown here, the firſt of whom preſides in the council; the ſecond has the government of the publick houſes; and the third the direction of the fiſhery. On the oppoſite ſide of the river ſtands a fine ſtone monaſtery, and two others, and ſeveral ſuburbs. The ſoldiers ſuburb lyes on the eaſt ſide of the city along the river Kitume, which falls into the Wolga: another of the ſuburbs is called Walga, where the royal ſhipping lyes. There are two other ſuburbs inhabited indifferently by all ſorts of people.. The Tartarian ſuburb is ſeparated from the reſt, and built of bricks dried in the ſun. The Tartars inhabit it only in the winter, for in ſummer they encamp in the open fields. The country is moderately fruitful except in corn, of which they have none but what comes from Caſan. Fiſh are very plentiful, they have one kind called beluga, which are ſaid to be two fathoms long; but the moſt delicious fiſh in this river, if not in any other, (ſay ſome travellers) are the ſterlets, they are an ell long, and yet ſold for two pence or three pence a-piece at Aſtracan. In the neighbourhood of this city there live about forty or fifty Armenian families who have their ſhops in the towns: and the Indian merchants have their caravanſera where they carry on their trade. This is a ſpacious building ſurrounded by a wall of ſquare ſtone and ſeveral noble gates, at which there are guards placed every night for the protection of their goods. In the gardens about the town are vines and fruit-trees, ſuch as apples, pears, plums and apricots; but the fruit is not ſo good as in ſome other places: they let their vines grow to the heighth of a man, but not higher, and then prop them up: the grapes are black and large, thoſe which grow in private gardens are ſold in the market; but all thoſe in the vineyards, which are the Czarina's property, are made into wine. The ground is naturally a ſandy barren ſoil; but they have large wells from whence they convey the water by pipes or little channels into their grounds. The vineyards lye about two or three werſts from the town, they encreaſe every day. The old city of Aſtracan ſtood about ſeven werſts to the eaſtward of the new, but there are now ſcarce any remains of it.

Three or four werſts from Aſtracan is the Tartar camp, their tents (or rather huts) are made in the form of a bee-hive, their hearth in the middle, and a hole at the top to let the ſmoke out, but at night when the fire is out, they cover it up cloſe, and the tent is as warm as a ſtove: their tents are ſupported by green poles, which they bend inwards to make them of a round form, and cover them with a cloth made of camels or

horſes

horſes hair, and people of figure amongſt them with a better ſort of cloth. The floor is laid with fine mats or carpets, according to the condition of the owner, with a ſofa round it after the manner of the Turks, raiſed a little above the floor: their furniture conſiſts of fine cabinets, trunks and boxes, and the utenſils of their kitchen, and they keep their tents exceeding neat.

Theſe people's ſubſtance conſiſting chiefly in cattle, they are continually moving from place to place for the convenience of paſture. They are ſubject to the crown of Muſcovy, but inſtead of paying taxes, they are obliged to mount on horſeback and march into the field whenever the Governor requires their ſervice. Monſieur POUSSET, whom the late Czar ſent to Aſtracan to improve their vineyards and ſilk manufactures, relates, that he planted French vines in the kingdom of Aſtracan, which produced ſeveral kinds of wine, of the ſame colour and flavour, but not the ſame ſpirit, as thoſe in France: that he adviſed the Czar to the planting of ſixteen or twenty thouſand mulberry-trees for the feeding of ſilk-worms, by which means he did not doubt to produce ſuch a quantity of ſilk in that country as would ſupply Ruſſia, and enable them to export large quantities: he adds, that Aſtracan would be a very fruitful country if it was ſupplied with rain as other places are; but unleſs ſome inconſiderable ſhowers which fall in the ſpring, they ſee no rain from March to September; but the country is burnt up, and unable to produce either corn or fruits, except where they bring the water by pipes or channels from their wells and rivers into their grounds. They have indeed the greateſt variety of the moſt delicious melons that can be met with any where, but they are planted near the rivers, out of which the water is raiſed by mills and conveyed to the melon beds: the ſame method Monſieur POUSSET obſerved in watering his vineyards as he propoſed to do his mulberry-trees if that project ſucceeded: but the river Wolga, I perceive, in ſome meaſure ſupplies the place of rain, for like the Nile it overflows the adjacent country in the ſpring for twenty or thirty miles on each ſide, and ſo enriches the ground, that the graſs will ſhoot up a yard high in a month's time; but then all is burnt up again before midſummer; and they are obliged to Caſan, which ſtands higher up the ſame river, for their corn and fruits; and the caravans of Calmuck Tartars ſupply them with cattle at a moderate price.

Improvements at Aſtracan.

The Tartars of the kingdom of Aſtracan are by religion Mahometans, though under the dominion of Muſcovy, and would not eaſily be compelled to alter their religion if it were attempted, being never fixed in any certain habitations: but the Muſcovites and Tartars, I perceive, do not wrangle about religion, near ſo much as their politer neighbours. Theſe Tartars, Mr. POUSSET obſerves, are a very ſenſible people, and grateful to ſuch as will communicate to them any improvements in husbandry or manufactures, of which he had frequent experience. In the year 1715, he was invited, he tells us, by a conſiderable man among the Tartar tribes to his habitation, which lay about thirty or forty miles diſtant from Aſtracan; and though he did not much care to venture himſelf among a people who are frequently repreſented to us under ſuch a frightful character; yet being at length prevailed upon to go, he found the Tartar ſitting under his tent in the middle of a pleaſant grove ſmoking his pipe, and very richly dreſſed; he received him with great expreſſions of kindneſs, and entertained him on his firſt arrival with coffee and ſweetmeats: Mr. POUSSET carrying his wife with him, and being very intimate with the Tartar at Aſtracan, took the liberty of deſiring to ſee his women, which the Tartar told him was not uſual in their country, but to gratify his European gueſt he would give him a ſight of them; and accordingly within half an hour appeared ſix or ſeven women glorioufly dreſſed, who would have been deemed beauties in any part of the world. They came out of an arbour of roſe trees, which ſtood about a ſtone's caſt from the tent, and when they came in, the Frenchman (if he does not impoſe upon us) was permitted to ſalute them, but they were immediately ordered to withdraw, and take Monſieur POUSSET's wife with them.

While the Tartar and Monſieur POUSSET were at dinner, they heard a woman crying out for help, whereupon they immediately ran to the women's tent, where they found the Tartar women very merry, pulling and hauling their new gueſt about, and had almoſt quite unrigged her. And being demanded the reaſon of it, they anſwered, they had been all undreſſed to ſatisfy the curioſity of the ſtranger, and they thought it highly reaſonable that ſhe ſhould undreſs in her turn: and immediately fell to pulling off the remainder of her clothes: but at the entreaty of Mr. POUSSET, they were directed to let her alone. The Tartar however gave him to underſtand that it was the cuſtom of their women always to ſtrip on the firſt viſit. But poſſibly the Frenchman has made ſome improvements to this ſtory; it is probable that the Tartar women deſigned no more than to inform themſelves of the European faſhions, and to ſee the make of Mrs. POUSSET's clothes, which is a curioſity that the women in all parts of the world are impatient in ſatisfying themſelves in. However, the Frenchman tells us, that to avoid any treatment of the like nature, he ſoon after took his leave,

leave, and returned to Aſtracan; and aſſures us, that the lewdneſs of that people is beyond expreſſion, though in other reſpects their lives are regular enough, and they are extremely hoſpitable.

I proceed next to the deſcription of Circaſſian Tartary: this country is bounded by Aſtracan and the Caſpian ſea towards the eaſt. By Georgia and Dagiſtan towards the ſouth. By the river Don, the Palus Mæotis and the Black ſea towards the weſt. And by Ruſſia towards the north. The chief town whereof is Terki, ſituate on or near the Caſpian ſea, about three or fourſcore miles to the ſouthward of Aſtracan, and frequently miſtaken for Terki, in Dageſtan, a great deal farther ſouthward, and ſubject to the crown of Perſia. Terki is ſituate in a large plain, and defended by a wall of earth with baſtions, after the modern way; and the buildings are for the moſt part of wood. This was the Muſcovite frontier towards Perſia, till very lately, and generally had a numerous garriſon; but they are now advanced much farther ſouthward thro' Dageſtan and Shirvan, into the Perſian provinces on the ſouth of the Caſpian ſea.

The Circaſſian Tartars generally acknowledge themſelves dependent on the crown of Ruſſia, though there are inſtances where they have not ſhewn the ſubmiſſion of ſubjects, which is not much to be wondered at, ſince they live ſo remote from the ſeat of the government, and are ever rambling from one place to another. Thoſe Circaſſians who lye next to Perſia and Turkey, may be reckoned under the dominion of one or other of thoſe crowns: but nothing is more common than to put themſelves ſometimes under the protection of one Prince, and ſometimes under another. I don't find any conſiderable town in this country, except Terki, which is inhabited chiefly by Ruſſians, for the whole nation of Circaſſians live in tents or huts according to the ſeaſon of the year, removing from one place to another, like their neighbours of Aſtracan: nor does the country produce any thing valuable enough to induce foreigners to build or ſettle amongſt them.

Monſieur BLUHER, whom I have mentioned already, acquaints us, that being ſent into Circaſſia by the late Czar, to view the mines of that country, he found they were well furniſhed with ſilver ore, and that the Kneeſes (the Tartar Lords) produced ſome pieces of ore, which upon eſſay afforded a great deal of ſilver: that he found the people tolerably civilized: that their military men wore armour, with a kind of ſilk veſts or gowns over it. That their arms were bows and arrows, and they were generally very well mounted. That they lived in ſummer under tents like their neighbours, and there was a great variety of beautiful women amongſt them. And from thence it ſeems it is, and from the neighbouring country of Georgia, that the harams or ſeraglio's of Iſpahan and Conſtantinople are chiefly ſupplied with virgins.

Though Circaſſia produces very little grain of any ſort, they have large herds of cattle which they drive before them like the other Tartar nations, and ſtay no longer in any place, than they can find paſture for them.

Circaſſia, the ſtate of the country.

DE LA MOTRAYE, who very lately travelled through Circaſſia, gives us the following account of that country; nothing, he ſays, can appear more agreeable than the proſpect of it, on account of that variety of mountains, valleys, woods, little lakes, ſprings and rivers, with which it is every where diverſified. It is fertile beyond imagination, every thing grows there almoſt without ſowing, at leaſt, whatever they ſow, which is uſually barley, oats and cummin, thrives to admiration, after only once ſlightly turning up the earth, which they do but juſt open to receive their grain. (Though I cannot but obſerve, that this account of the ſoil is very different from what other travellers give us, who uſually repreſent Circaſſia as a barren country; however as they all agree that great herds of cattle are fed here, it muſt certainly produce good herbage, and conſequently would produce plenty of grain if it was well cultivated; but the natives wandring from place to place, ſow no more, it ſeems, than will juſt ſerve for the ſubſiſtence of their families; and if there happens to be a bad crop, they are reduced to great diſtreſs for bread corn, as ſome gentlemen obſerve; and yet for the moſt part, the country may be as fruitful as Mr. MOTRAYE relates. But every traveller paſſing a judgment on the country, according to the condition he finds it in at his being there, it occaſions ſome trouble to reconcile the different accounts they give.) Soil.

Beauty of the Circaſſians.

The Circaſſians, both men and women, are of an eaſy ſhape and well proportioned. Their complexions good. Their features juſt according to the notions we entertain of beauty. Their hair and eyes are generally black, and not a cripple or a crooked perſon ſcarce to be found amongſt them. The women wear no other head-dreſs than a ſilk or ſtuff cap in the houſe, their hair hanging down in two treſſes behind them, but are vailed when they go abroad. The general food of the Circaſſians is mutton, beef, poultry, wild fowl, and veniſon, all which they have in great plenty; but a piece of a young colt is preferred before any of theſe. Their bread is made into thin cakes, either of barley meal, or millet, which they bake on the hearth. They are extremely hoſpitable, and will not ſuffer a traveller to pay any thing for the entertainment of himſelf, his ſervants, or horſes; but will contend frequently who ſhall have the honour of treating him. As for the natives, when they Food. Hoſpitality.

they are upon a journey, they carry no proviſions with them, but are as free in every houſe they come at, as in their own: ſo that if any people may be ſaid to have all things in common, it is the Circaſſians. Their uſual drink is water or mares milk, like the other Tartars, and they all ſmoke tobacco, men and women, young and old; and as far as I can perceive, a ſtock of tobacco is the moſt uſeful thing a man can carry with him through any part of Tartary; for though they are great lovers of it, they have little or none of their own growth. They ſit croſs-legged, and have a carpet, or piece of Ruſſian leather ſpread before them, and little wooden tables, at their meals; but neither linen, or plates, as I can find.

Liquor.

The Tartars obſerve no regular hours for eating, drinking, or ſleeping; but do the one, or the other, as they have inclination or opportunity; and ſometimes when they are making incurſions, it is ſaid, they will go four or five days without eating or ſleeping, having no time for either ſometimes, when they are carrying off a booty. They no ſooner arrive in their own country, but they indulge themſelves both in eating and ſleeping; and after ſuch a fatigue will ſleep two days together, without waking once; and ſeldom make uſe of any other bedding than ſheep skins, to lay under and over them.

Circaſſian horſes.

Their horſes are very fleet, and admirably well made; and they will ſwim almoſt any river with them. The Tartars have waggons to tranſport their wives and children, tents and baggage, from place to place; which in ſome parts of the country are drawn by dromedaries, or camels; and in others by oxen, their horſes being uſed chiefly to ride on: though upon their incurſions, they ſometimes take three or four horſes with them to carry off the plunder with the greater expedition.

Trade chiefly in children.

They ſell their own.

The greateſt traffick of the country ſeems to be in young ſlaves, which they take in their incurſions; and they make no manner of ſcruple of ſelling their own children into Turkey and Perſia, eſpecially their daughters, who will part with their parents without any reluctance; having been frequently entertained with relations of the preferment of thoſe who have been ſold before them to Princes and Baſſas; and of ſome who have arrived to the honour of Sultana's, in the harams of the Grand Seignior, and the King of Perſia.

Who part with their friends with joy.

Every girl, as in a lottery, hopes for a prize; and their imaginations are ſo taken up with the thoughts of fine clothes, jewels, or equipage, and a luxurious life, that they leave their father's houſe with joy; and their mothers are no leſs pleaſed with the expectation of their daughters advancement. But as their beauty and innocence are the foundation of all theſe great expectations, a particular care is taken to preſerve both. The ſmall pox, that great enemy to the fair, is therefore uſually given their children at four or five years of age, either by inoculation, or otherwiſe, after they have duly prepared them for it; and by theſe means they have it ſo favourably, it is ſaid, that it does not at all affect their charms. The merchants, who buy theſe young creatures, are as careful to preſerve their virginity, as their mothers; knowing what a value their Mahometan chapmen ſet upon a maiden-head. They may indeed uſe them as they pleaſe; but as they are allowed a variety of women of their own, they ſeldom touch thoſe they deſign for ſale: and particularly the moſt exquiſite beauties, whom they look upon as ſo many rich jewels in their cargo, and can ſcarce ſet a price high enough upon them, when they deal with an amorous Turk. As for the marriages of the Circaſſians among themſelves, they are according to the rites of that religion they profeſs: thoſe that lye next Turkey make but a civil contract of it, as the Mahometans do; and are allowed a plurality of wives and concubines, as other Mahometans are. Thoſe who lye next Muſcovy, perform it according to the rites of the Ruſſians; and there are ſome Pagans amongſt them, who differ from both; for they have generally a tincture of the religion of the countries they border upon, tho' it is ſo intermixed with ſuperſtitions of their own, that it is difficult to know under what claſs to range them.

Inoculati

Calmuck Tartary, the ſituat

I come next to enquire into the ſtate of Calmuck and Usbeck Tartary. The country of the Calmucks is bounded by Siberia on the north, Mongul or Mongalian Tartary on the eaſt, Thibet and Usbeck Tartary on the ſouth, and the Caſpian ſea and the kingdom of Aſtracan upon the weſt. Theſe people are not under any one Sovereign, but divided into ſeveral hords, or tribes: ſome of them conſiderable enough to give apprehenſions to their neighbours of Muſcovy: but they are for the moſt part in amity with that crown, and many of them tributary to it.

Usbeck Tartar the ſitu

Samar

Usbeck Tartary is bounded by the country of the Calmucks towards the north, by Thibet towards the eaſt, by India or the Mogul's empire towards the ſouth, and by the kingdom of Perſia and the Caſpian ſea towards the weſt: the chief town whereof is Samarcand, more famous formerly than at preſent; having been the reſidence of the great TAMERLANE; and is ſtill the capital city of Usbeck Tartary; though ſome look upon Bochara as ſuch.

Samarcand ſtands upon a ſmall river which runs into the Oxus, in the latitude of 40 north. Bochara lyes upon the ſame river, three or fourſcore miles to the weſtward of Samarcand, near the borders of Perſia.

The

The Calmucks are of a low ſtature, thick and ſhort, and not very agreeable countenances. In Mr. MOTRAYE's deſcription of the Nogaian and Calmuck Tartars, he ſays, that they have flat ſquare faces, little eyes ſunk far into their heads, and ſuch ſhort noſes, that one would think at a little diſtance they had none at all: their beards grow ſtraggling and thin, that one may almoſt count the hairs, which are ſo ſtiff and long that they might be taken for thoſe of a horſe or goat, and they grow frequently in the middle of their cheeks, where other people have none. There are a vaſt number of hords or tribes of them which rove from place to place during the fair ſeaſon, not leſs than eight or ten thouſand of them frequently in a body, who drive large flocks and herds before them. They begin their march uſually in the ſpring when the graſs is come up, and as they make but eaſy journeys, leave ſcarce any herbage behind them in the country they paſs through. In the latter end of the year, when there is a ſecond crop of graſs, they uſually return the ſame way they came, and remain in a more ſubſtantial kind of huts or houſes during the winter ſeaſon than they inhabited in the ſummer; for travellers inform us, that they have chimneys in them, and coppers fixed for the dreſſing of their proviſion; but the people and their cattle, it ſeems, frequently lye in the ſame room.

They eat indifferently of all kinds of meat almoſt, except hogs fleſh; barley-meal and roots ſupply the place of bread for the moſt part, but I find they eat rice in ſome parts of the country; and beſides water, which is their common drink, they have tea and ſpirits extracted from mares milk. They hunt ſables, martens, ermins, and other beaſts which afford furs, during the winter, and in theſe they pay a tribute to the Muſcovite: there are ſome tribes of Mahometans in the weſtern part of Calmuck Tartary, but they are for the moſt part Pagans, and have their ill carved idols which they worſhip, like the Oſtiacks.

Every hord hath its ſeparate Cham or Prince; but there is one who ſeems to have a ſuperiority over the reſt, pretending to be deſcended from the great TAMERLANE, but this Prince however pays a tribute to the Muſcovites, who ſeem to look upon the Calmucks that border upon Siberia as their vaſſals.

The Calmucks in the reign of the late Czar traded to Aſtracan, and to Tobolski, the capital of Siberia, with tea and china goods, bringing with them alſo great quantities of very fine ſalt, which their country afforded, receiving Ruſſia leather and iron ware in exchange and ſome money: but the Czar commanded one of his Generals to march into the country of the Calmucks, and take poſſeſſion of their ſalt-works and build a fort there, which the Calmucks ſo highly reſented, that they have ſworn to go to the fair of Tobolski ever ſince; they alſo choked up the mouth of the river Duria which falls into the Caſpian ſea, whither the Muſcovites uſed to come in ſearch of gold duſt. As this river was likely to prove very advantageous to the Muſcovites, as well upon account of the gold duſt which was found in its ſands, as alſo for the ſettling a trade with the Usbeck Tartars and India, the Czar had built two forts at the mouth of it without any diſturbance at firſt from the Tartars; but his forces marching farther into the country through the great ſtep or deſert, where they were diſperſed in ſearch of proviſions, they were ſurrounded, and all cut in pieces with their General, Prince BEKEWITS, a native of Circaſſia, who commanded them, and the two forts were afterwards ſurprized and demoliſhed.

Uſbeck Tartary.

The Tartars of Usbeck, like their neighbours, are at this day divided into ſeveral hords or tribes who have their reſpective Princes: when they were united under one Sovereign, they were the moſt potent of all the Tartar nations; and are ſtill much dreaded by Perſia and India, into which kingdoms they make frequent incurſions; but as their tribes or bodies are not very numerous, they content themſelves with plundering and ravaging the country, and do not pretend to make conqueſts. The principal Chams or Sovereigns of theſe people value themſelves upon their being deſcended from TARMELANE, as the great Mogul alſo does. As to the perſons of the Usbecks, their complexions are ſaid to be better, and their features much more engaging than the Calmucks. Their religion is Mahometiſm, and in general they differ very little from the people of Caſſimere, and other northern provinces of India which have been deſcribed already. It is from this country and Perſia that the Mogul is ſupplied with his beſt ſoldiers, who riſe by degrees to the higheſt employments in the courts of India: and it is from hence that India is furniſhed with the moſt ſerviceable horſes, camels, and other cattle.

Mongals.

The Mongalian Tartars and thoſe of Thibet ſtill remain to be deſcribed, but they have ſo little to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe of Usbeck, except their religion, which is Pagan, very little different from that of China, that it is perfectly unneceſſary to ſay much of them. The Monguls have Muſcovite and Chineſian Tartary on the north: the great ſtep or deſert which ſeparates them from China on the eaſt, Thibet on the ſouth, and Calmuck Tartary towards the weſt. Thibet is bounded by the Calmucks and Mongalia towards the north, by China towards the eaſt, by India on the ſouth, and Usbeck Tartary on the weſt. Theſe people, as they border upon China, imitate that people in their cuſtoms and manners;

The bounds of their country.

Thibet bounded.

and as far as I can learn, their religion is the ſame with the Mongalians, which has already been enquired into in treating of China. They are governed by their reſpective Chams or Princes, and are perpetually in motion with their flocks and herds; and as far as I can learn, have ſcarce any towns in their country. This being all I can collect of any certainty in relation to Aſiatick Tartary, I proceed next to enquire into the preſent ſtate of Turkey in Aſia.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

CHAP. I.

Treats of the ſituation, extent, and boundaries of this empire; and of the ſeveral provinces it is divided into.

CHAP. I.

Turkey divided into 3 parts.

AS the Turkiſh empire extends itſelf into three parts of the world, namely, Aſia, Africa and Europe, I ſhall make three diviſions of it; and having deſcribed their reſpective boundaries, and enumerated the provinces and chief towns each part contains, and taken notice of the principal ſeas and rivers, I ſhall enquire into the ſtate of the empire in general, and then proceed to give an account of the ſeveral provinces in particular.

Extent and bounds of Turkey in Aſia.

Turkey in Aſia extends from the 29th degree of northern latitude, to the 45th, and from the 27th degree of longitude, to the 46th, reckoning from the meridian of London; and conſequently takes up nineteen degrees of longitude, and ſixteen of latitude, being upwards of a thouſand miles in length, and nine hundred and ſixty broad. It is bounded by the Black Sea and Tartary towards the north, by the kingdom of Perſia towards the eaſt, by Arabia Deſerta towards the ſouth, and by the Archipelago and the Levant ſea towards the weſt.

Eaſtern part of it.

Turkey in Aſia, is uſually divided into eaſtern and weſtern Turkey. Eaſtern Turkey contains, 1. Eyraca Arabick, or Chaldæa. 2. Diarbeck, or Meſopotamia. 3. Part of Cardiſtan, or Aſſyria. 4. Turcomania, the antient Armenian Major. And 5. Part of Georgia and Mengrelia.

CHAP I.

Provinces in the eaſt

Eyraca Arabick.

1. Eyraca Arabick, or Chaldæa, is bounded by Diarbeck or Meſopotamia on the north, by part of Perſia towards the eaſt, by the gulph of Perſia and part of Arabia Deſerta on the ſouth, and by another part of Arabia Deſerta on the weſt: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Bagdat, and 2. Boſſora, and in this province alſo once ſtood the famous city of Babylon and the tower of Babel.

Diarbeck.

2. Diarbeck or Meſopotamia, called in ſcripture alſo Padan Aram, is bounded by Turcomania and Curdiſtan on the north, by part of Perſia on the eaſt, by Eyraca Arabick or Chaldæa on the ſouth, and by Syria on the weſt: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Diarbeck. 2. Moſoul, (near the place where Nineveh once ſtood.) And 3. Orfa.

Curdiſtan.

3. Curdiſtan or Aſſyria is bounded by Turcomania on the north, part of Perſia on the eaſt, Eyraca Arabick on the ſouth, and Diarbeck on the weſt: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Betlis, 2. Amadia. And 3. Sheraſoul.

Turcomania.

4. Turcomania or Armenia Major is bounded by Perſia on the eaſt, by Diarbeck and Curdiſtan towards

TURKY in ASIA or ASIA MINOR &c.

Agreable to Modern History.

By H. Moll *Geographer.*

27 32 37

45 40 35 30

60 120 180 240

English Miles

PART of TURKY in EUROPE

GREECE

ARCHIPELAGO

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

BLACK SEA

NATOLIA

ARMANIA

ARABIA PETRAEA

AMASIA

Budziak Tartary

L. TARTARY

Belgorod

Nowaya Kalia

Perekop

Bakzisarai

CRIM

Kaffa

I. Ilenada

Danube R.

Varna

Philippipoli

Adrianople

Constantinople

Bosphorus

Salonika

Lemnos

Dardanello

Edremit

Pergamos

Sardis

Philadelphia ru.

Smirna

Ephesus

Madre R.

Ephiom

Cogni

Laodicea ru.

Tiagna

Amasera

Jerisi

Osemian

Bolli

Angoury

Nice

Bursa

Lopadi

Ammurya

Chiourtaie

Tech el Lyma R.

Tech el

Sinop

Gorod

Okabakakall

Propontis

Sestri di Ni

Asia

Asido

Lampsacus

I. Marmora

Troy ru.

Negropo

Athens

Napoli di Romania

Stampalia

I. Longo

Rhodes

Rhodes I.

Candia

C. Sidera

CANDIA I.

Halicarnassus

Macaria

Patara

Satalia

Burun

Collosse ru.

Mt. Taurus

Peyrid

Candelor

Anmiochette

Oliva

Terasso

Scanderoon

Alexandrett

C. de la Gatt

CYPRUS I.

C. S. Pisano

Nicosia

Salina

Tripo

Sidon

Tyre

Jaffa

Jerusalem

Gaza

Rachia

Triangle

Damiata

Alexandria

P. of A.

FRICA

Cairo

47 Deg. East from London

45

40

35

30

42

Asof

KOEBAN

Koebean TARTARY

CIRCASSI TARTARY

Temrock

Mt Cauase

Abcassi

MENGRELIA

Batan Abase

Kalen seu Amarchia

Mt Caucase

Terki

Ofas

Circans

INGUITA

R.

Kur R.

Kune

Akhalziki

Guriel

Teflis

GEORGIA

Ihea deresy

Derbent

Trapezont

Simiso or Samson

Erivan

Lake

Gangea

Schamkur

Kasalmack R.

Kars

Sahabha

Erzerum

Erivan

ARMENIA Major or

Arzingan

Nixiwan

Aras R.

Arzies

Argis

Kellat

Van

Tauris

TURCOMANIA

Beltis

Salmas

Roumi Lake

Diarbeck

Amedia

Orfa

Murdina

Bir

East Elwent

Caswin

Hamadan

DIARBECK

Mousul

Salt L.

Kerkisia

Teorit

Salemnia

Rabba

Elder Palmyra

Arnoyn

Bagdad

Anna

Tigris

Syna R.

Idida

EYRACA

Ruines of Babel

Wasset

ARABIA

Euphrates

Coma R.

Selroystes

Al Caste

DESERTA

ARABICE

Rahmat Lake

Al Kayzar

Bassora

Ispahan

Dorgastan I.

Mann C.

Tschab Hassar

G. of Bassora

CHAP. I.

towards the south, and by Natolia towards the west and north: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Erzerom. 2. Van. And 3. Kars.

Georgia and Mengrelia.

5. Part of Georgia and Mengrelia. Georgia, of which the chief town is Teflis, has been mentioned already in treating of Persia, to which kingdom the greatest part of Georgia belongs.

Mengrelia is bounded by Circassia on the north, by Georgia towards the east, and by Natolia and the Black Sea on the south and west.

Mengrelia is subdivided into 1. Mengrelia proper. 2. Imeretta or Iberia. And 3. Guriel. The chief towns whereof are Amarchia and Gony.

Provinces in Western Turkey in Asia.

Western Turkey contains, 1. Part of Arabia Petræa and Arabia Deserta. 2. Palestine and Syria. And 3. Natolia or Asia Minor.

Arabia Petræa.

1. Arabia Petræa and Deserta, that part of them which lyes in Turkey, are bounded by Palestine and Syria towards the north, by Diarbeck towards the east, by another part of Arabia Deserta towards the south, and by the Red sea and the Isthmus, which divides it from Africa, on the west. The chief towns whereof are Bosra and Herat, or Petræa and Anna.

Palestine and Syria.

2. Palestine and Syria are bounded by Natolia and Turcomania towards the north, by Diarbeck and Arabia Deserta on the east, by Arabia Petræa, and other parts of Arabia Deserta, on the south, and by the Levant sea on the west. The chief towns whereof are Jerusalem, Damascus, Tripoli, Aleppo, and Scandaroon.

Natolia.

3. Natolia, or Asia Minor, is bounded by the Thracian Bosphorus and the Black sea towards the north, by Georgia and the river Euphrates, which divide it from Turcomania, on the east, by the Levant, or Mediterranean sea, on the south, and by the Archipelago towards the west.

Natolia is again subdivided into four parts, viz. 1. Natolia Proper, which contains the western part of it. 2. Amasia which lyes towards the north. 3. Aladulia which lyes towards the east. And 4. Carmania, containing the south part thereof.

Natolia Proper.

1. Natolia Proper contains the antient provinces of, 1. Bithynia: the chief towns whereof, antient and modern, are Prusa or Bursa, Chalcedon, Nice, Nicomedia, and Libusta. 2. Mysia and Phrygia: the chief towns whereof are Cyzicus, Parium, Lampsacus, Abydus, Troy, Scamandria, Assos, and Pergamus. 3. *Æolis*: the chief towns whereof are, Elea, Myrina, and Cumaj hocea. 4. Ionia: the chief towns whereof are Smyrna, Clazomene, Erithræa, Colophon, and Ephesus. 5. Caria: the chief towns whereof are Miletus, Heraclea, Borigha, Mylasa, Stratonice, and Alinda. 6. Doris: the chief towns whereof are Myadas, Halicarnassus or Nesi, Cyndus, and Cressa. 7. Lydia, or Mænia: the chief towns whereof are, Sardis, Philadelphia or Alackshеyer, Thyatira or Akhisar, Magnesia or Guzelhisser, Laodicea or Eskihissor. 8. Phrygia Major: the chief towns whereof are, Cotiæum or Chintaia, Colossæ, Hierapolis, Prymnesia, and Tiberopolis. 9. Galatia: the chief towns whereof are, Germe, Ancyra or Angouri, and Amurium. 10. Paphlagonia: the chief towns whereof are, Heraclea or Penderachi, Amastris or Somastro, Claudiopolis or Castrimena, Teuthramia or Tripoli, and Ancisus or Simisio.

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Lydia. Phrygia. Galatia. Paphlagonia.

Amasia.

2. Amasia comprehends the following provinces, viz. 1. Pontus Galaticus: the chief towns whereof, antient and modern, are, Amasia, Themiscyra, and Comana. 2. Pontus Ptolemoniac: the chief towns whereof are, Tocat and Sebastia. 3. Pontus Cappadocia: the chief towns whereof are, Trapezond, Pharnasia, and Cerausus.

Aladulia.

3. Aladulia contains Cappadocia, and part of Armenia Minor: the chief towns whereof are, Suvas, Caisar, and Nyssa.

Caramania.

4. Caramania contains the antient provinces of, 1. Lycia: the chief towns whereof, antient and modern, are, Telmessus or Patara, Xanthus or Myra, Olimpius or Phaselis. 2. Pamphylia: the chief towns whereof are, Attalia or Sattalia, Perga, and Syde or Candalor. 3. Pisidia: the chief towns whereof are Sangalassus, Antioch-Pisidia, and Temessus. 4. Lycaonia: the chief towns whereof are, Lystra, Derbe, and Iconium now Cogni. 5. Cilicia: the chief towns whereof are, Tarsus or Therassa, Ilius now Aiazzo.

Islands of Turkey in Asia.

The principal islands belonging to Turkey in Asia are, Tenedos, Lesbos, Chios or Scio, Samos, Icaria, Patmos now Palmosa, Leria, Coos, Stampala, Caripathus now Scarpanto, Rhodes and Cyprus, which with the provinces will be particularly described hereafter.

Turkey in Africa.

As to that part of Turkey which lyes in Africa, I shall confine it to Ægypt; for notwithstanding all the coast of Barbary is by our geographers placed in the Turkish empire, we find those Princes, in a manner, independent at this day; and so far from obeying the Grand Seignior's orders, that he has very little influence on them.

Egypt.

Egypt is usually divided into three parts, viz. the Lower Egypt, the Middle Egypt, and Upper Egypt. Lower Egypt is bounded by the Mediterranean on the north, the Isthmus of Suez, which divides it from Asia on the east, Middle Egypt on the south, and by the desert of Barca on the west: the chief towns whereof are, Alexandria, Busiris, Mansoura, and Damietta.

Middle Egypt is bounded by Lower Egypt towards the north, by the Red sea towards the east, by Upper Egypt towards the south, and by the deserts

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deſerts of Barca towards the weſt: the chief towns whereof are, Grand Cairo and Suez.

Upper Egypt, formerly called Thebais, from the famous city of Thebes, the capital thereof, is bounded on the north by Middle Egypt, on the eaſt by the Red ſea, by certain high mountains which divide it from Nubia and Abyſſinia on the ſouth, and by the deſert of Barca on the weſt.

Turkey in Europe. Boundaries.

Turkey in Europe is bounded by the river Neiſter and the Carpathian mountains, which divide it from Poland towards the north; by little Tartary, Crim, and the Euxine or Black ſea towards the eaſt; by the Archipelago, the Ionian, Egean, and Mediterranean ſeas towards the ſouth; and by Hungary, Sclavonia, Croatia, and the Adriatick ſea or gulph of Venice towards the weſt, and comprehends the following countries, viz.

Provinces. Greece.

1. Greece, in which is contained, 1. Macedon. 2. Theſſaly. 3. Achaia. 4. Epirus. 5. Albania. 6. The Morea or Peloponneſus. And 7. The iſlands near the coaſt of Greece in the Ionian and Egean ſeas or Archipelago.

Macedon.

1. Macedon is bounded by Romania and Bulgaria towards the north, by ſeveral bays of the Archipelago towards the eaſt, by Theſſaly on the ſouth, and by Albania towards the weſt: the chief towns whereof are, Theſſalonica or Salonichi, Amphipolis now Emboli, Conteſſa, Cavalla, Pella, and Stagyra.

Theſſaly.

2. Theſſaly now Janna, is bounded by Macedon on the north, by the gulph of Salonichi on the eaſt, by Achaia or Livadia on the ſouth, and by Epirus on the weſt: the chief towns whereof are, Lariſſa now Aſababa, Janna, Pharſalus, Pegaſa now Volo, and Armiro.

Achaia.

3. Achaia, Hellas or Grecia Propria, now Livadia, is bounded by Theſſaly on the north, by the Egean ſea and the Euripan ſtreight, which ſeparates it from Negropont, on the eaſt, by the Morea on the ſouth, and by the Ionian ſea towards the weſt: the chief towns whereof are, Thebes, Livadia, Platæa, Athens, Marathon, Delphi or Caſtri, and Lepanto now Epactus.

Epirus.

4. Epirus or Canina, bounded by Albania towards the north, by Theſſaly and Achaia towards the eaſt, and by the Ionian ſea towards the weſt: the chief towns whereof are, Chimera, Perga, and Larta or Ambracia.

Albania.

5. Albania or Arnaut, bounded by the mountains of Argenturo and Servia towards the north, by Macedon on the eaſt, by Epirus on the ſouth, and the gulph of Venice towards the weſt: the chief towns whereof are, Scutari now Iſcadar, Alleſſio or Liſſus Dolcigno, Croya, Durazzo, the Dyrrachium of the Romans, and La Valona.

Morea.

6. The Morea or Peloponneſus, bounded by the gulph of Lepanto, which ſeparates it from Achaia, towards the north, by the Egean ſea on the eaſt, the ſea of Candy on the ſouth, and the Ionian ſea towards the weſt: the chief towns whereof are, Patros, Clarenza, Modon or Mutum, Coron, Navarinum, Belvedere, Langanica the antient Olympia, Miſitra the antient Lacedemon, Argos, and Corinth or Coranto.

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Iſlands of Greece.

7. The iſlands near the coaſt of Greece: the principal whereof, in the Ionian ſea, are Corfu, Cephalonia, Zant, Pachſu, Antipachſu, St. Maura, Ithica, and Columbas; in the Mediterranean, Candy, Cirego, and Sapieuza; in the Egean ſea, the Cyclades iſlands, viz. Milo, Pario, Naxia, Margo, Delos, Micone, Andros, and Thera or Zermia formerly Caliſte; in the Archipelago, Termia, Negropont, Egina, Coluriſciro, Lemnos or Stalimene, Thaſſus, &c.

Romania.

2. Romania or Thracia is bounded by a mountain, or rather a chain of mountains, called mount Hemus, which divide it from Bulgaria on the north, by the Propontis or Boſphorus and the Black ſea on the eaſt, by the Archipelago on the ſouth, and by Macedon on the weſt: the chief towns whereof are, Janicoli, Philippipoli, Adrianople, Trajanople, Conſtantinople, Galata, Gallipoli, Seſtos, Selivera, and Rudiſto.

Bulgaria.

3. Bulgaria is bounded by the Danube, which ſeparates it from Walachia and Moldavia towards the north, by the Black ſea towards the eaſt, by Romania on the ſouth, and Servia on the weſt: the chief towns whereof are, Sophia, Siliſtria, Nicopolis, Ternoon, Varna, and Meſembria.

Servia.

4. Servia is bounded by the rivers Save and Danube towards the north, by Albarua and Macedon on the ſouth, and by Boſnia on the eaſt, from whence it is divided by the river Save: the chief towns whereof are, Belgrade (now poſſeſſed by the Imperialiſts), Semendria, Widin, Niſſa, Scopia, and Novibazar.

Boſnia.

5. Boſnia is bounded by Sclavonia on the north, from which it is divided by the river Save, by Servia on the eaſt, from which it is divided by the ſame river, by Dalmatia on the ſouth, and by Croatia on the weſt.

Raguſa.

6. Raguſa republick, whoſe territory lyes on the ſea coaſt of Dalmatia, is part iſland and part continent, and bounded by the bay of Narenza, and the iſland Leſina towards the north, by the main land of Dalmatia towards the eaſt, and by the Adriatick ſea on the ſouth and weſt: the chief towns whereof are, Raguſa and Stagno.

Walachia.

7. Walachia, bounded by Tranſilvania and Moldavia on the north and eaſt, by the Danube towards the ſouth, and by Hungary and Tranſilvania on the weſt: the chief towns whereof are, Tergowiſch, Buchoreſt, Braſchow, Rebnick, Alauth, and Pedt.

Moldavia.

8. Moldavia is bounded by Podolia on the north, by Beſſarabia on the eaſt, by the Danube, which ſeparates it from Bulgaria on the ſouth, and by

Tranſilvania and Walachia on the weſt: the chief towns whereof are, Jaſſy, Soczowa, Targorod, Chotzin, and Vaſloye.

Podolia. 9. Beſſarabia, bounded by the river Nieſter, which divides it from Podolia on the north, by Budziack Tartary and the Black ſea on the eaſt, by the Danube on the ſouth, and Moldavia on the weſt: the chief towns whereof are, Tekin, Bialogrod, Kelia Nova, and Kelia Vechia.

Budziack. 10. Budziack and Oczacow-Tartary, bounded by Podolia towards the north, by little Tartary on the eaſt, by the Black ſea on the ſouth, and Beſſarabia towards the weſt. Here are no towns, the natives being always in a moving poſture, and living in tents and huts, like the other Tartars.

And as Little Tartary and Crim Tartary are by ſome reckoned part of the Turkiſh empire, becauſe their Princes obey the orders of the Porte, I ſhall here deſcribe their bounds: Little Tartary is bounded by Muſcovy on the north, by the Don Coſſacks and Palus Mæotis towards the eaſt, by an Iſthmus and two bays of the ſea, which divide it from Crim Tartary, towards the ſouth, and by the river Boriſthenes or Nieper towards the weſt: the chief towns whereof are, Stelnitz and Precop, and ſome reckon Aſoph in this country, becauſe it is in the poſſeſſion of the Turks, though it ſtands on the eaſt ſide of the Don or Tanais, near the mouth of it, and ſeems to be in Koeban Tartary in Aſia.

Crim Tartary. Crim Tartary, olim Taurica Cherſoneſus, is a peninſula to the ſouthward of Little Tartary, and almoſt ſurrounded by the Black ſea: the chief towns whereof are, Baccaſſaray, Crim, Caffa, and ſome reckon Precop to be in Crim, though it ſtands to the northward of the Iſthmus, and therefore I have placed it already in Little Tartary.

CHAP. II.

Treats of the ſeas and rivers of Turkey.

Seas of Turkey. THE ſeas of Turkey are the Euxine or Black ſea, the Palus Mæotis, the Propontis or the ſea of Marmora, the Archipelago, Ionian, and Ægean ſeas, and the Levant, or the moſt eaſterly part of the Mediterranean ſea.

Black ſea. The Black ſea is bounded by Tartary on the north, by Mengrelia towards the eaſt, by Natolia or the Leſſer Aſia towards the ſouth, and by Romania, Bulgaria, and Beſſarabia towards the weſt; and extends in length from the 29th to the 44th degree of longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London, and from the 42d to the 46th degree of northern latitude. The form it is generally ſaid to be of is a bended bow, which it ſomething reſembles.

This ſea was denominated black from the furious tempeſts, which were ſaid to rage here beyond what were ſeen in any other ſeas; but, it ſeems, ſtorms are not more frequent or furious here than in other places. Some particular perſons poſſibly having been ſhipwrecked on theſe coaſts, before navigation was arrived to that perfection it is with us, might entertain terrible apprehenſions of it, which, no doubt, they communicated to others; and when theſe notions came to be improved by OVID, and other poets, it is not much wonder that this ſea was at length generally called Black or terrible. Others have imagined, that this ſea took the name of Black from the colour of its waters, or the ſands on the ſhores; but its ſands are not different from thoſe on other coaſts, nor its waters leſs clear than what we meet with in other ſeas: it muſt be allowed, however, that the ſouthern ſhores have a kind of gloomy look, which proceeds from the vaſt woods which are every where planted on that coaſt, though theſe ſhades by the water-ſide, one would think, ſhould be more apt to create delight than horror. The Turks indeed, whoſe skill in navigation very little exceeds that of the antients, do ſometimes meet with diſaſters in this ſea, and retain the ſame dread of it the antients did; and therefore do not care to venture upon it in the winter: but I do not doubt, if it lay nearer us it would be as conſtantly navigated as any other. The Muſcovite, when he was poſſeſſed of Aſoph, at the bottom of the Palus Mæotis, had formed a project to come in for a ſhare of the trade of this ſea; but having been forced to deliver up that place by the laſt peace, the Turk has at preſent the ſole navigation of it: there are but very few good harbours on the coaſt of this ſea, eſpecially on the ſouth coaſt, which is moſt ſailed by the Turks, and upon this account indeed there may be ſome reaſon to look upon it as unſafe.

Palus Mæotis. To the north of the Black ſea, through the ſtreights of Kaffa, lyes the ſea called the Palus Mæotis, extending itſelf from Crim Tartary to Aſoph, which ſtands at the mouth of the Don or Tanais, and is bounded by Little Tartary on the northweſt, and by Koban Tartary towards the ſouth-eaſt, being about ſixty leagues in length and forty in breadth; to which there being no other paſſage but through the ſtreights of Caffa, from the Black ſea, the Turk is ſole maſter alſo of this ſea, ſince the ſurrender of Aſoph to him.

Propontis, or ſea of Marmora. The Propontis, or ſea of Marmora, divides Europe from Aſia, flowing between the Black ſea and the Archipelago, with both which it has a communication by narrow ſtreights: that on the ſouth-weſt leading to the Archipelago is called the Helleſpont, and is about a league over. The other leading to the Black ſea is called the Boſphorus of Thrace, and is ſcarce a mile broad; at the

the entrance of which the city of Conſtantinople ſtands, and forms one of the fineſt harbours in the world. It is a baſon of ſeven or eight miles about, on the city ſide, and as much more on that of the ſuburbs, and you may anchor in any part of it. It is expoſed only to the eaſt wind, which blows there but ſeldom; but when it does blow hard from that quarter, eſpecially in the night, it occaſions no little noiſe and confuſion among the ſea-faring people. Nor is the ſeraglio itſelf, which ſtands juſt at the entrance of the port, on the point of the peninſula of Thrace, where the Boſphorus is, free from diſturbance at ſuch a time. This ſea of Marmora, from the ſtreights on the ſouth-weſt to thoſe on the north-eaſt, is upwards of forty leagues in length, and in ſome places fifteen or twenty broad; and is called Marmora from an iſland of that name, which lyes in the middle of it. At the entrance of the channel from the Archipelago, lye the caſtles of the Dardanells, ſuppoſed to take the name from Dardane, an antient city not far from thence: on each ſide the entrance is a caſtle and platforms of guns, but the ſea is ſo wide here, that the forts cannot hinder a ſhip paſſing by. Farther up the channel, in a place which is not a league over, ſtand two other forts, one on the European ſide, in the place where Seſtos ſtood, according to ſome travellers, and the other, on the Aſian ſide, where Abydos ſtood: but this I perceive is but bare conjecture, the preciſe places being very uncertain.

Archipelago, or Egean ſea.

To the ſouthward of theſe ſtreights, between Natolia and Greece, lyes the Archipelago or Egean ſea, wherein there are a vaſt number of iſlands, the ſtate whereof I ſhall enquire into hereafter.

Ionian ſea.

On the weſtern ſide of Greece, on the coaſt of Epirus, lyes the Ionian ſea; and to the ſouth-

Levant.

ward of Greece and Natolia, the Levant, or eaſtern part of the Mediterranean, which the Turks call the White ſea; and the Grand Seignior, among his titles, ſtyles himſelf Lord of the Black, Red, and White ſeas; for the Egean and Ionian ſeas are reckoned but parts of the Mediterranean.

As to the Red ſea, that has been already deſcribed, in treating of Arabia; and theſe are all the ſeas belonging to the Turkiſh empire.

Rivers.

The principal rivers of Turkey in Aſia, are

Euphrates.

the Euphrates and Tygris. The Euphrates riſes in the mountains of Armenia, and runs, at firſt, croſs that province from eaſt to weſt; then it turns ſouthward, dividing Armenia from Natolia: it paſſes afterwards between Syria and the province of Diarbeck: and lower down, between Eyrack Arabick or Chaldæa and Arabia Deſerta; and being united with the Tygris, divides again, and falls by ſeveral mouths into the gulph of Perſia. The Tygris riſes alſo in the mountains of Armenia, but not ſo far northward as the Euphrates. It runs generally ſouth ſomething eaſterly, dividing Diarbeck or Meſopotamia from Curdiſtan or Aſſyria; and running by Bagdat, afterwards joins the Euphrates, in the lower part of Eyrack or Chaldea, and falls into the gulph of Perſia a little beyond Boſſora. The courſe of this river is not near ſo long as that of the Euphrates, but it has a more rapid ſtream, from whence it obtained the name of Tygris.

The only remarkable river of Turkey in Africa, is the Nile, which proceeds from two lakes about the latitude of 12 degrees north, in the kingdom of Goyama, ſubject to the Emperor of Abyſſinia; and having run croſs that kingdom, and Ethiopia, continues its courſe directly north, through the midſt of Egypt, emptying itſelf into the Mediterranean by two channels, which forming a triangular iſland, was called by the Greeks Delta, becauſe it reſembles that letter. Two things this river is remarkable for: the firſt, thoſe prodigious cataracts, or falls of water, in the upper part of it, which render it unnavigable there: and the other is the annual overflowing of its banks, which puzzled the antients much, to find the true cauſe of; though now we find it to be common to many other rivers which riſe within the tropicks, where the rains falling in the ſpring, cauſe an inundation about midſummer: and then the waters retiring again, leave a fruitful mud behind them, ſo that the husbandman needs no other compoſt to manure and meliorate his grounds: but of the overflowing of this river I ſhall be more particular, when I come to treat of Egypt, or Turkey in Africa.

The principal rivers of Turkey in Europe are, the Danube, the Nieſter, the Bog, and the Nieper or Boriſthenes.

The Danube riſes in Swabia, near a village called Tone Eſchingen, from whence running eaſtward, it divides, and ſurrounds the city of Ulm, where it begins to be navigable; and having received ſeveral other rivers, paſſes through Bavaria; and afterwards runs by the cities of Neuburgh, Ingoldſtadt, and Ratisbon: then it paſſes through Auſtria, and waſhes the walls of Vienna, and purſuing its courſe ſtill eaſtward, through Hungary, paſſes by Presbourgh and Gran: then bending ſouthward, it runs by Buda and Belgrade, being much encreaſed by the Draw which it receives at Eſſeck and the Save, at Belgrade, after which it is called the Iſther: and paſſing on eaſtward, between Servia and Walachia, and afterwards dividing Moldavia from Bulgaria, it falls into the Black ſea by ſix channels, which run through Beſſarabia, having held a courſe of eleven hundred miles, and upwards. It is generally very broad, and has a rapid

Nieſter.

pid ſtream, and has three cataracts, or dangerous falls in it.

The Nieſter riſes in Poland, from a lake about three or four miles from Leopold, and running eaſtward, ſeparates Podolia from Moldavia, and falls into the Black ſea, a little to the northward of the moſt northerly mouth of the Danube.

The Bog riſes in the borders of Podolia, and running ſouth-eaſt, divides Podolia from Volhinia, and paſſing through Budziack Tartary, falls into the Boriſthenes near Oczacow.

The Boriſthenes, or Nieper, riſes in the dutchy of Bielki in Muſcovy, from whence it runs weſtward by Smolensko into Poland, and then bending its courſe to the ſouthward, it paſſes through Poland and Ukrania; and afterwards ſeparating Budziack Tartary from Little Tartary, falls into the Black ſea, about an hundred miles to the northward of the Danube, having run a courſe of a thouſand miles, and upwards.

I proceed now to give an account of the manners and cuſtoms of the Turks in general, and of the preſent ſtate of that empire; after which I ſhall enquire more particularly into the condition of the ſeveral provinces and iſlands belonging to it; and of the great towns, manufactures, produce, &c. of every province in it.

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Treats of the original of the Turks; of their genius and temper, their perſons, habits, diet, liquors, diverſions, and ceremonies.

IT is generally agreed, that the Turks are of Scythian or Tartarian original; for I look upon the modern Tartary to be the ſame country with the antient Scythia, except it be that Scythia might be extended farther weſt than Tartary is, (viz.) to all countries on the north of Europe and Aſia; whereas the name of Tartary ſeems to be confined to the more eaſterly part of Scythia, namely, thoſe countries which lye to the north of the Euxine and Caſpian ſeas, and to the north of Perſia, India, and China. The Turcæ, a Scythian nation, are mentioned both by PLINY and POMPONIUS MELA; but what part of Scythia they poſſeſſed, is not eaſy to diſcover. What we know of certainty of them is, that they led a rambling life, like the other Scythian Nomades, dwelling in tents, and moving from place to place with their flocks and herds, as they could find water and paſture for their cattle.

The Turks were very little known till the eighth century, when they came down upon Georgia, and plundered that country. In the year 844 they penetrated as far as Armenia Major, where they fixed themſelves; and from them this country obtained the name of Turcomania. About the year 1000, the Sultan of Perſia being reduced very low, by the Saracen Caliph of Babylon, made an alliance with the Turks, who ſent three thouſand men to his aſſiſtance, under the command of TANGROLIPIX, by which reinforcement the Sultan obtained a ſignal victory; but TANGROLIPIX not being rewarded as he expected, there aroſe ſuch a miſunderſtanding between theſe new allies, that it occaſioned a war, wherein TANGROLIPIX defeated MAHOMET, the Perſian Sultan, and killed him in the field of battle, and thereby became Sultan of Perſia. But the Turks, who were Pagans at their coming into Perſia, had converſed ſo long with the Saracens as to encline to the religion they profeſſed: and TANGROLIPIX, on his acceſſion to the Perſian throne, profeſſed himſelf a Mahometan, without which compliance, poſſibly, it might have been difficult to eſtabliſh his empire. TANGROLIPIX afterwards marched againſt the Caliph of Babylon, whom he defeated and killed; but attempting the conqueſt of Arabia, he did not meet with the ſame ſucceſs; whereupon he turned his arms towards Natolia, or the Leſſer Aſia, and made a conſiderable progreſs in the conqueſt of it. The Turks remained ſovereigns of Perſia till about the year 1260, when another ſwarm of Tartars or Scythians broke into Perſia, and reduced the Turks to a very low ebb, poſſeſſing themſelves of Perſia, Aſſyria, and the Leſſer Aſia. There were, it ſeems, at this time two great Turkiſh families in Perſia, viz. the Selzuccian, of which TANGROLIPIX was, and the Ogyzian. The Selzuccian family was entirely ſuppreſſed by the Tartars: but OTTOMAN, who deſcended from the Ogyzian family, proving an enterprizing Prince, from very ſmall beginnings, reſtored his family, and the Turkiſh nation, to their former grandeur, making himſelf maſter of Nice and Pruſa, and the beſt part of Aſia Minor: from him therefore it is that the empire obtained the name of Ottoman; and the preſent Grand Seignior deduces his pedigree from this Prince.

Genius and temper of the Turks.

The Turks ſeem to have no manner of genius or inclination for the improvement of arts or ſciences, any more than for the manuring or cultivating their lands: they live indeed under the influence of the ſame heaven, and poſſeſs the ſame countries the antient Grecians did, but are far from being animated by the ſame ſpirit: a ſluggiſh indolent way of life is preferred to every thing elſe; and the greateſt of them ſaunter away the beſt part of their time among the women, in their harams. Natolia, the moſt fertile country in the world, lyes great part of it unmanured, and ſeveral provinces of that empire, which formerly were exceeding populous, and abounded in all things, are now become perfect deſerts, ſcarce

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ſcarce any thing but ruins are to be ſeen in thoſe countries which were heretofore famous for fine cities and elegant buildings.

Theſe people, as they ſeldom or never travel, ſo they have no curioſity to be informed of the ſtate and condition of other countries, or indeed of their own: they never enquire after news, and if a miniſter of ſtate happen to be diſplaced, or ſtrangled, they do not concern themſelves about the reaſon of it; you hear them ſay no more on ſuch an occaſion, but that there is a new Vizier, or a new Baſſa, of ſuch a province; but, perhaps, this is as much as they dare ſay in ſtate matters; however, it is certain, they are far from being talkative; for we frequently ſee five or ſix of them ſit ſmoaking together, and a word ſhall ſcarce drop from any of them in a quarter of an hour. Friendſhip, wit, and agreeable converſation they are perfect ſtrangers to, as a modern traveller obſerves; but in matters of trade they are ſharp enough, and will carry long accounts in their heads, without the help of books, by a natural arithmetick, improved by cuſtom and neceſſity. Walking is no leſs their averſion than talking: the taking a walk, as we call it, for walking ſake, is to them the moſt ridiculous exerciſe in the world, and they look upon our people to be diſtracted or mad, when they ſee them taking a turn backwards and forwards; they chooſe rather to loll indifferently all day long, or ſit croſs legged on their ſofa's: and though they have company about them, there is no more converſation amongſt them than among ſo many horſes: they aſſociate themſelves together at certain times, as animals of a lower ſpecies do, but their ſatisfaction ſeems to ariſe only from their ſitting near each other.

Probity.

The honeſty and probity of the Turks is highly cried up by ſome travellers; but our merchants obſerve, that thoſe who deal with them ought to be upon their guard; and indeed, as all people agree that covetouſneſs and extortion are the faſhionable vices of Turkey, and univerſally practiſed by their Governors and Miniſters of ſtate, who expoſe offices and every thing to ſale, it is not likely that their inferiors are perfectly innocent: they will not perhaps be guilty of an open fraud, or a downright lie, which might affect their credit in trade, and ruin their reputation; but where they can circumvent another ſecurely, it is not to be ſuppoſed they will reſiſt the temptation, where covetouſneſs is ſo predominant. Some I find make a diſtinction between native Turks and thoſe who have changed their religion upon ſecular views: theſe latter are by all people held to be the moſt abandoned villains, whatever ſhews of ſanctity they may put on; and for the reſt, I do not at all doubt but the probity of our own merchants is at leaſt equal to that of the Mahometan traders.

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Temperance.

The temperance of the Turks has been obſerved alſo to exceed that of the Chriſtians; but there are few of them which abſtain from wine in private, notwithſtanding their law prohibits it; and the government puniſhes ſeverely thoſe that are found diſordered by it in the ſtreets: nay, thoſe very magiſtrates who puniſh others for drunkenneſs, will, like thoſe of ſome Chriſtian nations, drink in the night to a very great exceſs; and ſo as they behave themſelves quietly and inoffenſively in their liquor, do not think they have committed any great crime. Sodomy alſo is a vice which they are intolerably addicted to, notwithſtanding they are indulged in taking as many women as they pleaſe.

Charity.

Their charity however, if it be not done for oſtentation, as ſome travellers ſuggeſt, is very commendable: they are careful even to prevent the unfortunate being reduced to neceſſities; they viſit the priſons, and pay the debts of the poor who lye there. In caſe of fires, which are very frequent in their timber buildings, the loſſes of the ſufferers are ſoon made up by the contributions of others. They repair highways, erect fountains and ciſterns at their own expence, for the conveniency of travellers: build caravanſera's for the entertainment of them; and ſome devout people, it is ſaid, ſet up ſheds by the way ſide purely to be aſſiſtant to people in their journeys, and refreſh the wearied traveller. The charity of ſome of them extends even to animals and plants: they will purchaſe the liberty of impriſoned birds, procure food for others, and religiouſly water certain trees.

No duelling.

Their quarrels ſeldom proceed to blows, and duelling is not known amongſt them; but no people exceed them in billingſgate language and complicated curſes.

Pride.

Their pride is inſupportable, deſpiſing and contemning all people but their own, eſpecially thoſe of a different religion: themſelves alone they eſteem wiſe, valiant and holy; the reſt of the world are a pack of reprobates, not entitled to the good things of this life or another. It is not only held lawful, but their duty to extend their conqueſts to the ends of the earth, and bring all nations in ſubjection to the Mahometan yoke; and they are taught that by dying fighting in this cauſe they purchaſe ſeats in paradiſe.

Predeſtination.

The doctrines of fate and predeſtination have ſuch an influence here, that no man flies from his houſe in the plague, which is very common amongſt them, nor do they ſend a ſlave away who is infected with it, but attend the ſick as if the diſtemper was not contagious. This perſuaſion alſo inſpires them with courage in the field,

it

V. I.



J. Pine Sculp:

A Turkish Gentleman.



J. Pine Sculp:

A Turkish Gentlewoman.

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it is ſaid, believing that the time of every man's death is fixed, and that no circumſtances can haſten or prevent it: but however that may be their opinion at the firſt onſet, in the beginning of an engagement, the Chriſtians have been too often witneſſes of their flight, and their endeavours to eſcape the fury of their arms, to believe that this opinion always prevails. What they are moſt commended for, is, that profound reſpect they pay to every thing that is ſacred, their ſtrict obſervance of the hours of prayer, and the devotion with which they offer them up.

The Turks are generally perſonable men, their women beautiful, and of an eaſy and agreeable ſhape, which is not at all to be wondered, ſince moſt of the beauties of Georgia and Circaſſia being tranſported hither and in their markets, they purchaſe the fineſt girls in the world to breed by.

The men ſhave their heads, but wear their beards long, except thoſe in the ſeraglio and the military ſervice, who wear only whiskers. The men wear turbants on their heads, being long pieces of linen wound about them to the bigneſs of two or three heads; but theſe need no particular deſcription, being ſeen commonly in London. The Turks diſtinguiſh themſelves from the Greeks, Armenians and other Chriſtians by their white turbants, being a colour they ſuffer none to wear but themſelves: next their skins they wear a pair of drawers cloſe behind and before, which they put down upon all natural occaſions, ſitting down to make water like women over their drawers or breeches, which are faſtened to their ſtockings: they wear a ſhirt with wide ſleeves and no wriſtbands or collar, and upon this a kind of veſt down to their heels, and cloſe to their arms and wriſts, which is quilted in winter; they tye it with a ſaſh or broad leathern girdle, and over it they throw a kind of looſe gown ſomething ſhorter, of red, blue, or green cloth lined with furs, &c. In cold weather their ſtockings are of cloth, and inſtead of ſhoes, they have ſlippers with narrow piqued toes of yellow Turkey leather, which they put off upon the entring any houſe or temple. In their boſom they put their purſe, handkerchief, and ſuch trinkets as we beſtow in our pockets, and have poniards in their girdles.

The Grecians, who are much more numerous than the Mahometans in many parts of Turkey, endeavour to imitate their maſters in their faſhions as far as they dare; for certain colours are prohibited them, as has been hinted, for diſtinction ſake; and you may know what faith a perſon is of, if you ſee but his head or feet.

The clothing of the women is not much different from that of the men's, only inſtead of a turbant they wear a ſtiffned cap with four points or horns on the top of it, their hair hanging down their backs in treſſes; and when they go abroad they are ſo muffled up with linen clothes or handkerchiefs, that nothing is to be ſeen but their eyes.

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Rice is the common food of the Turks, as well as of other Aſiaticks: they make alſo a high ſeaſoned ſtrong broth of ſeveral kinds of meat cut in pieces, which they call ſhorba, and mix with thin rice: their roaſt meat is cut in ſmall bits as big as a man's hand, and ſcured together with garlick, onions and ſeaſoning between the pieces, which they call keback, and is a very ſavoury diſh; but the moſt general diſh among the better ſort, is pilo, which is rice boiled in broth made of fowls and meat till all the liquor is evaporated, and the rice is perfectly dry. The common people live pretty much upon raw cucumbers and melons ſome part of the year, which they eat without any manner of dreſſing; and they bake cakes upon the hearth, made of meal, which ſerves them inſtead of bread, eſpecially upon journeys. They have not the variety of diſhes we taſte in Europe, neither do they ſeem deſirous of imitating the luxury of the Chriſtians: they neither alter their diet or the faſhion of their clothes, but both continue the ſame from generation to generation. Water is their uſual drink, and they have ſherbets, or cooling liquors of ſeveral kinds. They ſeldom entertain a friend with any thing more than coffee, ſherbet, tobacco and ſweetmeats, and perhaps wet or ſmoke them with perfumes; ſo that they are ſcarce ever undone by houſe-keeping; it is obſerved, if they drink wine, it is by themſelves privately about bed-time, and as it is very cheap, this cannot much affect their fortunes. The frugality and temperance of the Turks and other Aſiaticks therefore is frequently mentioned by travellers for our imitation; tho' to me, their abſtemiouſneſs is not ſo great as ſome would make it; for of thoſe diſhes they do eat, as far as I perceived, they devour a much greater quantity than our people, particularly of rice; and the reaſon they eat no more fleſh is, becauſe they have little appetite for it; and it is nothing but the fear of the baſtinado that makes them abſtain from wine in publick; beſides, to ſupply the place of it, they eat opium in abundance, which intoxicates no leſs than wine and ſtrong drink: in ſhort, I do not think a Turk at all more abſtemious than a Chriſtian, when he only abſtains from the meats and drinks we uſe, out of an averſion to them, or fear of puniſhment: There may be ſome people indeed in Turkey, as well as other places, of ſtrict virtue; but the generality of them no doubt are bound by the modes and cuſtoms of the country they live in; and can give ſcarce any other reaſon for uſing one thing or abſtaining from another, but that their fathers did ſo before them.

Food.

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Salutations.

The uſual ſalutation among the Turks is, a little inclination of the head, and clapping the right hand to the breaſt: but when they ſalute a perſon of diſtinction, they ſtoop ſo low, as to take up the hem of his veſt and kiſs it. They uſually ſet in an open hall upon a ſopha, (which is a bench or ſtage about five foot broad, and a foot and a half high, at the upper end of the hall, and ſometimes on all ſides of the room, covered with carpets and cuſhions to lean on.) Here they ſpread a piece of leather when they eat, and ſet little wooden tables about half a foot high, ſometimes, upon which they place a great bowl of rice, with a ladle, meat and plates, and the maſter of the houſe ſays a ſhort prayer of grace, which he begins, In the name of GOD almighty, merciful, &c. and one napkin of blue linen ſerves all the company.

Lodging.

As for lodging, they have no beds but the floor or the ſopha, which ſerves them to lye on as well as eat upon. A ſlave comes at bed-time, and ſpreads every man a quilt or mattreſs, leaves a pillow and ſome clothes for a covering: and when they riſe in the morning, he comes again, and rolls up all together, and puts them into the cupboard from whence he brought them.

Games and diverſions.

The Turks play at drafts and cheſs to paſs away their time, but not for ſums of money; and thus they think they comply with the intention of their law, which prohibits gaming chiefly upon the account of the quarrels it creates, there being no likelihood of falling out where nothing is hazarded. Some of the natives delight in their country muſick, which is not the moſt harmonious in the world; and their Derviſes have a kind of religious muſick, to which they dance with all their might, till they are ready to drop down. They have their dancing-girls here alſo as well as in Perſia and India, with whom they entertain themſelves ſometimes. Their manly exerciſes are ſhooting at a mark with fire arms, or bows and arrows on horſeback, in every poſture almoſt; and they are taught to dart a little ſtaff, with which they attack and purſue one another on horſeback, and ſometimes give and receive dangerous bruiſes.

Travelling.

Their manner of travelling over the deſerts with the caravans, does not differ from that of the Perſians and Arabs, which I have mentioned already: give me leave to add here ſome obſervations of Mr. MOTRAYE's upon the ſame ſubject, who aſſures us, that it is cheaper travelling in Turkey than in any country in the world, not only on account of the great plenty of proviſions, but the ſmall expence of horſe hire; and particularly for Franks, or European Chriſtians; for if a gentleman is about to undertake a journey, he need only apply himſelf to the Ambaſſador or Reſident of his nation, who will ſend his interpreter with him to court, or the Governor of the place, and procure him a menzil ferman, or a yoll ferman, which are never refuſed: by the firſt of theſe all his expences are born, whether of horſes or proviſions, during the whole journey at the Grand Seignior's charge, who at the diſtance of every three or four leagues, has houſes of entertainment, and horſes laid to furniſh the couriers and expreſſes he ſends to the ſeveral parts of the empire, and for any other perſon to whom the court grants one of theſe fermans or orders, for there are no ſtated general poſts in Turkey, as with us: however, the expreſſes which the court ſends will take the letters of the Frank merchants with them upon very reaſonable terms, and deliver them at Aleppo, Smyrna, Bagdat, &c.

When a gentleman who has the Grand Seignior's order, or ferman, arrives at any ſtage, there are people ready to take care of his horſes and baggage, and provide freſh horſes while he refreſhes himſelf; and there is always ſomething dreſſed, as meat, fiſh and rice, at whatever hour of the day or night he comes in. If the traveller has only a yoll ferman, he pays ten aſpres (half-pence) for every three miles for his own horſe, but nothing for his guide or proviſions.

As for the caravans or inns where travellers lodge who have no ferman, we meet with them in almoſt every town and village at proper diſtances: thoſe in the towns are magnificently built of ſtone and covered with lead; they are generally in the form of a ſquare with a little piazza or cloyſter in the inſide, and cells for lodging, like thoſe in monaſteries. They are furniſhed with mats or ſtraw, but no beds to lye on; and the traveller does not only lodge gratis, but in ſome they give boiled rice, meat and bread to ſuch travellers as will accept it; but proviſions are ſo cheap, that people generally make uſe of their own; and ſuch is the hoſpitality of the Turks, it is obſerved, that if a poor traveller has no proviſion of his own, he may without any ceremony ſit down and eat with any of his countrymen.

The roads, the bridges, ciſterns and caravanſera's for entertainment of travellers are kept in repair in Turkey by the contributions and labours of private people, who look upon it to be a work of charity, and highly acceptable to heaven, to provide for the neceſſities of the wearied traveller; even thoſe who live by their labour, and have nothing elſe to contribute, will ſpend part of their time gratis in theſe employments; and travellers relate, that in the eaſtern parts of this empire towards Meſopotamia, the hoſpitable natives, like ABRAHAM of old, will invite travellers to their tents and houſes as they paſs through their country, and contend for the honour of entertaining them.

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Treats of the Grand Seignior's power, his court, officers of ſtate, women, and other inhabitants of the ſeraglio and haram.

Grand Seignior's power.

THE dominion of the Turkiſh Emperors being founded in force, they are reſtrained by no laws or compacts, their power is unlimited, and they look upon their people as well as the country to be their property, and every man's life and fortune in the empire to be at their diſpoſal. But a late traveller (Mr. MOTRAYE) acquaints us, that we ought to make a diſtinction between thoſe ſubjects and officers of the Grand Seignior, who, according to the Turkiſh phraſe, eat his bread, and thoſe who have no office under the government: the latter, he aſſures us, have nothing to fear, either as to their lives or effects, and do not ſo much as pay any duties to the government: and ſhould the Grand Seignior attempt to tax them or change their antient cuſtoms, he would run the hazard of being depoſed.

As to the others indeed, who are his creatures, and have been preſented to him, or purchaſed by him, and bred up in the ſeraglio; theſe, he acknowledges, he ſqueezes, diſgraces and puts to death upon the leaſt ſuggeſtion of their diſaffection or miſconduct, without giving them an opportunity of anſwering for themſelves; and their children ſcarce ever ſucceed either to their poſts or fortunes. But as all civil and military officers, Viceroys, Baſſa's and Governors are compoſed of theſe Royal ſlaves, and even the whole militia of the empire; and the Chriſtians, who are as numerous as the Turks, are certainly in the Grand Seignior's power, and treated as his vaſſals, by the concurrent teſtimony of all that have travelled into Turkey; and as we have inſtances where the Turkiſh eccleſiaſticks, and even the Mufti, have been depoſed and put to death upon the leaſt diſguſt of the Grand Seignior, I believe we may ſtill conclude, notwithſtanding what Mr. MOTRAYE relates, that this Prince exerciſes an arbitrary dominion over the lives and fortunes of all his ſubjects. How he may, out of inclination or prudence, favour and encourage his Mahometan ſubjects, is another point, but it is ſcarce to be ſuppoſed that he ſhould be able to deſtroy the Governor of a province by a word of his mouth, and have no power over the meaneſt Mahometan ſubject of the ſame province.

If there be any thing wherein the power of the Grand Seignior is ſubject to controul, it is in matters of religion, for the maintaining and propagating their faith ſeems to be ſuperior to all other obligations; and ſhould this Prince attempt any alteration in religion, I do not doubt but his Mahometan ſubjects would look upon themſelves to be abſolved from their allegiance, according to the modern phraſe; for whatever is the real cauſe of a revolt or the depoſing their Prince, his not protecting the faithful is ever made one pretence for their diſaffection: and we find theſe Princes ſo tender of touching any thing which has relation to the church, that he looks upon her poſſeſſions as ſacred; and when he takes off a Baſſa's head, and ſeizes all the reſt of his lands, yet thoſe he has devoted to the church are confirmed to that uſe. But to proceed,

All the lands in the empire being originally the Grand Seignior's, were parcelled out by the ſeveral Emperors, as they acquired the poſſeſſion of them, among the ſoldiery, under certain tenures, as has been the practice of other Princes in moſt parts of the world; obliging all their feudatories to keep and bring into the field, when required, a certain number of men and horſes, proportionable to the lands aſſigned them: and theſe feudatories in Turkey were called Timars or Timariots. Thus Princes by putting the power and arms into the hands of their creatures, ſecured their authority in new conquered countries, and were always provided with a body of troops in all emergencies without any charge. But theſe grants the Turkiſh Princes take a liberty of reſuming at their pleaſure, whereas ſuch eſtates in this part of the world continue in a family from generation to generation, unleſs the proprietors are guilty of treaſon, or alienate them voluntarily.

This Prince is ſtyled by his ſubjects, 'the ſhadow 'of GOD, a God on earth, brother to the ſun 'and moon, diſpoſer of all earthly crowns, &c.' And the generality of them really look upon him as ſomething more than human, and not bound by any law whatever, except that of maintaining the Mahometan faith. At the acceſſion of an Emperor indeed he is conducted in great ſtate to a place in the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople called Job, where is the monument of ſome prophet or holy man, which the Turks apprehend to be JOB's (and ſo little knowledge have they in hiſtory and chronology, that they make JOB to be one of SOLOMON's judges, and ALEXANDER the Great General of his army.) At this place, after ſolemn prayers that GOD would proſper the new Emperor and inſpire him with wiſdom, the Mufti embracing him, pronounces the benediction; and the Grand Seignior ſolemnly ſwears to maintain the Muſleman faith and laws of the Prophet MAHOMET; but their doctors, it ſeems, notwithſtanding hold that he is obliged only to obſerve that part of the Mahometan law which relates to religion: that for the reſt he may controul or alter it, or which is the ſame thing, interpret it in what ſenſe he pleaſes. What contributes mightily to that implicit obedience the Turks pay their Sovereign,

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Sovereign, is the leſſons that are taught them of this kind from their infancy, eſpecially thoſe who are brought up in the ſeraglio, and deſigned to fill the greateſt employments in the empire: they are even taught that to die with ſubmiſſion and reſignation when the Emperor commands their lives, will entitle them to the crown of martyrdom, and a ſeat in paradiſe: inſomuch, that it is reported of one of the Grand Viziers who had long ſerved his Prince with great honour, that he acknowledged he had arrived to the greateſt glory he could aſpire to in this life, and only waited to die by the ſentence of the Grand Seignior as a conſummation of all his honours. But this is a ſtrain of ſubmiſſion, or rather ambition, which I believe is ſeldom imitated, and might probably be a ſly inſinuation of what the moſt faithful miniſters of the Porte were to expect after all their ſervices, rather than any deſire of the Vizier's, to compleat his happineſs by a ſudden removal to paradiſe.

Thoſe who receive any pay or ſalary from the government, or are in any office under the crown, are ſtyled the Grand Seignior's ſlaves, which is a much more honourable title than ſubject here, as well as in Perſia; and in effect, they have the command of thoſe ſubjects who are not in the Grand Seignior's pay, and inſult them at their pleaſure. The term ſlave in Turkey ſignifies one who is entirely reſigned to the Emperor's will, and ready to execute whatever he commands, how difficult or dangerous ſoever it be.

Ichoglans educated in the ſeraglio.

The young lads who are educated in the ſeraglio, and deſigned for employments in the government, are called Ichoglans; they are the children of Chriſtian parents taken in war, or preſents of the Viceroys and Governors from Georgia, Circaſſia and the remote parts of the empire. The moſt beautiful, well ſhaped, ſprightly children that can be met with. The Grand Seignior reviews them before they are admitted, and orders them to be received into the ſeraglio's of Pera, Adrianople or Conſtantinople, which are the three colleges or ſeminaries, where they are educated according to the opinion he entertains of them; but thoſe who are ordered for the ſeraglio of Conſtantinople are eſteemed moſt in the way of preferment, and are placed under the care of the chief of the white eunuchs called the Capi Aga. The eunuchs treat their pupils with extraordinary ſeverity, 'tis ſaid, not paſſing by the ſmalleſt faults; ſometimes they order them a certain number of blows upon the ſoles of their feet, and at others puniſh them by watching, faſting, &c. making them undergo a ſeverer diſcipline than the novices in a monaſtery.

The firſt leſſons which are taught them are, ſilence, and an humble modeſt behaviour: then they are inſtructed in the rites of the Mahometan religion, and to ſpeak, read and write the Turkiſh language, and afterwards the Perſian and Arabick. Their diet is rice, and other wholeſom food fit for ſcholars, and their clothing generally of Engliſh cloth. They are never from under the eunuch's eyes, and lodge in long rooms upon ſofa's, where lamps are always burning, and an eunuch between every five to inſpect their behaviour. When they are fit for manly exerciſes, they are taught to handle the ſpear, to draw the bow, and throw the gerit or dart, in which they ſpend ſeveral hours in a day, and are ſeverely corrected if they make no proficiency. Thus by conſtant exerciſe they improve their health and ſtrength, and become fit for military employments: they are taught, as in Perſia, to ſhoot their arrows on horſe-back in a full carrier, backwards, forwards, ſideways, and almoſt in any poſture: and at theſe exerciſes the Grand Seignior himſelf is ſometimes preſent.

They are alſo taught ſuch employments as may make them ſerviceable to the Grand Seignior, or fit to attend his diverſions. When they have made a tolerable proficiency, they are advanced to a ſuperior claſs, and change their cloth veſts for rich embroidered ſilks; and their ſalaries are augmented, and they are advanced as places fall, to the Hazna Oda or chamber of the treaſury, or to the Kilor, or diſpenſatory, where drugs and cordials are kept for the Grand Seignior's uſe; and from theſe two chambers they are elected into the higheſt claſs in the ſeraglio, called the Haz Oda, which conſiſts of forty pages who attend the Grand Seignior's perſon, twelve of whom hold the principal offices at court, viz. The Selictor Aga, or Sword Bearer. The Chiohadar Aga, who carries the Grand Seignior's cloak. The Rechirtor Aga, who holds his ſtirrup. The Ebrictar Aga, who carries his water to drink or waſh with. The Tulbentar Aga, who makes up his turbant. The Kemhoſar Aga, the Keeper of the wardrobe. The Cheſneger Baſſa, or Chief Sewer. The Zagargee Baſſa, who looks after the dogs for ſport. The Turnachgee Baſſa, who pares his nails. The Berber Baſſa, or chief barber. The Muhoſebegee Baſſa, or chief accountant, and the Teskeregee Baſſa his Secretary. The Dogan Baſſa, or chief falconer; and the Hammumgee Baſſa, or Keeper of the baths, are alſo great officers at court. Thoſe who are thus arrived to the dignity of being of the royal chamber, and are conſtantly under their Prince's eye, are frequently preſented by him, with ſwords, bows, veſts, &c. and are permitted to accept preſents for the interceſſions and applications they make in behalf of others. They are alſo ſent with orders to the Viceroys, Baſſa's, and tributary Princes, from whom they receive large preſents in money, jewels, horſes, &c. and as places

places or governments fall, they are preferred to them; but few are preferred out of the ſeraglio till they are arrived at the age of forty years, or thereabouts, when their judgment is looked upon to be mature, and the heat of youth is pretty well allay'd. When they are raiſed to any command or government, they are uſually handſomly preſented by the Sultana's, the eunuchs and principal members of the ſeraglio, as favourites of the Grand Seignior, and with great ceremony take their leaves of the Capi Aga, or principal eunuch, and other officers of the ſeraglio, recommending themſelves to their patronage in their abſence, and deſiring to cultivate a friendſhip with them: and in their compliments on thoſe occaſions, 'tis ſaid, they do not come ſhort of any courtiers in Chriſtendom: for tho' the Turks, in contempt of all other nations, behave themſelves with a barbarous haughtineſs and neglect towards them; yet among themſelves they are as ceremonious and obſerve the rules of civility as punctually as any court in the civilized world.

It is obſerved of the young lads of the ſeraglio, that never having ſo much as a ſight of women, they become fond of one another, and though ſome have given the name of platonick love to this paſſion, it frequently ends in ſodomy. They ſay abundance of fine things indeed upon this ſubject, and call it a ſtep to the perfect love of GOD, and ſay, they only admire his image and beauty ſtamped upon his creature; but ſo violent is their luſtful flame, that no puniſhment, even that of death itſelf, can deter them from purſuing their amours: notwithſtanding they are ſo carefully watched by the old eunuchs, they find means of carrying on theſe intrigues by ſigns and geſtures, and rivals frequently entertain ſuch jealouſies of each other, as throws the whole chamber into confuſion, making them deſpiſe the ſeverity of their guardians, who beat them on thoſe occaſions, as long almoſt as they have any life left in them; and find at laſt that nothing can abate this inordinate paſſion, but ſeparation and baniſhment. Nor are the youth only affected with it, but perſons of the higheſt rank in the ſeraglio frequently fall in love with the pages, and watch for a ſight of theſe young fellows, as for a miſtreſs, when they paſs by to the moſques or baths: and happy are they if they can find an opportunity to make them a preſent, and procure leave to retain them in their ſervice, as they ſometimes do; and it is no uncommon thing to ſee them made ſharers with their maſters in their fortunes: ſeveral of the Turkiſh Emperors themſelves have been overcome by this brutiſh paſſion, made their pages their favourites, and even cauſed the ſame honours to be paid them as to themſelves, and in a manner their companions in the empire.

The women of the ſeraglio, we are informed, alſo entertain much the ſame paſſion for each other, the elderly eſpecially court the young, and preſent them with clothes, money, jewels, &c. ſo that it ſeems in vain to attempt to ſtifle or divert an amorous flame; if it be not ſatisfied in a regular way, it will be by ſome other means. But what ſeems the moſt unaccountable thing is, that the Turks, who take as many women to their bed as they pleaſe, ſhould notwithſtanding be addicted to this vice.

Mutes and dwarfs.

The mutes and dwarfs make up another part of the Grand Seignior's court. The mutes who are born deaf, and conſequently dumb, are about forty in number, and lodge in the chambers of the pages: they teach them how to diſcourſe by ſigns, and maintain a converſation without the uſe of words; eight or nine of the favourite mutes continually attend on the Grand Seignior. With theſe and the dwarfs, who are a kind of buffoons, this Prince frequently diverts himſelf and paſſes away his leiſure hours: but if a dwarf happens to be a mute, and eſpecially if he has been made an eunuch, too great a value cannot be ſet upon him. One of theſe, whom a certain Baſſa preſented to the Grand Seignior, was cloathed in the richeſt tiſſue, and had the liberty of paſſing all the doors of the ſeraglio, a privilege ſcarce ever granted to any of the other eunuchs.

Eunuchs.

Why the eaſtern Princes ſhould chooſe theſe unfortunate caſtrated creatures to guard their wives and concubines, rather than truſt the antient matrons about them with the care of them, is not eaſy to imagine, and poſſibly can only be reſolved into cuſtom at this day: but ſurely it is very inhuman to mangle or diſmember one man (perhaps an hundred) to ſatisfy the jealous or whimſical humour of another; yet no practice has been more univerſal, or of longer duration in the courts of Aſia: even among the Jewiſh Princes, we find, part of their court conſiſted of eunuchs. Two of the Grand Seignior's eunuchs have very extenſive commands, namely, the Kiſlar Agaſi, or ſuperintendant of the women, who is a black eunuch: and the Capi Agaſi, or white eunuch, who has the command of all the pages and white eunuchs of the court: but of theſe, and the reſt of the great officers of the eunuchs, I ſhall ſpeak more largely, when I come to enumerate the officers of ſtate.

Ladies of the ſeraglio.

The Ladies of the haram or ſeraglio, as it is uſually called, are a collection of young beautiful virgins, taken captive in the wars, or ſold into Turkey; moſt of them born of Chriſtian parents. At their firſt admiſſion they are committed to the charge of an old Duena or Governante, and taught muſick, dancing and other accompliſhments, and furniſhed with rich clothes and jewels, to render them as agreeable to their Lord as poſſible. Several of them frequently play and

dance

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dance before the Grand Seignior, while others entertain him with their converſation. When he makes choice of any one to be in private with him, ſhe is complimented, it is ſaid, on the occaſion by the Ladies of the court; and being dreſſed to all the advantage imaginable, is conducted to his embraces with ſongs and muſick, as a matter of no ſmall triumph, to be diſtinguiſhed for her ſuperior charms, among ſuch a crowd of beauties. After ſhe has been admitted to this favour, ſhe has an apartment, ſervants, and an equipage appointed her, ſuitable to that of a Royal concubine: and if ſhe have the good fortune to bring the firſt ſon, ſhe is crowned with a coronet of gold ſet with precious ſtones, and ſtyled the Haſaki Sultana: but thoſe who have children afterwards have not the like honour conferred upon them; but are only ſtyled the firſt, ſecond and third concubine, &c.

The Grand Seignior's daughters are married very young to the Baſſa's or Viceroys of provinces, who are obliged to keep courts, and entertain them like ſo many Sovereigns, and are as much ſlaves to theſe young Princeſſes, as other women uſually are to them. Upon theſe occaſions, the Baſſa who has the honour of matching with the Grand Seignior's blood, is obliged to make large preſents to the Emperor, who by this means, raiſes very conſiderable ſums: but ſo tyrannical are theſe Ladies, that they will oblige their ſpouſe to put away all the reſt of his wives and concubines, how long ſoever he has lived with them: and if he caſts an amorous glance on any of her female ſlaves, it is as much as his life is worth.

The Grand Seignior never marries or contracts himſelf to any woman; nor are his concubines ever the daughters of Mahometan Princes, or of any of his Mahometan ſubjects: but as they are introduced very young into his haram, they are generally educated in the principles of the Mahometan religion. If the Sultana Haſaki loſes her ſon, ſhe loſes her honour with him, and the next who happens to have a ſon ſucceeds in her room. The Ladies of the haram are ſcarce ever ſuffered to go abroad, except when the Grand Seignior removes from one palace to another. When they travel by water, a troop of black eunuchs convey them to the boats, which are encloſed on all ſides with narrow lattices. And when they go by land, they are put into cloſe chariots, and ſignals are made at certain diſtances, to give notice that none approach the road they march. When the Grand Seignior is diſpoſed to give the Ladies an airing in the gardens of the palace, Helvet is cried, and all people are obliged to remove a great diſtance from them, though the walls are as high as thoſe of a nunnery, and before they enter the garden, an officer of the white eunuchs ſearches all the walks, to ſee that there be none of the young fellows, who are educated in the ſeraglio, or any other perſon there; of which having given notice to the Kiſler Aga, he takes the Ladies out of their apartments, and leads them into their walks, planting eunuchs at the windows, and every place from whence any perſon can poſſibly view the gardens.

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Beſides the females which are kept in the haram for the entertainment of the Grand Seignior, there are a multitude of other female ſlaves, whoſe buſineſs it is to wait on the former. There are alſo male ſlaves called Agiamoglans, beſides the Ichoglans above mentioned, aſſigned to meaner and more laborious employments, who are the ſons of Chriſtian parents; in theſe ſtrength of body and good limbs are more regarded than the endowments of the mind. Theſe are the porters, the boſtangi's or gardeners, the baltagi's or hatchetmen, who cut and carry in wood, the watermen, the aſgees or cooks and officers of the kitchen, butchers, confectioners, attendants of the hoſpital or infirmary, &c. It is ſaid there are not leſs than ten thouſand of the boſtangi's, or gardeners, about the gardens of the palace. Of theſe ſome are called haſaki or royal, and are employed in carrying meſſages from the Grand Seignior, and bear a conſiderable ſway. The power of the boſtangi Baſſa is very great, for he has not only the command of the royal gardens and pleaſure houſes, and overſees the water works, but he has a juriſdiction all along the Boſphorus to the mouth of the Black ſea, his command extending alſo far into the country.

Female ſlaves.

Male ſlaves. Agiamoglans.

The Agiamoglans in general undergo a very ſevere diſcipline, being enured to labour, watchings, faſtings, and other mortifications. Their clothing is coarſe cloth of Salonica, their caps of felt, in the form of a ſugar loaf, and of a hair colour; ſome of them are taught to write and read, but they are generally brought up in rougher exerciſes, as running, leaping, wreſtling, and all kind of laborious employments. They lodge in ſheds, built under the walls of the ſeraglio, and have rice and fleſh diſtributed to them plentifully enough. Their pay is very ſmall, four or five aſpers a day, and are regularly paid it every three months.

An aſper about an half peny.

I come next to give an account of the great officers of ſtate, who are generally of the number of the Royal ſlaves, who have had their education in the ſeraglio: and at the head of theſe is the Grand Vizier, on whom the Grand Seignior, in a manner, devolves his authority, leaving the adminiſtration entirely in his hands. He has the ſole command both in peace and war: has the direction of the revenue, and is the ſupreme judge in civil as well as criminal cauſes; though it is very rare they meet with a genius

Officers of ſtate.

capable

capable of executing so many different charges. When the Sultan advances any one to the post of Grand Vizier, he delivers him the seal of the empire, upon which is engraven his name, and the Vizier always carries it in his bosom; and under this seal he issues his orders. He disposes of many honours and offices, and has scarce any limits to his power, unless in military matters, where, it is said, he cannot inflict any punishment on a soldier without the concurrence of his commander. His court is always open, and he gives audience to the meanest subject. He appears with abundance of magnificence, having a turbant adorned with two plumes of feathers, and set with diamonds and precious stones. His guard consists of four hundred Bosnians or Albanians, and is attended by some of them on foot when he goes to the divan: but when he takes the field they are all gallantly mounted, and armed with a pair of pistols, a lance, a sword and hatchet.

Grand Vizier.

When the command of the army is conferred on the Grand Vizier, the Grand Seignior takes one of his plumes from his turbant at the head of the army, and delivers it to the Vizier, who places it in his own, after which the soldiers look upon him as their general. In time of war he has a power of filling all vacant posts, and rewarding his officers with the best governments in the empire; and though the Sultan himself disposes of the principal offices in time of peace, the recommendation of the Vizier seldom fails to procure them for whom he pleases. Notwithstanding the stated salary of the Vizier amounts to no more than five thousand pounds per ann. the perquisites of his office furnish him with immense sums, being perpetually presented by all who have or expect places under the government. His great rivals in this particular are the Sultana Mother, the favourite Sultaness, and the chief eunuch, who having the Grand Seignior's ear in his retirements, frequently get their friends advanced, and defeat the hopes of the Vizier's creatures: they are also spies upon the Vizier's conduct, and sometimes occasion his disgrace, and even the loss of his head, insomuch, that nothing can be more precarious than the post of a Grand Vizier. It was looked upon as a miracle when the two CUPERLIS, father and son, enjoyed this office without suffering any disgrace, and died at last in their beds, which was in a great measure owing to the successes they met with, as well as their own merit, though that is allowed to be very great, having discharged so many important offices as are annexed to the Grand Vizier's post, with honour and reputation.

The treasures which the Vizier heaps up, sooner or later flow into the Grand Seignior's coffers, presents are ever expected from him, especially when his Sovereign honours him with a visit, and considerable sums are demanded of him frequently by way of loan: he is therefore obliged to set every thing to sale to replenish his bags; but this must be done with some address, or his enemies will not fail to exclaim against his conduct, and procure his disgrace. The Vizier is looked upon to be much more secure in time of war than in peace, especially if he meets with but tolerable success, for the troops seldom lye still long but they mutiny, and perhaps demand the heads of those whom they imagine their enemies: and we find these Sultans ready to give up any minister, and even every favourite they have, rather than run any hazard on their account.

Viziers of the bench.

Besides the Grand Vizier, there are six other styled Viziers of the bench of council, and Bassas of the three horse-tails, because there are three standards or horse-tails carried before them, whereas other Bassa's have but one. These Viziers are men learned in their law, and well versed in politicks, whom the Grand Vizier summons to the divan as his council, though he is at liberty to take or reject their advice as he sees fit: the Mufti and other civil judges are also frequently called to assist at their councils, and ordinary matters are usually referred to some of their determinations.

Divans.

Their divans are both councils and courts of justice, and one is held every day of the week at the Vizier's palace, except Fridays: he goes also four times a week to the divan in the seraglio in great state, being preceded by the Chiaux Bassa, and several other Chiauxes and Virgers, and attended by the great officers of the empire, and his Albanian guards on horseback, the people shouting and wishing him prosperity as he marches through the streets. When they draw near the gate the Bassas hasten their march, and range themselves on the right-side of the first court, as the Grand Vizier passes by: the whole company dismount in the first court, and pass on to the second, where the spahis and janisaries are planted on the right and left: upon the entring the divan, prayers are made for the prosperity of the present Emperor; and, some say for the souls of the departed: upon the Grand Vizier and the courts coming into the divan, all the people, who are there in expectation of them, prostrate themselves on their faces to the ground: the Grand Vizier being seated, the two Chief Justices take their places on the left hand of him, which is the post of honour in Turkey: the Chief Justice of Europe next him, and the Chief Justice of Asia in the second place; and next to these, the Treasurers of the empire: on the right hand of the Grand Vizier sit the other Viziers with their seals, and if there be any Beglerbeg or Viceroy

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arrived from his government, he is placed next to the Viziers.

The firſt buſineſs the court enters upon, is the ſtate of the revenue: the Chiaux Bachi takes off the ſeal from the door of the treaſury and brings it to the Grand Vizier, who examines it, after which the treaſury is opened, and money received and iſſued out as there is occaſion, and the door is ſealed up again. Foreign affairs are next conſidered, and then the domeſtick, and orders, grants, patents, &c. are diſpatched. The Reis Effendi, or Secretary of ſtate, records the acts of ſtate, and has the care of tranſmitting the orders of the Porte to the reſpective Viceroys and Governors. The publick buſineſs being over, the court proceeds to hear criminal cauſes, and the accuſer appearing with his witneſſes, the offender is condemned or acquitted without delay; and civil cauſes conclude the buſineſs of the day.

Officers of the ſeraglio.

I ſhall here take an opportunity of deſcribing the great officers of the ſeraglio, according to a modern traveller: the firſt he mentions is the Kiſlar Agaſi, who is the chief of the black eunuchs, and keeper of the virgins. 2. The Capi Agi or Agaſi, who is the chief of the white eunuchs: he is always near the Grand Seignior, and introduces Ambaſſadors and Miniſters to his preſence, and none goes in or out of the Grand Seignior's apartment without his leave: he has a privilege beyond any other officer, of wearing a turbant, and riding on horſeback; in the palace he waits upon the Emperor to the door of the Sultana's apartment, but has no authority beyond. They truſt the Ladies to the care of the ugliеſt black eunuchs that can be met with: one reaſon of which perhaps may be, that their Lord may appear the more amiable.

The next officer is the Nozada Bachi, who is Governor of the forty pages of the bed-chamber: after him the Serai Agaſi, who takes care of the repairs and furniture of the Grand Seignior's apartment. 3. The Hoſpodar Bachi, who is entruſted with the Emperor's private treaſure, or privy purſe. And, 4. The Kilargi Bachi, or keeper of the cellars, kitchens, and confectionaries.

After theſe are the Dogangi Bachi, or grand falconer; the Kokedar, who puts on the Emperor's veſt; the Kikabdar, who holds the ſtirrup; the Seliктar, or ſword bearer; the Hummamgibaсti, or keeper of the baths; the Ciamaci Bachi, who has the care of the linen, and the Gerit Beg, who is maſter of thoſe who ſhoot with the bow and handle the lance. Theſe officers are allowed to wear turbants out of the ſeraglio.

Thoſe in inferior employments are diſtinguiſhed by the form of their caps. The Boſtangis, who belong to the gardens and the Emperor's barges, wear a long red cap which falls back upon their necks. The Battagis, or hatchet-men, who cut wood, wear a cap like a ſugar-loaf. The Halvagis, who belong to the kitchen, wear a white cap flat as the crown of a hat.

Without the ſeraglio is the Caimacan, or Governor of Conſtantinople: he is the Grand Vizier's lieutenant, and ſupplies his place in his abſence, and even gives audience to Ambaſſadors. The Aga, or general of the janizaries, is an officer of great reputation, having a hundred thouſand janizaries enrolled under his command, tho' I perceive there are not near ſo many in actual ſervice, but abundance of people enter themſelves in that body on account of the privileges they enjoy. The Chiaux are meſſengers of the court and attend the Grand Seignior's orders, and are ſometimes ſent to take off a Baſſa's or Governor's head: of theſe the Chiaux Bachi is the chief.

The Beglerbegs, or Viceroys of kingdoms, have ſeveral provinces or ſangiackſhips under them, as has been obſerved already; and moſt of them have lands or rents aſſigned them out of the countries and places under their juriſdiction for the maintenance of their court, and the troops under their command; and are called Has ile Beglerbegliсk: the other Beglerbegs have their ſalaries paid them by the treaſurers of the empire, (as have the Sangiacks and Governors of places under them) and theſe are ſtyled Saliane Beglerbeglick. But theſe Viceroys and Governors get much more by preſents, and by ſqueezing and oppreſſing the people under their command, than by their ſtated allowance.

The Beglerbegs of the firſt ſort are generally reckoned about twenty in number. The firſt of which is the viceroyſhip of Anatolia, or Aſia minor, and has fourteen ſangiackſhips or provinces contained in it. 2. Caramania, antiently Cilicia, which hath ſeven Sangiacks included in it. 3. Diarbeck, or Meſopotamia, hath nineteen Sangiacks. 4. Scham, or Damaſcus, ſeven ſangiackſhips. 5. The beglerbegſhip of Siwas, a city of Armenia major, which hath ſix ſangiackſhips in it. 6. Erzerum, on the confines of Georgia, which hath eleven ſangiackſhips. 7. Van, in Turcomania, contains fourteen ſangiackſhips. 8. Tchildir, on the confines of Georgia, commands nine Sangiacks. 9. Sheriſoul, in Curdeſtan or Aſſyria, commands twenty Sangiacks. 10. Halep, or Aleppo, ſeven Sangiacks. 11. Maraſch, near the river Euphrates, four Sangiacks. 12. Kibros, or Cyprus, commands ſeven Sangiacks. 13. Tarabolos Scham, or Tripoli, in Syria, commands four Sangiacks. 14. Terbozon, or Trabezond, upon the Black Sea, formerly the imperial ſeat of the Commeni, commands fourteen caſtles, but no Sangiacks. 15. Cars commands ſix Sangiacks. 16. Mouſal, or Niniveh, in Aſſyria, commands five Sangiacks. 17. In

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17. In Europe the first beglerbegship is that of Rumuli, or Romania, the most honourable post in the Turkish empire. 18. The Captain Bassa, or Admiral, hath not only the command of the fleet, but is a Beglerbeg, and commands thirteen Sangiacks by land, either on the islands of the Archipelago, or the continent. 19. The beglerbegship of Bosnia, divided formerly into Liburnia and Dalmatia, now called Sclavonia, in which are eight Sangiacks. There is besides these the Bassa of Caffa or Theodosia in the Taurica Chersonese, who commands only some poor villages, and hath no Sangiacks under his command.

The Saliane beglerbegships, who are paid out of the Grand Seignior's treasury, are, 1. The Beglerbeg or Viceroy of Grand Cairo, who has the government of the kingdom of Egypt, and commands sixteen Sangiacks. And 2. The beglerbegships of Bagdat or Babylon, in which are contained two and twenty sangiackships. To these some add the governments of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli in Barbary; but these are now in a manner independent of the Turkish empire, and treat with other Princes as Sovereign States.

Every Beglerbeg, Bassa, &c. is obliged for every 5000 aspers of rent assigned him, to bring a soldier into the field completely armed, and to make their court to the Grand Seignior; they sometimes bring more than they are obliged to raise. Of the Beglerbegs some have the title of Viziers, (viz.) the Beglerbegs or Bassa's of Anatolia, Babylon, Cairo and Buda; but as the territory belonging to the last is now under the dominion of the Emperor, I presume the honour of Vizier is transferred to some other Bassa.

These are the great governments or vice-royalties of this empire: in every one of which there are three principal officers, (viz.) The Mufti or Chief Priest. The Reis Effendi, who is sometimes styled Chancellor, and sometimes Secretary of State, in whom both those offices seem to be united; and the Defterdan or Treasurer, who are of the Bassa's or Beglerbeg's council, and generally spies upon his actions. Appeals lye from these officers to those at Constantinople of the same denomination, whose power extends over the whole empire.

I proceed to enquire in what manner the Han or Cham of Crim and Little Tartary is dependent on the Turk: and upon the accession of any Han to the throne, I find, the Grand Seignior claims a power of confirming or rejecting him; and generally keeps the eldest son of the Han, as a hostage, with him. He makes him also take an oath of fealty to him at his inauguration. On the other hand, the Tartar pretends, that on failure of issue of the Ottoman line, the empire is, by antient compact, to devolve upon his house; the expectation of which, it is said, has no small influence on these Princes, to keep them firm to the Turkish interest; and the Tartar, with this view, proves as obedient to the command of the Grand Seignior, as any other of his Viceroys: the Grand Seignior indeed, does not send his commands or orders, to the Han, in the same manner he does to other Governors, but signifies his pleasure, and transacts every thing with him by way of letter; and when the Sultan writes to the Han, it is in the following style, viz. To the possessor of excellent power and established glory, the King of Crim Gian Begli, &c. According to antient compact between these Princes, it is said, whenever the Grand Seignior takes the field, the Tartar Han is to attend him with an army of one hundred thousand men; but if the Vizier or any other General is in the field, he is obliged to send but forty or fifty thousand, under the command of one of his sons or some of his Generals, who maintain themselves out of the plunder they take, or rather the captives they make; for nothing is surer or readier money in Turkey, than a young male or female slave, of whom they usually carry away many thousands into captivity in time of war, and do not altogether desist from the practice, in time of peace.

They march several days into an enemy's country before the Turkish army, and do no manner of damage as they advance, but when they turn their faces home again, they burn, ravage and spoil every thing in their way, driving and carrying away all the inhabitants before them, into miserable slavery; and that they may use the more expedition, every Tartar takes three or four horses with him to mount his captives on, and so makes a running march of it day and night, till they find themselves in security, that it is impossible for regular forces to come up with them, and they are a match for any other.

Tributary countries.

I come now to treat of those countries which are tributary to the Grand Seignior, viz. Moldavia and Walachia, the natives whereof are generally Christians. Moldavia was first made tributary to the Turks by MAHOMET the Great, but revolted afterwards, and was not totally subdued till the year 1574. The Turk still allows them Princes of their own, but has no regard to the Royal line, or to the qualifications of the person raised to that dignity, but seems to choose some obscure worthless creature to set over them, from whom he can apprehend no danger, and whom he makes a tool of to squeeze and oppress the people, in a much greater degree than any of the rest of his people who are under the government of Bassas. The yearly tribute this country pays to the Grand Seignior, is 120 purses in money, amounting to sixty thousand dollars; ten thousand * okes of wax; ten thousand okes of honey; six hundred quintals of tallow; five

Moldavia.

* 2 lb. and an half.

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hundred ox hides; five hundred pieces of canvas; beſides a thouſand okes of wax, for the ſervice of the arſenal. To the Prime Vizier they preſent ten purſes, or five thouſand dollars, and ſables for a veſt. To the chief Steward 500 dollars: and to the Treaſurer the ſame. And beſides this ſtated tribute, great ſums are continually extorted from them by one artifice or another, among which may be reckoned the price paid for the principality, which is every three years ſet to ſale, and there is paid to the Grand Seignior, at leaſt, 150 purſes, or 75000 dollars. To the Valede or Queen Mother, 50 purſes or 25000 dollars. To the Grand Seignior's favourite 5000 dollars. And to the Kiſler Aga or Chief of the black eunuchs, as much; beſides great ſums extorted by the Prime Vizier and other officers on driving the bargain: and all this money being taken up at intereſt of 50 per cent. and ſometimes cent. per cent. by perſons who have no eſtates, they are forced to pillage the poor people under their government, who are more oppreſſed by the extortions of their own Princes, as they are ſtyled, than any people in the Turkiſh dominions.

Walachia. The ſtate of Walachia is worſe than that of Moldavia, their tribute being much heavier, for they pay to the Grand Seignior annually 260 purſes, or 130000 dollars, and other articles proportionably, as has been ſpecified in Moldavia: and the Princes of both theſe countries are obliged to ſerve the Grand Seignior in his wars with their troops, as will appear in treating of the forces of the empire.

Raguſa. Among the tributaries of the Turkiſh empire, I had almoſt overlooked the little republick of Raguſa on the coaſt of Dalmatia. This commonwealth is more ancient than that of Venice, and has ſupported it ſelf by a timely ſubmiſſion to ſuch powers as it apprehended any danger from, and thereby procured the better terms; though the Italians ſay, that to maintain the name of a free republick, they became ſlaves to all the world: but ſo jealous are they of being enſlaved by their own Governors, that they change the chief officer, who reſembles the Doge of Venice, every month, and others weekly, and the Governor of the principal caſtle of their city continues in that poſt but four and twenty hours, a new one being nominated every night by the Senate, who without any ceremony is taken and led away blindfold to the caſtle, and no perſon is acquainted who has the command that night, but thoſe concerned in the carrying him thither; ſo that there is no room for forming a conſpiracy to betray the place.

Georgia. Some provinces of Georgia, or Iberia, are reckoned alſo among the tributaries of the Turkiſh

Mengrelia. empire, and part of Mengrelia, and theſe pay their tribute in young boys and virgins, looking upon the parting with their children into Turkey, as the readieſt road to their preferment, as has been hinted already.

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CHAP. V.

Treats of ſome maxims of the Turkiſh policy.

Policy of the Turk. THERE is nothing the Turks apprehend contributes more to the peace and ſecurity of their empire, than their deſtroying all appearance of a nobility and great families amongſt them, and ſuffering no ſucceſſion to eſtates or offices. Their Baſſas and Governors are all taken out of the ſeraglio, perfectly ignorant of what blood or family they were of, and have no powerful relations or dependents to ſupport them, if they ſhould entertain any aſpiring thoughts. The duration of their command alſo is ſo very ſhort, that they have not an opportunity of ingratiating themſelves with the people, or forming an intereſt ſuperior to that of the Grand Seignior's; and of all the rebellions that have been formed by the Baſſas of diſtant provinces, we ſcarce find any one that has been of any long duration: the rebels have been uſually diſperſed without coming to a battle. The Sultan has no more to do, but to procure their leader to be taken off, and he is ſure of a victory without fighting, there being no powerful relations to ſupport the cauſe; and it is farther obſervable, that when a rebel does meet with ſucceſs, he is never able to maintain himſelf any other way than by ſetting up another Prince of the Royal Family, who is no ſooner eſtabliſhed in the government, but he uſually makes the perſon who raiſed him a preſent of a bow-ſtring, for fear of being ſerved as his predeceſſor was before him.

It is true, the Baſſas of ſome petty governments have been allowed the privilege of leaving their commands to their children, as heretofore the Baſſa of Gaza; but one of them happening to live ſeventy five years in that government, it was thought ſo ill a precedent, and ſo contrary to the Turkiſh politicks, to ſuffer a perſon to remain ſo long in one command, that he was invited to court, and without any proceſs or charge againſt him, ordered to be ſtrangled as ſoon as he arrived.

And becauſe power naturally attends on riches, if they remain long in a family, the wealth of a Baſſa is ſcarce ever permitted to deſcend to his children. The Grand Seignior is heir to all his officers, and immediately ſeizes on the eſtate, beſtowing only a ſlender maintenance on the children of the deceaſed. If a Baſſa dies, who is married to a Sultana, the ſiſter, daughter, or other near relation of the Grand Seignior, her kabin or dowry is firſt to be deducted out of the eſtate,

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estate, being usually an hundred thousand dollars, and the remainder devolves on the Sultan. And lest the issue of a Sultana should entertain any ambitious thoughts, it is a fundamental maxim amongst them, that they shall never be capable of any office in the empire, or any higher employment at most than that of a Capigi Bassa, or porter to one of the gates of the palace; and those who happen to be of the Royal female line, dare not so much as mention their pedigree, lest they should give any umbrage to the government.

The Bassas have no certain time in their commands, but remain there till removed or recalled, as the Grand Seignior pleases; except the Bassa of Grand Cairo in Egypt, who hath the space of three years usually allotted him, in which he grows vastly rich by the extortions he commits in that wealthy province; but the Sultan generally shares the spoils with him on his return, and sometimes sends him the bow-string, and seizes on the whole. Thus the Grand Seignior does not only secure himself by the frequent change of his officers, but enriches himself at the same time; and he does not only squeeze them when they resign their charge, but has a prodigious sum paid him on their entring upon their post. The Bassas of Grand Cairo and Babylon pay him between three and four hundred thousand dollars, some 200,000, and others 50,000, according to the extent of their commands; and this they are forced to take up at the rate of 40 or 50 per cent. of the covetous eunuchs of the seraglio; so that no Bassa enters upon his command till he is plunged over head and ears in debt, and is obliged by all manner of ways, just or unjust, to fleece the people to repay the loan, which he makes the more haste to do, not knowing how short his time may be. Add to this the narrow selfish principles in which they are educated; and we may easily make an estimate of the happiness of the people under such Governors. As for justice, this is set to sale as frequently as any other merchandize; it is a common thing for both parties to apply themselves to the Judge before the cause comes to be heard, and to bribe him proportionably to the value of the thing in dispute; and as one observes, those who have paid dear for an office must of necessity sell the truth; and so very ready are the Turks to prevaricate in their evidence, especially when a Christian has a dispute with a Turk; that one of our Ambassadors insisted upon it in a treaty with the Porte, that the testimony of a Turk should never be admitted against the English interest. But to proceed, the Turkish Bassas and Governors being under a necessity of oppressing the subjects; and the people by continual taxes and seizures being reduced to a state of poverty, their spirits are sunk, and they patiently endure all kinds of injustice and violence. It is an observation of the Lord Verulam's, that it is impossible for a people overladen with taxes ever to retain a brave martial spirit. And we see the Turk now finds no great difficulty in governing so many once powerful nations. Whoever would effectually enslave a people, must first oppress and impoverish them. These oppressions, a judicious author observes, are the apparent cause of the decay of arts and sciences among the Turks, and of the neglect of manuring and cultivating their lands; that their houses and private buildings are slight, and will scarce endure twenty years, and that they take no more delight in gardens and plantations in a country where nature has contributed so much on her part; for people not knowing to whom their possessions shall descend after their deaths, contrive only for a few years enjoyment. The danger also of building magnificent palaces, and laying out fine gardens, is also to be considered, for this would probably but hasten their ruin; as it is criminal to be rich, many of them affect to be thought poor.

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CHAP. VI.

Of the arts the Turks use to increase their people, and gain proselytes.

Arts used for the advancing their religion and peopling the country.

THE Turks endeavour to increase the number of true believers, as they term it, by the many privileges they confer on their proselytes beyond the rest of their subjects, which invites loose and dissolute people from all parts of the world, to flock into their dominions; and as it is looked on as a meritorious act to make a proselyte, there is scarce any man but will purchase or procure a young slave susceptible of any impressions, to make a convert of. It gains him no small reputation in the place where he lives, to have increased the number of the faithful. And though they compel no man to renounce his religion, yet if he have once made profession of Mahometism, it is death for him to change again, and therefore there are very few, though sensible of the baseness of renouncing the Christian faith, that have courage to own it. And some of these renegadoes, it is observed, have proved more inveterate and fatal enemies to Christianity, than the natural Turks. It is observed, that the greatest successes of the Turks, at sea particularly, have been obtained under the conduct of these renegadoes.

Anciently it was the custom in Turkey once in five years to take away the children of the Christians, and educate them in the Mahometan superstition, by which they much increased their people, and diminished the Christians in their dominions: but this has been disused sometime, there being such vast numbers of Greeks, Jews, and Armenians, who continually flock in to partake of the honours and privileges annexed to the profession

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profeſſion of Mahometiſm. And if we conſider the oppreſſions and contempt the poor Chriſtians are expoſed to, and the ignorance of the people, occaſioned by the extreme poverty of their prieſts, it is no wonder, as Sir PAUL RICAUT obſerves, that many of them ſhould renounce their faith; it is rather a miracle that there are ſuch great numbers of Chriſtians ſtill remaining in Turkey, where ſo many tyrannical arts are uſed to induce them to turn Mahometans; which next to the providence of GOD is attributed to the ſtrict obſervation of the feaſts and faſts of their churches; for wanting the aſſiſtance of catechiſms and ſermons, they learn however from theſe outward ceremonies and the offices performed on thoſe days, a tolerable knowledge of their religion, which for want of celebrating thoſe times, would be in danger of being loſt.

The ſlaves which are brought from Tartary, by the way of the Black Sea, are another great addition to the Grand Seignior's ſubjects; and of theſe alſo they generally make proſelytes. A great many Turkiſh ſaiks, or ſhips, daily ſail through the Boſphorus, freighted with poor Chriſtian captives, of both ſexes, and of all ages, carrying a flag at the top-maſt head, ſignifying what merchandize they are laden with. It is computed that at leaſt twenty thouſand Chriſtian ſlaves are imported this way only, one year with another: the greateſt part of whom are women and children, who with fair promiſes are eaſily perſuaded to become Mahometans.

Without theſe continual ſupplies the Turkiſh dominions would be but thinly peopled; for notwithſtanding the Turks are allowed as many women as they will take, it is obſerved, that they have not ſo many children as thoſe who confine themſelves to one wife; which ſome aſcribe to their being ſo much addicted to ſodomy. But I am apt to think, their giving themſelves up ſo much to laſciviouſneſs, weakens them, and renders them unfit for the buſineſs of generation. Another reaſon why the Turks have ſo few children, is, that great numbers of women are locked up in the harams of the quality, who ſcarce ever enjoy the company of their Lords; and thus a great part of the females of the country lye fallow; whereas in thoſe kingdoms where every woman is allowed to have a man to herſelf, few of them die without children: and as it has been obſerved, that the number of males and females are pretty near equal every where, there muſt certainly be the greateſt increaſe, where every woman has her mate.

Nothing would more weaken the Turkiſh empire, Sir PAUL RICAUT was of opinion, than the preventing ſo many ſlaves being taken and carried thither; for by this means they would not only find a general want of ſervants, but a diminution of the better ſort of people, for theſe ſlaves generally become Turks, and are thereby entitled to the ſame privileges with the native Mahometans, and advanced to the higheſt preferments. It is no ſmall inducement to the common people to turn Mahometans, that they are then allowed to wear the white turbant, and Turkiſh habit, and diſtinguiſhed from their brethren the poor Chriſtians, who are forced to undergo all manner of indignities. Moſt people are ambitious of following the faſhions, and imitating thoſe who have the government in their hands: it is no wonder therefore that the Greek and Armenian Chriſtians imitate the Turkiſh habit as near as they, dare eſpecially ſince it is attended by ſuch high privileges. And it is obſerved that even while they remain Chriſtians they are never better pleaſed than when they are allowed, on ſome extraordinary occaſions, to appear without their Chriſtian diſtinction. Thus the ſame judicious writer obſerves, that the ſubtle Turks make their habit an allurement to draw over weak Chriſtians to their ſuperſtition. To the covetous they offer riches, and to the ambitious honour and preferment; and by theſe means gain more proſelytes than they could by the ſevereſt perſecution. Thoſe Chriſtians who adhere to their principles are treated with inſolence and contempt hardly to be born, the Turks have no more regard to them than to beaſts of burthen, whom they ſuffer juſt to live, to perform ſuch ſervile offices as they do not care to be employed in themſelves. But in this the Chriſtians are happy, that they are exempted from ſerving in the wars, becauſe the Turks cannot rely on them; except the Moldavians and Wallachians, who ſerve under their own Princes; and theſe, it is obſerved, are always employed in the forlorn hope, in all deſperate enterprizes.

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CHAP. VII.

Treats of the reception of Ambaſſadors, and of their conduct in their negotiations at the Porte.

The reception of Ambaſſadors.

THE perſons of Ambaſſadors are not deemed ſo ſacred here as in Chriſtendom, notwithſtanding their law prohibits the offering them any violence. The Emperor's Miniſters are treated with more reſpect than thoſe of any other Chriſtian Prince, his dominions lying contiguous to Turkey, and his power appearing more formidable to them than that of thoſe Princes who are more remote, and power is the only thing almoſt, for which a Mahometan has any veneration. The Imperial Ambaſſador, on his arrival in the Turkiſh dominions, has his charges born by the Porte, until the time of his return; but the Emperor, by antient cuſtom and agreement, is obliged to ſend a preſent with the Embaſſy, for which another of equal value is returned by the Turk: but the Ambaſſadors and Miniſters of other powers, whoſe deſign

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sign in sending them is looked upon to be chiefly for the promotion of trade, as the English, French and Dutch, have scarce any other return made them for their presents than a brocaded vest at their audience; the Grand Seignior thinking those powers sufficiently gratified by the privileges and immunities he grants to their trading subjects.

The court appears in all its splendor, when Ambassadors are admitted to their audience, and every thing seems to be contrived to manifest the glory and magnificence of the empire; it is usually appointed on some of those days when the janizaries are paid, which is once in three months, that the Ambassador may observe the order and discipline of their troops, and the vast sums, which are exposed to view, for the payment of them, which he sees piled up in heaps. When the Ambassador is first introduced into the divan, he is seated on a stool covered with crimson velvet, near the Grand Vizier, and other Viziers of the bench, and the money being paid to the respective officers, to be distributed to the soldiers, an entertainment is prepared for the Ambassador, who with the Prime Vizier and other Viziers of the bench, and the Testerdar or Lord Treasurer, all dine at a table, much lower than those we use, on which is placed a capacious voider of silver, in this the dishes are set, but no table-cloth, knives or forks are used at their meals. At two other tables, in the same room, the Ambassador's attendants and some Turkish officers of quality sit. There are frequently three or four score dishes served up, but they are no sooner tasted than they are taken off again.

The entertainment being over, the Chiaux Bassa conducts the Ambassador to an apartment, with some of his retinue, where rich silk vests are presented them, made after the Turkish mode, with which about twenty of them being clothed, two Capigi Bassas, or chief of the porters of the palace, with their silver staves in their hands, introduce the Ambassador towards the Grand Seignior's apartment, and after him are brought the presents which the Ambassador makes, and are delivered to officers appointed to receive them. The outward courts of the palace at this time are filled with janizaries, who observe so profound a silence, that there is not the least noise heard amongst them. The Ambassador being brought to a great portal at the entrance of the place of audience, here he finds several white eunuchs, clothed in the richest brocades and tissues: none of the Ambassador's train are permitted to go farther, except his Secretary, the Interpreter, and two or three more. At the entrance of the chamber of audience hangs a golden ball, studded with precious stones, and about it great chains of rich pearl. The floor is covered with carpets of crimson velvet embroidered with gold, and in many places set with seed pearl. The Grand Seignior's throne is raised a little above the floor, supported by four pillars plated with gold, and the roof richly gilded, from whence hang several golden balls; and the cushions he leans on are embroidered with gold and jewels. In this room remains no other attendants but the Prime Vizier, who stands on the Grand Seignior's right hand, in an humble posture. As soon as the Ambassador appears in the Grand Seignior's presence, two Capigi Bassas lead him in, holding him all the while under his arms, and having brought him to a convenient distance, they lay their hands upon his neck, make him bow his face almost to the ground, and then raising him up again, retire backwards to the end of the room: the rest of the Ambassador's retinue who are admitted performing the same ceremony afterwards, but are made to bow rather lower than their master.

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There is no chair set for the Ambassador at his audience, but he is kept standing till he acquaints the Grand Seignior with the design of his embassy; which being taken down in writing and read over, is with his letters of credence put into the hands of the Grand Vizier, with whom he afterwards negotiates his affairs. The Turks, as has been hinted already, do not much scruple violating the privileges of Ambassadors, but will frequently imprison them, and put very great hardships upon them, without any regard to the law of nations. As the Sultan looks upon himself to be superior to the laws of his own empire, it is not to be expected he should have any great regard to the law of nations, or of any other kingdom: and indeed the contempt the Turks have for the maxims and customs of other nations, is scarce to be imagined. A war is no sooner proclaimed, but the Ambassador must expect to be confined. The Venetian Ambassadors have been imprisoned for several years, and with very great difficulty and large presents obtained their liberty at last. The French Ambassador was also imprisoned in the seven towers, on suspicion of his contriving the escape of a Polish General, till by money and the mediation of the French King he procured his liberty.

Monsieur LE HAYE, another French Ambassador, and his son, were both imprisoned for writing to the Venetian Ambassador in cypher: and the younger LE HAYE seeming to contemn the Turkish threats, when he was brought before the Vizier, he ordered the Chiaux Bassa to strike him on the mouth, which he did several times with such violence, that he struck two of his teeth out, and they were no sooner discharged from their confinement on this occasion, but news being brought that the mariners of a French ship had run away with her, in which was some merchandize belonging to the Turks, the Ambassador

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was again impriſoned in the ſeven towers, and was forced to purchaſe his liberty with conſiderable ſums. The Turks, far from looking on an Ambaſſador as a repreſentative of his Prince, like other eaſtern Monarchs, eſteem him no more than a meſſenger ſent to deſire ſome favours of them in behalf of the country he comes from, and to remain as an hoſtage for the performance of all agreements made in behalf of his maſters; or rather to ſecure the goods of ſuch Turks as are laden in their veſſels. Accordingly the Reſident of Holland was impriſoned upon the loſs of a ſhip of his nation taken by the Malteſe, on which ſome Turkiſh effects were on board, and was not releaſed till he agreed to pay eighty five thouſand dollars by way of ſatisfaction. Nor have the Imperial Miniſters been much better treated than thoſe of other potentates; but upon miſunderſtandings between the two courts have been impriſoned, and ſome of them during the continuance of a long war, tranſported from place to place with the army, and as it were led in triumph. But though they have ſo little reſpect to the perſons of Ambaſſadors on the breaking out of a war, it is obſerved to their honour that they ſcarce ever confiſcate or ſeize on the effects of the merchants who are ſubject to the powers they contend with.

Ambaſſadors at this day are not admitted to audience with their ſwords on, of which we had a remarkable inſtance, when Monſieur FERRIOL the French Ambaſſador attempted it; having put on the rich veſt or coffetan, in order to approach the Grand Seignior, the Chiaux Baſſa obſerving a long ſword peep from under it, told the Ambaſſador that it was not uſual to appear in that manner before his Highneſs, and deſired him to lay it by. To which Monſieur FERRIOL anſwered, that the King his Maſter only had a right to take it from him, and that another man ſhould ſooner take away his life; that his predeceſſor Monſieur CHATEAUNEUF aſſured him he had been admitted to audience with his ſword on. To which the Vizier anſwered, that then it muſt have been ſo ſhort as to have been entirely hidden under the coffetan, and that they would take care for the future, that neither the Imperial Ambaſſador nor any other, ſhould ever come to their audiences with their ſword on. Monſieur FERRIOL ſtill remaining inflexible, the Aga of the janizaries interpoſed, repreſenting that neither the Grand Vizier who governed the Ottoman empire as the Grand Seignior's lieutenant, nor himſelf, who was general of his forces, had ever entered armed into any of his Highneſs's apartments. The Ambaſſador replied, You are a ſubject, but I have the honour to repreſent a great Prince, who exempts me from ſuch ſubmiſſions. Then the Viziers of the bench uſed their utmoſt efforts to perſuade him not to inſiſt on entring with his ſword on; but finding all in vain, they only ſaid, You had beſt enter in as you are then. Whereupon he took the King's letter in his hand, and two Capigis taking him under each arm, he was advancing towards the room of audience, when he found a Capigi endeavouring privately to get his ſword from his ſide: which he no ſooner perceived, but he puſhed him at a great diſtance from him, and getting from the two Capigis who had him under the arms, drew his ſword half out, demanding if they were friends or enemies. To which they reply'd, Friends, but we will not ſuffer you to enter with your ſword. Whereupon he refuſed to enter at all; and putting the King's letter into his pocket again, he pulled off his veſt and gave it the firſt officer he met, commanding his retinue to do the like: after which he retired, and croſſed the court of the divan on foot, and mounting afterwards on horſeback, returned with his people to his houſe: but the Chiaux Baſſa who had conducted him to court did not return with him. The Grand Vizier afterwards ſent to acquaint Monſieur FERRIOL that he might take his preſents back again; which he did accordingly, and the King of France found himſelf obliged to put up the indignity offered to his Miniſter. Sir PAUL RICAUT gives us another remarkable inſtance of that contempt the Turks entertain of Chriſtian Princes; he ſays, Monſieur LE HAYE the French Ambaſſador ſending advice to the Prime Vizier, that his Maſter had taken the ſtrong city of Arras from the Spaniards, and expecting that the Turks would have expreſſed ſome ſigns of joy, and congratulated him upon the occaſion, the Vizier only anſwered coldly, 'What is it to me whether the dog worries 'the hog, or the hog the dog, ſo my Maſter's 'head be ſafe?' intimating that he had as little eſteem for Chriſtians as for the worſt of brute beaſts, for there are no animals that they more abhor than theſe. An Ambaſſador at the Porte, the ſame judicious author obſerves, muſt be very circumſpect, and careful to avoid having his honour blemiſhed or his perſon violated, for afterwards, as one whoſe reputation is loſt, he is ſcorned and loſes his power and intereſt; all his perſonal qualifications, though never ſo great, are not regarded, the enduring one affront only draws on another; the Turks of all people being moſt ready to trample on thoſe that lye under their feet. On the contrary, thoſe who can preſerve their eſteem may treat with them to great advantage. Low and mean ſubmiſſions they contemn; ſolid reaſoning accompanied with vivacity and courage is the only way of treating with the Turks; an eaſy flexible diſpoſition is of little ſervice to a publick Miniſter here; a ſteady adherence to former cuſtoms and precedents, even

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to obſtinacy, is the beſt and ſafeſt rule in treating with the Turks; for the conceſſion of one point only encourages them to inſiſt upon another, and perhaps a third; their hopes encreaſe with their ſucceſs, and they have neither modeſty nor wiſdom to terminate their deſires. But there is nothing a publick miniſter ought to take more care of than the providing himſelf with eloquent intelligent interpreters, who are men of ſpirit, for the preſence is great they appear before, and they muſt often hazard the frowns of a barbarous tyrant. There have been examples where the Ambaſſador himſelf hath been obliged to interpoſe his own perſon between the fury of the Vizier and his interpreter, who has been guilty of no other offence than honeſtly explaining his maſter's words; many of them have been impriſoned, and ſome executed for it: but the Vizier takes the greater liberty with theſe interpreters, becauſe they are generally the Grand Seignior's own ſubjects; and therefore Sir PAUL RICAUT adviſes the educating ſome young Engliſhmen in Turkey, ſo as they may be qualified for that office; who might with leſs danger to themſelves, and honour to their maſter, boldly declare his ſentiments without the uſual mincing and ſubmiſſions which the natives are compelled to.

He adviſes our Engliſh miniſters in Turkey alſo not to be very ſolicitous to enter into intimate friendſhip with the Turks; an outward ſhew of civility is all that we ſhould aim at; for a Turk, he aſſures us, is not capable of real friendſhip towards a Chriſtian. If we ſhould depend on them in any great emergency they would certainly deceive our expectations; and if you have purchaſed them, or made them your friends by preſents, they muſt be bought again and again, as you have freſh occaſion to uſe them. Scarce any thing it ſeems is negotiated in Turkey without preſents; but it requires great prudence in a miniſter to diſpoſe them to advantage. There are uſually two or three powerful perſons about the court, who influence affairs, and muſt of neceſſity be often ſweetened by gratuities, and he that has money at command, and applies it prudently, may ſecure his privileges and purchaſe juſtice of them, and indeed obtain every thing he can reaſonably expect.

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Treats of the Turkiſh forces, or militia.

THE militia of the Turkiſh empire is of two ſorts: the firſt have certain lands appointed for their maintenance, and the other are paid out of the treaſury. The firſt are again diſtinguiſhed into zaims and timariots, between whom there is no other difference than in the number of men they are to maintain and bring into the field, and the revenue appointed for this ſervice. The lands

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a zaim holds are from 20000 aſpers per annum to 99999, and no more; for if it be rated at an aſper more, it is the revenue of a Sangiack Bey, or Baſſa, whoſe revenue is from 100000 aſpers to 99999; and if it amounts to an aſper more, it is the revenue of a Beglerbeg or Viceroy, who has ſeveral Baſſas (Governors of ſangiackſhips) under him. The number of men a zaim brings into the field is from four to nineteen, according to the value of his lands, and a timariot never brings above the number of four.

The timariots alſo are of two ſorts, ſome of them hold of the Beglerbeg or Viceroy of the province, and others directly of the crown; thoſe who hold immediately of the crown, have from five thouſand to nineteen thouſand nine hundred ninety nine aſpers per ann. for if the revenue be an aſper more it makes him a zaim. Thoſe timariots who hold of the Viceroy of a particular province have rents from three thouſand to ſix thouſand aſpers per ann.

The zaims in time of war bring into the field large tents, in which they have ſeveral apartments, with kitchens and ſtables ſuitable to their quality; and for every five thouſand aſpers annual rent, they are obliged to find a horſeman completely furniſhed; ſo that one who has thirty thouſand aſpers per annum brings ſix horſemen into the field, and one who has ninety thouſand, eighteen horſemen, and ſo proportionably; which in this country would be but a very poor allowance for troopers; for as near as I can compute, five thouſand aſpers per annum, (which is the allowance for maintaining a trooper with his horſe and accoutrements) amount to very little above ten pounds: but proviſions it ſeems are much cheaper in Turkey than they are here, and in time of peace probably the zaims and timariots put moſt of the money in their pockets.

The timariots for every three thouſand aſpers rent are obliged to bring a trooper into the field completely armed; whereas the zaims have five thouſand aſpers for every trooper, and both the zaims and timariots are formed into regiments, commanded by colonels, who have their reſpective colours and kettle drums; theſe colonels are commanded by a Baſſa or Sangiack Bey, and he by the Beglerbeg or Viceroy of the province; and when the army is compoſed of the militia of ſeveral provinces, the whole is commanded in the abſence of the Grand Seignior by the Prime Vizier or Seraskier.

The zaims and timariots are obliged alſo by the tenure of their lands to find men for the ſea ſervice, when the government requires it, and the timariots are obliged to ſerve there in perſon, and neither zaims nor timariots can be excuſed from perſonal ſervice by land. If they are ſick or in their infancy they muſt be carried in litters, or a kind of pannier, ſuch as their women travel in,

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which are hung on each ſide a horſe or camel. When the Turks compute what number a Beglerbeg or Viceroy can bring into the field, they compute how many zaims or timariots there are in the province, which they call ſo many ſwords, but are ſeldom ſo exact as to number how many troopers every zaim or timariot is obliged to bring into the field with him, and except on a muſter day they ſcarce ever have their complement, being as artful in impoſing on the government as any officers in Chriſtendom, or rather in bribing their ſuperiors to connive at the fraud.

I ſhall here therefore only give the reader an account of the ſangiackſhips or governments, and the number of zaims and timariots in each province, and then at a medium compute what the whole forces of the province may amount to.

The viceroyſhips and governments in the Turkiſh empire, and the forces they can raiſe.

In the province of Natolia or Aſia-Minor are ſixteen ſangiackſhips or governments, each of them under the command of a Baſſa, 625 zaims, and 8576 timariots; now computing that every zaim brings ten troopers into the field, and every timariot two, the forces of this province muſt amount to 25728 men.

In the province of Caramania, anciently Cilicia, are ſeven ſangiackſhips, 73 zaims, and 2165 timariots, which upon the like calculation as above, muſt amount to 5060 effective men.

In the province of Diarbeck or Meſopotamia, there are twelve ſangiackſhips, 106 zaims, and 5400 timariots; in all 11506 men.

In the province of Damaſcus, or Scham, the antient Syria, are ſeven ſangiackſhips, 128 zaims, and 873 timariots; in all 3026 men, according to the aboveſaid calculation.

In the province of Sivas, part of Armenia Major, are ſeven ſangiackſhips, 808 zaims, and 3029 timariots; which by the like calculation produce 11109 men.

In the province of Erzerum, on the confines of Georgia, are nine ſangiackſhips, 122 zaims, and 5548 timariots; who bring into the field, according to the former calculation, 12316 men.

In the province of Van, part of Media, nine ſangiackſhips, 185 zaims, and 826 timariots; who bring into the field 3502 men.

In the province of Maraſch, near the Euphrates, between Meſopotamia and Aleppo, three ſangiackſhips, 27 zaims, and 512 timariots; which produce 1294 men, according to the former calculation.

In the province of Cyprus are five ſangiackſhips, 40 zaims, and 1067 timariots, producing, according to the aboveſaid computation 2534 men.

In the province of Tripoli, in Syria, are five ſangiackſhips, 63 zaims, and 570 timariots; producing 1770 men.

In the province of Rika are four ſangiackſhips, 60 zaims, and 666 timariots; producing 1932 men.

In the province of Trabezond are no ſangiackſhips, 56 zaims, and 398 timariots; who bring into the field 1356 men.

In the province or viceroyſhip of Aleppo, are ſix ſangiackſhips, 117 zaims, and 1044 timariots; who bring into the field according to the aboveſaid computation 3258 men.

In the province of Tchilder on the confines of Georgia, fifteen ſangiackſhips, 106 zaims, 659 timariots; who raiſe 2378 men.

Under the government of the Captain Baſſa or High Admiral, are nine ſangiackſhips, 124 zaims, and 1152 timariots; who raiſe 3544 men.

In the province or viceroyſhip of Rumelia or Romania in Europe, are twenty two ſangiackſhips or governments, 1075 zaims, and 8194 timariots; who raiſe according to the computation aforeſaid 27138 men.

Beſides theſe, the militia on the frontiers of Hungary, &c. amount to 70000 effective men: but the horſe raiſed by the zaims and timariots only, are generally reckoned to amount to about one hundred thouſand men. In every war, beſides theſe, are found a great number of voluntier cavalry or adventurers, called by the Turks Gionulli, who live at their own charge, in expectation of ſucceeding the zaims and timariots who fall in the ſervice; and theſe to raiſe their fortunes will engage in the moſt deſperate enterprizes; for they do not only promiſe themſelves an eſtate if they ſurvive, but are taught, that if they die in a war againſt Chriſtians they ſhall go immediately to paradiſe: and it is reported, that at an attack of a certain city, a timariot's farm was diſpoſed of no leſs than eight times in one day; for when one was killed, it was conferred upon a ſecond, and he falling, upon a third, and ſo on, and the eighth had the good fortune to enjoy the prize.

When any zaim or timariot grows old or impotent, he has the privilege of reſigning to his ſon or ſome other relation. A peaſant or husbandman is not allowed to ride or wear a ſword like a ſpahi (a trooper) till he has been in the ſervice of ſome Baſſa, except on the frontiers of the empire, and here if he has given any proofs of his courage, he is allowed to be a candidate for the vacant farms of the zaims or timariots. In Romania only, where a zaim or timariot dies in the wars, his lands are divided into as many timariot farms as he hath ſons: but if a timariot falls who has a farm of the value of 3000 aſpers only, it deſcends to the eldeſt ſon, except he dies a natural death, and then it is diſpoſed of by the Beglerbeg or Viceroy of the province, who may confer them on the children of the deceaſed, ſell them, or diſpoſe of them to their own ſervants or creatures; in which there are very great abuſes committed, and

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and has rendered this militia of late years much leſs formidable than formerly.

There are ſeveral zaims and timariots in Natolia, whoſe eſtates remain perpetually in the ſame family, and deſcend to their heirs; neither are they obliged to ſerve in perſon in the wars, but ſend a number of their ſervants or mercenaries in proportion to the value of the lands they hold; but if they fail in this particular, a year's rent is forfeited, and the lands deſcend to the next of kin.

Beſides the militia above-mentioned, there are in the province or viceroyſhip of Grand Cairo in Egypt, eighty thouſand timariots. This country is divided into twelve diſtricts, commanded by as many Beys or Lords, who have each of them five hundred horſe for their guard, beſides the command of the other militia. Some of theſe Beys are of the race of the Mamalukes, and their commands deſcend from father to ſon. They are ſo powerful that they frequently ſtand upon their defence, when they find the Beglerbeg or Viceroy of the province would impoſe any hardſhips upon them, and have ſometimes impriſoned and depoſed their Viceroy: and the Grand Seignior is often obliged to diſſemble and connive at their inſolence, knowing the conſtitution of that kingdom to be ſuch, that if he ſhould apply forcible remedies, it might occaſion a general revolt, and rend it from the body of the empire.

There are alſo certain auxiliary forces raiſed by the tributary countries of this empire, as the Tartars, Walachians, Moldavians, &c. who are commanded by their reſpective Princes. The Han of the Crim Tartars is obliged to furniſh an hundred thouſand men when the Grand Seignior takes the field, and to ſerve in perſon. When the Ottoman army is commanded by the Prime Vizier, the ſon of the Han, if he has one, or elſe ſome other of his Generals, brings forty or fifty thouſand men into the field: and the Princes of Moldavia and Walachia are never excuſed from perſonal attendance, with about ſix or ſeven thouſand men.

I come next to treat of thoſe forces which receive their pay from the treaſury, and may properly be called the troops of the houſhold, namely, the ſpahis and janizaries. The troopers of every eſtabliſhment indeed are called ſpahis; but this appellation ſeems more particularly appropriated to thoſe bodies who are paid by the court, and are not ſubſiſted out of the lands of the provinces: theſe were originally men of ſome education, being taken out of the ſeminaries in the ſeraglio, from among the Ichoglans and Azamoglans, as they are called, and are in number about twelve thouſand. Theſe are divided into two bodies, viz. the ſilachtari, who carry yellow colours; and the ſpahioglari, or the ſervants of the ſpahis, who carry red colours: but theſe, who were originally the ſervants of the ſpahis, are now made equal, if not ſuperior to the former; for Sultan MAHOMET the third, at a battle in Hungary, obſerving that the ſilachtari gave ground, with great paſſion and earneſtneſs endeavoured to perſuade them to charge again, but all in vain; while their ſervants ſtill remaining in a body, he prevailed on them, by ſome encouraging expreſſions, to charge and ſupply the place of their maſters, which they did with ſuch ſucceſs that they turned the fortune of the day, and the Sultan came off victorious: in memory of which ſervice, it is ſaid, he gave them the pre-eminence of their maſters, and allowed them to wear red colours, which, it ſeems, they put up when they made that glorious charge on the enemy which raiſed their reputation.

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They were armed with a ſcymetar and lance, bows and arrows, and ſometimes a gerit, or dart, about two foot and a half long, pointed with ſteel, which they would throw very true, and were taught to take up from the ground again in a full career, without ſtanding ſtill: but now they have learned the uſe of carbines and piſtols, and ſome of them wear a head-piece, back, and breaſt, painted of the colour their ſquadron is diſtinguiſhed by.

The Aſian ſpahis, it is obſerved, are generally better mounted than thoſe of Europe; but the Europeans are much better diſciplined, on account of their frequent engagements with the Chriſtians. The Aſiatick ſpahi's, in the laſt age, made a great figure in the army, bringing into the field thirty or forty men a-piece, with led horſes, tents, and other equipage, appearing very magnificent; but the Grand Vizier CAPRUILY, it ſeems, thought this was not ſuitable to the condition of private troopers, and a ſpirit of faction and mutiny reigning amongſt them at that time, he cauſed the heads of many of them to be ſtruck off, with as little reluctance, it is ſaid, as if he had taken off the heads of ſo many poppies, till he had ſufficiently humbled them, and they are content ten or twelve of them now to furniſh out an indifferent tent, with two or three baggage horſes or mules to carry their proviſions, and will patiently bear the ordinary puniſhment of the baſtinado on the ſoles of their feet, as the janizaries receive it on their buttocks, that it may not diſable them from marching. If the crime be great, they are ſent for by a Chiaux, or Meſſenger, and ſtrangled near the walls of the palace, without being allowed to anſwer in their defence; and in the night their bodies are thrown into the ſea, without any more ceremony than the firing of a great gun, which ſerves as a warning-piece for others to take example by.

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Their pay is very different, according to their education, or the chambers they are taken out of, and is from twelve to an hundred aſpers a day. Thoſe who are brought up in the ſeraglios of Pera, Ibrahim, Baſſa, and Adrianople, which are ſo many nurſeries to inſtruct them in the art of war, and thoſe who are employed in inferior offices, ſuch as cutting wood for the court, and have the liberty of living abroad, with the title of ſpahis, have the loweſt pay of twelve aſpers a day; but thoſe who come from the chambers in the Grand Seignior's own ſeraglio, called ſeni ſerai, have nineteen aſpers a day; and others of the higher chambers, as of the laundry, the turbant office, the diſpenſatory, the treaſury, the falconer's lodge, &c. have at firſt thirty aſpers a day, and at the inſtalment of a Grand Seignior, five aſpers more is given, by way of donative, to all the ſpahis of the army; and ſome of them, by their diligence and application, riſe to an hundred aſpers a day, but never exceed that ſum.

Theſe troops are paid quarterly, or they may let it alone, and receive nine months pay together, as ſome who live at a great diſtance from court chooſe to do; but if they let twelve months paſs they can demand no more than nine of their arrears. They are paid now in the hall of the Prime Vizier; there being diſcovered great abuſes when they received it in the houſes of the pay-maſters and treaſurers; gratuities being extorted for preferring one before another, which ſometimes occaſioned mutinies and diſorders; whereupon the Vizier CAPRUILY ordered the money to be diſtributed in his preſence, as all ſucceeding Viziers have done.

The ſons of ſpahis have the privilege of being enrolled, and receiving twelve aſpers a day, on preſenting themſelves before the Vizier; but this muſt iſſue out of the father's pay: however, when they are upon this foundation their pay is uſually encreaſed, and they are in the road of preferment. When the Grand Seignior takes the field in perſon, he beſtows a largeſs on the ſpahis of five thouſand aſpers a man, for furniſhing them with arms and accoutrements: but all their military diſcipline, I find, conſiſts in a dexterous management of their arms and horſes, as private troopers: they are never formed into regular bodies, or know how to wheel or march as our troops do; but advance and charge furiouſly, without any manner of order; and if they meet with a repulſe or two, diſperſe themſelves, and can never be rallied again.

There are beſides the two bodies of ſpahis above-mentioned, four others, viz. 1. The ſag ulefigi, who march on the right of the ſpaha oglani, carrying white and red colours. 2. The ſol ulefigi, who march on the left of the ſelachtari, carrying white and yellow colours. 3. The ſagureba voluntiers, or ſoldiers of fortune, who march on the right hand of the ſag ulefigi, and carry green colours. 4. The ſol gureba, who march on the left of the ulefigi, and have a white ſtandard: but theſe four kinds of ſpahis are raiſed and liſted only upon preſſing occaſions, when a war is entring upon, and do all manner of duty, their pay being from twelve to twenty aſpers a day; but are capable of being preferred into the other bodies, if they merit it.

There is ſtill another body more eminent than any that have been yet mentioned, namely the matuſaraca, who have had their education in ſome of the principal chambers of the ſeraglio, and are a kind of favourites: theſe amount to four or five hundred, and have at leaſt forty aſpers a day apiece, and attend the Grand Seignior as his lifeguard when he goes abroad.

The janizaries are another conſiderable body, and taken from the ſame ſeminaries frequently as the ſpahis; but the janizaries ſerve altogether on foot: they were firſt inſtituted in the reign of AMURAH, their third Emperor, at leaſt he preſcribed the rules for their education and maintenance; and his Prime Vizier ordered, that for the augmentation of this militia, every fifth captive taken from the Chriſtians, above fifteen years of age, ſhould belong to the Sultan: and they uſed to be diſtributed amongſt the Turkiſh peaſants in Aſia, to be inſtructed in the language and religion of the country. They did not at firſt exceed the number of ſeven thouſand, but they are now encreaſed to twenty-five thouſand effective men, and if we take in all who enjoy the name and privileges, (but not the pay) of janizaries, they will be found to amount to more than an hundred thouſand; for many by preſenting a ſum of money to the officer who commands the janizaries in every province, are acknowledged and countenanced as ſuch, who are ſcarce ever brought into actual ſervice.

This militia conſiſted formerly only of the children of Chriſtians, educated in the Mahometan ſuperſtition; but now the children of the native Turks, by bribing the officers, procure their children to be admitted into theſe ſeminaries. Many of them have their quarters in the garden lodges of the Grand Seignior's ſeraglios, of which there are ſeveral in Conſtantinople: here ſome of them are inured to all manner of laborious employments, as cutting wood, carrying burthens, manuring the grounds, &c. Others of them are made cooks, and officers of the kitchens: others, who cannot ſpeak the Turkiſh language, are ſent into Natolia, where the janizaries have poſſeſſions and authority, and here they are employed in ploughing and ſowing the ground, until ſupplies are wanted for the wars, and then being called to the chambers of the janizaries, they march one after

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after another, according to their ſeniority, and appear before the muſter-maſter, who having enrolled their names, they run by their oda baſſa, or maſter of their chamber, who gives every one, as he paſſes by, a blow on the ear, to ſignify their coming under his ſubjection, and this is all the ceremony at the admiſſion of a janizary.

At their firſt enrollment they are allowed from one aſper a day to ſeven, which in time are encreaſed to twelve; but this is the higheſt pay of a private janizary, till he is advanced to ſome office: but, beſides this pay, they have their diet from the Grand Seignior, a table being ſpread for them at conſtant hours, with rice, fleſh, and bread, and they eat in their reſpective refectories like ſo many monks. They receive alſo every year a ſoldier's coat, of coarſe warm cloth of Salonica; and thus they are provided with all neceſſaries, and have no cares to take: they frequently, however, grow mutinous, and have proceeded ſo far ſometimes as to depoſe the Sultan, and demand the heads of his other great miniſters they apprehended to be their enemies; nor will they be appeaſed till they are delivered up to them. They uſually diſcover their ſeditious temper firſt at their aſſemblies in the publick divan, whither five or ſix hundred of them are obliged to go twice a week, to attend their Aga, or General; at this place they have their food ſent them from the Grand Seignior's kitchen; and if they have taken a diſguſt to any great man, they overturn their plates of rice, and ſlight the entertainment; which the Grand Seignior and his miniſters having often found the prelude to an inſurrection, endeavour by all fair promiſes to appeaſe them before it goes any farther.

The janizaries chambers in Conſtantinople are one hundred ſixty-two, of which eighty are of antient foundation, and eighty-two of a more modern date; and to every chamber almoſt there is a Tchorbagi, or Captain: in theſe chambers dwell ſuch janizaries as are unmarried, and have two meals a day provided for them by the government. The principal officers of theſe chambers are, 1. The oda baſſa, or maſter of the chamber, who ſerves as lieutenant of the company in time of war. 2. The wekilbarg, or burſer. 3. The bairackte, who carries the colours. 4. The aſhgee, or cook, who, beſides his office of cookery, has the puniſhing of thoſe who are guilty of any crime. And 5. The under cook, whoſe buſineſs alſo it is to ſummon the married janizaries who live in Conſtantinople, when their attendance is required; but there are not many of them married, becauſe it is a hindrance to their preferment: however, any of them may marry if they pleaſe.

Theſe are eſteemed the beſt ſoldiers in the Turkiſh armies, and on them they principally depend in an engagement. Their arms are ſwords and muskets, which they handle very dexterouſly, but charge in as much confuſion almoſt as their horſe, the ſpahis. The gunners and armourers are taken out of the body of the janizaries; but the renegado Chriſtians are much their beſt engineers; nor could the Turks be able to attack or defend a town well without them; and it ſeems ſtrange to me, they have not taught them our diſcipline, as well as the art of fortification: but it is with reluctancy, and upon the laſt neceſſity, it ſeems, when the conceited Turk condeſcends to learn any thing of a Chriſtian.

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Beſides the janizaries of the Porte above deſcribed, every province of the empire is filled at preſent with foot ſoldiers, who bear that name; but theſe are not enrolled with the others. The Serdar, or Colonel, of which there is one in every province, who has the command of all the janizaries in it, generally abuſes his office, and will take any raſcals into that body; who many of them enter themſelves only for the liberty of committing outrages with impunity, and to skreen themſelves from juſtice.

There are another ſort of inferior infantry, called azeps and arcanges, who ſerve chiefly for pioneers, to blunt the ſwords of an enemy, or fill up a ditch at an attack, and are generally detached before the army, to ravage and plunder the enemy's country; and if they behave well, are ſometimes admitted into the body of janizaries.

The deſtruction of ſo many great miniſters, and even Emperors, by the ſeditions of the janizaries, have made the Turkiſh court take all occaſions of late years to diminiſh their power: they have expoſed them therefore upon every trifling ſervice, and cut off the flower of that militia, introducing quite another ſet of men in their room, ſervants, mechanicks, and any idle fellows; whereas ſeven years exerciſe were ſcarce thought ſufficient formerly to qualify them for this ſervice. The old janizaries and ſpahis having had ſo many privileges granted them, and holding all together as one man, it was dangerous giving them any offence, or to call them to an account on any occaſion whatever: but now their ſpirits are broke, and theſe bodies are filled up with a raſcally kind of people, the government do not think themſelves ſo much in danger from them: but then, on the other hand, they are no longer the defence and glory of the Ottoman empire; there is no relying upon them in an engagement with the Chriſtians: we have ſeen in our times very inconſiderable armies driving the whole Turkiſh power before them.

As this empire is founded on pure force, and their Princes every where acquired their dominion by the ſword, it was exceeding politick to encou-

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rage all brave enterprising spirits, and to appropriate certain rewards and privileges to those who deserved well in the field: nor was there much danger to be apprehended by it, while they were every day busied in conquering new countries, and found fresh spoils to bestow upon their troops; but when a stop was put to the progress of their arms, peace was made with the neighbouring states, and the soldiery wanted employment, such considerable bodies of them being lodged in the capital city, and vested with such extravagant privileges, it is no wonder that they put in for a share in the government, and to set up and depose Emperors at pleasure. No civil government can possibly subsist where there is a superior military power; a popular General, and sometimes a private soldier, by declaring against some pretended grievance, will be able to work his brethren up into a mutiny, and overturn the firmest constitution. The Turkish, like the Roman empire, therefore, may probably be destroyed by the very means it was raised, a standing army; for notwithstanding the government have taken all methods to reduce these troops to reason, we yet find more frequent revolutions here than in any kingdom of the world; and the empire seems ready to sink with its own weight. But should the Imperialists and Muscovites ever attack the Turks with their united forces, this empire, probably, would be of a very short duration; nor could it have subsisted till this time, but for the divisions among Christian Princes: if the Emperor falls upon the Turk, the French King, or some other power, immediately falls upon him, being much more apprehensive of aggrandizing a Christian neighbour, than of the Turks overrunning Christendom at present.

But to proceed, The chiauxes are also reckoned by some among the Turkish militia, because they wear both offensive and defensive arms; but they are chiefly employed in civil processes, carrying orders, and in the arresting and executing criminals of state: they are about five or six hundred in number, having from twelve to forty aspers a day; and their commander is called the Chiaux Bachi: they attend in the Prime Vizier's palace, ready to carry the orders of the Porte in any part of the empire; and sometimes they are employed in a kind of embassies and negotiations with foreign Princes. A bow and arrows, a scymetar, and a long staff with a great head, are the arms they use. Those of them who belong to the Prime Vizier, or the Viceroys, have their staves plated with silver. As they serve all summonses, and execute the orders of the courts of justice, they have very considerable perquisites belonging to their office.

The Viceroys and Governors of provinces also maintain a militia, called segbans, who guard the baggage belonging to the horse in the field; and there is another body, called sarigas, to whose care the baggage of the infantry is committed, and these serve on foot: the former are a kind of dragoons, who fight either on horseback or on foot.

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The Turkish army.

When the Turkish army takes the field, the janizaries, and the rest of the infantry, are posted in the front, pitching their tents round about that of their Aga, or General. In the center are erected the glorious pavilions of the Grand Vizier; that of the Kahija, or Chief Steward; the Reis Effendi, or Chancellor; the Testerdar Bassa, or Lord Treasurer; and of the Kapislar Kahiasee, or Master of the Ceremonies: and these five pavilions encompass a spacious field; in the center whereof is set up a lofty tent, or rather canopy, where people attend who have any business in the divan, the court of the Vizier, or with the Generals and officers of state; and in this place also criminals are corrected and executed: within this circle also is the hasna, or treasure, piled up in small chests, and surrounded by a guard of spahis; near the Vizier's quarters stand the tents of the Bassas, Beys, and Agas, and other persons of distinction, which, with their servants and dependents, constitute a considerable part of the Turkish army. The spahis, and those who guard the baggage of the horse, pitch their tents in the rear, and on the right of the Vizier's quarters stand the train of artillery and ammunition.

The tents or pavilions of the Vizier, and other officers of state, very well deserve the name of palaces, if we consider their extent, the variety of apartments, and the richness of the furniture; they far exceed their most magnificent buildings, nor can any thing be contrived more commodious. These moveable habitations, with the posts that support them, being of great weight as well as bulk, the Turkish army moves but slowly, seldom more than four or five hours in a day, nor do they use wheel-carriages, but load all their baggage upon horses, mules, or camels. People of distinction are always furnished with two sets of tents, one whereof is sent away and pitched the day before they come to their ground, so that they are provided with all accommodations, as soon as their march is over; but this occasions the employing a prodigious number of camels, and other beasts of burthen, and servants almost without number, which proves a great hindrance, as well as an expence, to them.

This makes the Turkish armies, however, appear exceeding numerous, when in truth the fighting men scarce amount to half the number which are in the field. In this vast multitude all imaginable order is observed, quarrels or clamours seldom happen, which some ascribe to their sobriety

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briety and want of wine. On the contrary, it is observed, the Germans are too much addicted to intemperance, of which their enemies have frequently taken an advantage and surprized them. So sensible are the Turks of the disorders which arise from the indulging the soldiery in strong liquors, that, it is said, a detachment marches two or three days before the army, and seals up all the taverns, making proclamation, that no person set any wine to sale while the army is in the neighbourhood; for notwithstanding wine is prohibited by their law, very few of them will refrain from it when they can come at it, but drink to a very great excess.

There are deep pits dug at proper distances, and encompassed with canvas, where they do the offices of nature, in which the Turks are exceeding neat, and their camp is free from all manner of ordure and offensive smells. In the heat of summer, upon a march, the baggage begins to move about seven in the evening, and the Grand Vizier with the Bassas soon after midnight, having so many lights that the way may be discerned as clearly as in the day time: these lights are carried by certain Arabians, who are reckoned their best footmen; they do not carry torches, but a bituminous oily sort of wood, which they burn in an iron grate on the top of a staff, like those we see in antient pictures which represent night-pieces.

The naval forces of Turkey are not very formidable, considering the large extent of that empire, and the many fine sea-ports they are masters of: nor are there any kind of naval stores but what the coasts of the Black sea, Egypt, and other provinces are able to furnish in great abundance; but they do not seem to have a genius for navigation, any more than they have for engineering, and other parts of the mathematicks: their gunners therefore are usually English, French, or Dutch, and ignorant enough many times in that art, which gives the Christians a great advantage of them upon any engagement.

Their grand fleet scarce ever consists of more than thirty men of war, besides galleys, which amount sometimes to an hundred. Those of Constantinople are very large, finely gilded and carved, and set off with other ornaments, and make a glorious appearance. Their shipwrights are usually renegado Christians; for the Turks excel as little in building their shipping as they do in sailing.

The High Admiral is styled the Captain Bassa; his lieutenant, tershana kiahiasi; and the third officer tersane emini, or steward of the arsenal, who provides all the stores for the navy. They do not want slaves to tug at the oar, being well supplied from Tartary, and other countries; and there are people at Constantinople who make a trade of letting out their slaves during the summer season for the sea service, at the rate of six thousand aspers the voyage, and run the hazard of their slaves lives. When they are in want of hands they send out officers into the country, and take one able bodied man in every twenty families, and the other nineteen are obliged to contribute towards the maintaining of him. The zaims and timariots also are obliged by their tenures to find a certain number of men for the sea service; but as very few of these are mariners, no mighty things can be expected from their fleets, nothing but a brisk foreign trade can furnish a country with hands fit to man a Royal navy. And as the Turks scarce ever sail out of their own dominions, or import any foreign merchandize in their own bottoms, it cannot be expected their fleets should make any great figure. And indeed that little commonwealth of Venice have held them in play for many years, and frequently brave them in their own ports.

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Treats of the revenues of the Grand Seignior, of the state in which he appears in publick, and of the deposing one Sultan and setting up another, with the manner of his coronation or installation.

Grand Seignior's revenue.

THE revenues of the Grand Seignior arise by the customs, the produce of the demesn lands, and a kind of capitation tax, imposed on every subject of the empire, who is not of the Mahometan religion. Another branch of them arise by the annual tributes paid by the Crim Tartar, the Princes of Moldavia and Walachia, and the little republick of Ragusa, and part of Mingrelia, and half a million of money, out of a million and an half, which is levied annually in the kingdom of Egypt, comes into the Royal treasury, the rest being laid out in paying the officers and forces of that province: but all these are a trifle, in comparison of the vast sums which the Sultan continually extorts from his Viceroys, and great officers of state, and pass under the name of presents. He is heir also to all his officers and ministers, who, when they have plundered whole provinces and kingdoms, are forced to leave all to be disposed of by their Sovereign when they die, and he gives but a very small portion of it to the relations of the deceased, if their ancestor has behaved never so well: and sometimes, under pretence of misconduct, he cuts them off in their prime, and brings them to an untimely end, especially if they happen to be immoderately rich.

If the treasury is low at any time, and there be a pressing occasion for money, such as a war with the Christians, then the great mosques, which are exceeding rich, afford another noble

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ſupply; for even this ſacred treaſure may be employed in defence of their ſuperſtition.

The private treaſure of the Grand Seignior is lodged in a ſubterraneous vault, where none but himſelf, and ſome of the pages of the treaſury enter. The gold is put up in leathern bags, of fifteen thouſand ſequins a-piece, and locked up in ſtrong cheſts; and when there is found gold ſufficient in the outward chambers to fill two hundred bags, the Vizier gives notice to his Highneſs, who comes in perſon to ſee them removed, and ſeals the cheſts they are depoſited in.

Another very conſiderable part of the Grand Seignior's revenue, which has not been yet mentioned, are the rents ariſing from the lands of the zaims and timariots, which are found ſufficient to maintain a hundred thouſand effective men alone; but to calculate exactly what ſums come into the Sultan's treaſury annually, is ſcarce practicable. As the government is arbitrary, the court can, in caſes of neceſſity, command the purſes of every ſubject; and it is not uncommon, when the treaſury is low, to borrow of private people, who are known to abound in wealth, and theſe ſums are generally repaid punctually in a very ſhort time; but what the Emperor borrows of his Viceroys and great officers, is ſcarce ever returned again, in which they acquieſce without murmuring, leſt their maſter ſhould proceed to demand the whole, and perhaps their heads with it.

The ſtate in which the Sultan goes to the moſque.

The Sultan goes in ſtate to the moſque of St. SOPHIA, which ſtands near the ſeraglio, uſually on Fridays. The janizaries, in their ceremonial caps, with their Chorbadgis, or Captains, at the head of them, who have fine plumes of feathers in their turbants, make a lane from the gate of the ſeraglio to that of the moſque. The cavalcade is begun by three or fourſcore chiaux on foot, with the Chiaux Baſſa on horſeback. After theſe march ſome hundred of the Boſtangis, with their Commander alſo on horſeback before them. Next comes the Reis Effendi, or Chancellor, with the Stambol Effendi, or Judge of Conſtantinople, the Chief Juſtices, or Cadileskiers, the Imans, the Molla's, and after them the Mufti, or Grand Pontif, mounted on a ſtately horſe. Then thirty or forty Ichoglans, gentlemen of the ſeraglio, twenty or thirty ſolacks, (a kind of life-guards) and as many peiks, or pages, form two lines. In the middle of the ſolacks the Grand Seignior rides on a fine Arabian horſe, the bridle, ſaddle, and houſen glittering with gold and precious ſtones. The Sultan, according to MOTRAYE, wears but one plume of feathers on ordinary days, but three plumes of feathers in his turbant on extraordinary occaſions; one on the fore part, and another on each ſide of his head. That which ſtands before is embelliſhed with a roſe of jewels, in the middle of which is a diamond of an extraordinary ſize.

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Immediately after the Grand Seignior, a little to the right marches the Selictar Aga, or Sword-bearer, with a ſabre in his hand, the hilt and ſcabbard whereof is covered with gold and precious ſtones. Then the Ibricktar Aga, or Cup-bearer, with a veſſel of water. And the Tuliban Agaſi, or Maſter of the turbant, carrying the Grand Seignior's turbant. Theſe three officers are all on horſeback. After theſe follow the white eunuchs, the Adgiam Oglans, or young Gentlemen educated in the ſeraglio, and ſome led horſes uſually cloſe the cavalcade.

When the Grand Seignior goes upon the water, he takes but a ſmall retinue with him. His galliot comes to one of the kiosks, or ſummer-houſes of the ſeraglio, which ſtand upon the water; and he is rowed to Scudaret, or the Black ſea, to take the air. The galliot is richly gilded and adorned, and has four and twenty benches of oars on a ſide, every oar rowed by two Boſtangis, who are clothed only in their ſhirts and drawers, wearing high red caps, in the ſhape of a ſugar-loaf.

Mr. THEVENOT relates, that the Sultan, when he was at Conſtantinople, took a particular pleaſure in going through the ſtreets incognito, with a very few attendants, to ſee how his edicts were obſerved; that he would go into the ſhops of the bakers and butchers, and if he found they ſold proviſion dearer than he had ordered, immediately made a ſign to the executioner to take off the offender's head: but nothing occaſioned the loſs of more heads than the taking of tobacco, which he had juſt before ſtrictly prohibited, on account of the frequent fires it had occaſioned.

Sultan MUSTAPHA's depoſal.

I come now to give an account of a revolution which happened in Turkey, in the year 1703, when Sultan MUSTAPHA was depoſed, and Sultan ACHMET advanced to the throne by the ſoldiery. About the beginning of May this year, the people of Conſtantinople expreſſed great uneaſineſs, on account of the Grand Seignior's remaining at Adrianople, whereby their trade was in a great meaſure diverted from that metropolis: but they exclaimed more particularly againſt the Mufti, whom they looked upon as the author of thoſe councils, of which the Caimacan of Conſtantinople, who was the Mufti's ſon, ſent advice to the court, but no great notice was taken of it. The diſaffection ſtill encreaſed, and it was publickly talked, that the Mufti farmed out the publick offices, or ſold them to the beſt bidders: that his own family had ingroſſed the moſt profitable poſts in the empire, and that he made no ſcruple in iſſuing his fetfas, for exempting the greateſt Miniſters, to make room for his own creatures, that

that he had alienated the hearts of the Grand Seignior's ſubjects, by his oppreſſions, and made them look upon him as a tyrant. What foundation there was for all this clamour is uncertain; but in July following, ſome hundreds of the Zebidgi's (who have the care of the arms) ſet up a ſtandard in the atmeidan, a great ſquare in Conſtantinople, proclaiming that every good Muſſulman, as he valued their antient laws and cuſtoms, and his liberty, ſhould repair thither. They were ſoon joined by others of the ſoldiery; but the Zebidgi Baſſa, who was a creature of the Mufti's, hid himſelf, leſt he ſhould be compelled to appear at the head of them. The topigi's, or gunners, ſoon after repaired to the ſtandard of the malecontents, whereupon they marched in a body towards the ſeraglio, and meeting with the Vice Aga of the janizaries, with a detachment of thoſe troops who were going to poſt themſelves in the ſeraglio, the janizaries all deſerted their Aga, and came over to them, demanding their colours of their commander; but he pretending he had left them at home, a ſoldier at one blow cleft his head with a ſabre, and took the colours out of his boſom, and, having faſtened them to a pike-ſtaff, proclaimed, that if any of their body did not repair to the ſtandard they ſhould be deemed infidels. Whereupon all the janizaries were immediately aſſembled, and marched with the Zebidgis to inveſt the ſeraglio, where knocking at the iron gate, and uſing ſome threats if it was not opened, the boſtangis, or porters, who were no leſs diſaffected than the reſt, ſoon let them in; whereupon the Caimacan, the Mufti's ſon, fled, and the boſtangi Baſſa, or Captain of the boſtangi, upon promiſe of his life, and the poſt he held, conſented to come over to them.

The ſpahis alſo joined the malecontents; for the moſt general complaint among the ſoldiery was their want of pay: and ſeveral young fellows in Conſtantinople having entered themſelves in ſome of theſe bodies, they were now encreaſed into a conſiderable army; whereupon they reſolved to leave a garriſon in the ſeraglio, and encamp at the atmeidan, round which ſquare the janizaries have their ordinary quarters. Here they choſe one ACHMET Baſſa, who was then at his country-ſeat near the Boſphorus, or ſtreight of the Black ſea, for Prime Vizier; and having dragged him from his retirement againſt his will, compelled him to accept of the command. They proceeded afterwards to nominate a certain molla, or doctor, for their Mufti; an Aga of the janizaries, and other officers of their army. They conſtituted alſo Viziers of the bench, a new Reis Effendi, or Chancellor, and other members of the divan, and publiſhed a manifeſto, with their new Mufti's fetſa added to it, ſummoning the Grand Seignior to appear before the char-alla, a tribunal ſo ſacred, that whoever refuſes to obey the citation is deemed an infidel; requiring him to deliver up the old Mufti to the people: and this manifeſto they ſent to the court at Adrianople.

The new Vizier alſo ſent for the interpreters of the European Ambaſſadors, deſiring that their maſters would keep their people from ſtraggling from their houſes, or opening any taverns under their protection; prohibiting alſo all other vintners whatever to ſuffer any Turk to have wine, under ſevere penalties; and all the ſhops were ordered to be kept ſhut, except thoſe where proviſions were ſold, and women prohibited to go abroad.

The malecontents receiving advice, that the Sultan was aſſembling his forces, in order to march againſt them, they drew ſeventy pieces of braſs cannon out of the arſenal, and put them on board ſome ſhips in the harbour, with a vaſt quantity of gunpowder, and other proviſions and ammunition, and ſent them by ſea to Seliory. And orders were ſent to the foreign Miniſters, requiring them not to ſend advice to their Maſters, or elſewhere, of any thing which ſhould be tranſacted at this time. They received advice ſoon after, that the Grand Seignior had impriſoned their deputies, by whom they had ſent their manifeſto; and had promiſed great rewards to the Albanians, and other troops, to encourage them to defend him againſt his rebellious ſubjects, as he ſtyled the malecontents: that he had made a preſent of 180 purſes to the janizaries about him: and that MAHOMET's ſtandard being ſet up, with a loaf, a ſabre, and the alcoran laid upon a table, according to the cuſtom of the Turks, he had cauſed an oath of allegiance to be adminiſtred to his army, which conſiſted of ſeventy thouſand men.

That the Sultan's Mufti had publiſhed a fetſa in the city of Adrianople, and in the army, declaring the people of Conſtantinople conſpirators, infidels, and rebels, divorced from their wives, and unworthy to bear the name of Muſſulmen, and ought to be extirpated for their rebellion; exhorting all true Muſſulmen to take up arms for the Emperor againſt them. Whereupon the Mufti of the malecontents iſſued a like fetſa againſt the kyſslebaſh, as they ſtyled the Mufti, and his adherents, which is the term they give the Perſian hereticks.

Notwithſtanding there were ſo many troops in arms at this time, and a civil war upon the point of breaking out, all things remained quiet at Conſtantinople, the markets were regularly kept, no diſorders were heard of; and Mr. MOTTRAYE who was upon the place, aſſures us, he never obſerved leſs noiſe, or greater ſecurity in the ſtreets than at this time: the imans and clergy, with the

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ſupply; for even this ſacred treaſure may be employed in defence of their ſuperſtition.

The private treaſure of the Grand Seignior is lodged in a ſubterraneous vault, where none but himſelf, and ſome of the pages of the treaſury enter. The gold is put up in leathern bags, of fifteen thouſand ſequins a-piece, and locked up in ſtrong cheſts; and when there is found gold ſufficient in the outward chambers to fill two hundred bags, the Vizier gives notice to his Highneſs, who comes in perſon to ſee them removed, and ſeals the cheſts they are depoſited in.

Another very conſiderable part of the Grand Seignior's revenue, which has not been yet mentioned, are the rents ariſing from the lands of the zaims and timariots, which are found ſufficient to maintain a hundred thouſand effective men alone; but to calculate exactly what ſums come into the Sultan's treaſury annually, is ſcarce practicable. As the government is arbitrary, the court can, in caſes of neceſſity, command the purſes of every ſubject; and it is not uncommon, when the treaſury is low, to borrow of private people, who are known to abound in wealth, and theſe ſums are generally repaid punctually in a very ſhort time; but what the Emperor borrows of his Viceroys and great officers, is ſcarce ever returned again, in which they acquieſce without murmuring, leſt their maſter ſhould proceed to demand the whole, and perhaps their heads with it.

The ſtate in which the Sultan goes to the moſque.

The Sultan goes in ſtate to the moſque of St. SOPHIA, which ſtands near the ſeraglio, uſually on Fridays. The janizaries, in their ceremonial caps, with their Chorbadgis, or Captains, at the head of them, who have fine plumes of feathers in their turbants, make a lane from the gate of the ſeraglio to that of the moſque. The cavalcade is begun by three or fourſcore chiaux on foot, with the Chiaux Baſſa on horſeback. After theſe march ſome hundred of the Boſſangis, with their Commander alſo on horſeback before them. Next comes the Reis Effendi, or Chancellor, with the Stambol Effendi, or Judge of Conſtantinople, the Chief Juſtices, or Cadileskiers, the Imans, the Molla's, and after them the Mufti, or Grand Pontif, mounted on a ſtately horſe. Then thirty or forty Ichoglans, gentlemen of the ſeraglio, twenty or thirty ſolacks, (a kind of life-guards) and as many peiks, or pages, form two lines. In the middle of the ſolacks the Grand Seignior rides on a fine Arabian horſe, the bridle, ſaddle, and houſen glittering with gold and precious ſtones. The Sultan, according to MOTRAYE, wears but one plume of feathers on ordinary days, but three plumes of feathers in his turbant on extraordinary occaſions; one on the fore part, and another on each ſide of his head. That which ſtands before is embelliſhed with a roſe of jewels, in the middle of which is a diamond of an extraordinary ſize.

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Immediately after the Grand Seignior, a little to the right marches the Selictar Aga, or Sword-bearer, with a ſabre in his hand, the hilt and ſcabbard whereof is covered with gold and precious ſtones. Then the Ibricktar Aga, or Cup-bearer, with a veſſel of water. And the Tuliban Agaſi, or Maſter of the turbant, carrying the Grand Seignior's turbant. Theſe three officers are all on horſeback. After theſe follow the white eunuchs, the Adgiam Oglans, or young Gentlemen educated in the ſeraglio, and ſome led horſes uſually cloſe the cavalcade.

When the Grand Seignior goes upon the water, he takes but a ſmall retinue with him. His galliot comes to one of the kiosks, or ſummer-houſes of the ſeraglio, which ſtand upon the water; and he is rowed to Scudaret, or the Black ſea, to take the air. The galliot is richly gilded and adorned, and has four and twenty benches of oars on a ſide, every oar rowed by two Boſſangis, who are clothed only in their ſhirts and drawers, wearing high red caps, in the ſhape of a ſugar-loaf.

Mr. THEVENOT relates, that the Sultan, when he was at Conſtantinople, took a particular pleaſure in going through the ſtreets incognito, with a very few attendants, to ſee how his edicts were obſerved; that he would go into the ſhops of the bakers and butchers, and if he found they ſold proviſion dearer than he had ordered, immediately made a ſign to the executioner to take off the offender's head: but nothing occaſioned the loſs of more heads than the taking of tobacco, which he had juſt before ſtrictly prohibited, on account of the frequent fires it had occaſioned.

Sultan MUSTAPHA's Reign.

I come now to give an account of a revolution which happened in Turkey, in the year 1703, when Sultan MUSTAPHA was depoſed, and Sultan ACHMET advanced to the throne by the ſoldiery. About the beginning of May this year, the people of Conſtantinople expreſſed great uneaſineſs, on account of the Grand Seignior's remaining at Adrianople, whereby their trade was in a great meaſure diverted from that metropolis: but they exclaimed more particularly againſt the Mufti, whom they looked upon as the author of thoſe councils, of which the Caimacan of Conſtantinople, who was the Mufti's ſon, ſent advice to the court, but no great notice was taken of it. The diſaffection ſtill encreaſed, and it was publickly talked, that the Mufti farmed out the publick offices, or ſold them to the beſt bidders: that his own family had ingroſſed the moſt profitable poſts in the empire, and that he made no ſcruple in iſſuing his fetfas, for exempting the greateſt Miniſters, to make room for his own creatures, that

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heads of the malecontents, exhorting their people not to disgrace a good cause by committing outrages; but what contributed most to this security was, that the clergy were content to part with the treasure of their mosques that the troops might be regularly paid.

On the eighth of August the malecontents held a great council, wherein they came to a resolution, that their Emperor Sultan MUSTAPHA, having neglected to appear before the grand tribunal three Fridays since the summons issued, had forfeited his crown by law, and that they would proceed to depose him and set another on the throne, which their Mufti confirmed by his fetfa; and this judgment being reduced to writing, was carried by a janizary on the point of a spear through the city and army, whilst the mueßius published the contents of it from the tops of the mosques.

The next morning the army marched out of Constantinople, leaving a garrison of 25000 men in it commanded by ASSAN FIRALLY Bassa, who had till now concealed himself in his haram; but upon assuring him of their protection and the post of Caimacan, he thought fit to appear, and the rather probably, because he found the disaffection so general.

A council being held soon after, it was proposed to place IBRAHIM cousin to Sultan MUSTAPHA upon the throne, as most agreeable to the army; but their Vizier and the Caimacan opposed it, urging that this would violate the order of succession, and give a discredit to their cause: whereupon it was at length agreed to set up Sultan ACHMET, the only brother and heir of the present Emperor.

In the mean while the troops marched and encamped at Dahout Pacha to the number of 65000 men, where their artillery was already arrived, and were soon after joined by seven or eight thousand more from Asia: all the gates of Constantinople were now shut up, except two, at which strong guards were placed, and an oath was administred to the army of the malecontents, whereby they engaged not to lay down their arms till their grievances were redressed.

The Sultan's Mufti in the mean time represented that the army of the malecontents was composed only of students, shop-keeprs, and an undisciplined mob, who would disperse on the appearance of the Royal troops; and, as if they believed themselves, detached a body of thirty thousand men only to oppose their march: but the Generals who commanded the Royalists finding the malecontents a more regular body than they imagined, and that their numbers were vastly superior, proposed to treat with them. To which the malecontents answered, that the Emperor had long known their demands, and they should treat with none but himself in person. Whereupon the Generals of the Imperialists made a precipitate retreat, and many of their troops took the opportunity of deserting over to the disaffected party.

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The malecontents continuing their march towards Adrianople, the army of the Royalists amounting to 80000 men, commanded by the Kiaca Bey, advanced half a day's journey from that city to meet them, and arriving within cannon shot of the enemy, orders were given for the attack; but the army of the Royalists instead of preparing for the engagement, deserted over to the enemy most of them, the janizaries refusing to fight for that kisslebash (heretick) the Mufti, as they called him; whereupon their General the Kiaca himself also declared for the malecontents; and the armies immediately united, except a small body of Albanians, who retired to the Emperor's pavilion, giving him an account how basely he had been deserted by the rest of the army. The Sultan hereupon immediately mounted his horse and retreated to the seraglio at Adrianople, there to attend his fate, and his Prime Vizier and the Mufti fled for their lives.

In the mean time both armies encamped in the Sultan's camp, where his own pavilion was left standing: and a general discharge was made of great and small shot, as a signal of their union; and a great council being held, it was agreed to send the Aga of the janizaries, the Bostangi Bassa, the Zebidgi Bassa, and Spahiler Bassa, each with 2000 of their respective troops to the seraglio at Adrianople to demand Sultan ACHMET, and proclaim him Emperor. These Generals arriving before the gates of the palace, a janizary made proclamation that Sultan ACHMET was elected Emperor by the army and people, requiring him to come out to them and take the government upon him. Sultan MUSTAPHA hereupon appearing, the Zebidgi Bassa declared to him, that he was no longer Emperor, having forfeited his crown; and desired his brother might be brought out to them. Sultan MUSTAPHA, without making any reply, went and fetched his brother ACHMET out of the prison where the Princes of the blood are kept, and presented him to them, and then withdrew, without the least murmur or complaint at the treatment he had met with from his subjects.

Then the Aga of the janizaries demanded of Sultan ACHMET, if he would govern his people according to their antient customs? if he would reside at his capital city of Constantinople in time of peace, and deliver up to them the late Mufti FESULLA EFFENDI? and upon these conditions they were ready to obey him. To which the new Emperor answered in the affirmative. Whereupon they unanimously cried out, Let Sultan ACHMET

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ACHMET live and reign. And inviting him to the army, he was there ſolemnly proclaimed their Emperor, after which the Vizier and all the Generals paid their homage to him.

Advice was immediately ſent to Conſtantinople of the ſucceſs of the malecontents, their depoſing Sultan MUSTAPHA, and proclaiming his brother Sultan ACHMET; whereupon the new Emperor was immediately ordered to be pray'd for in the moſques, and all matters of ſtate were tranſacted in his name. The gates of the city and the ſhops were opened, and every thing ſeemed to run in the uſual channel, as if no inſurrection or change of government had happened; ſo univerſal was the diſguſt conceived againſt the late Mufti, and againſt their Emperor Sultan MUSTAPHA for protecting him.

Soon after the new Emperor was proclaimed, ſearch was made through the city of Adrianople for the late Mufti FESULLA EFFENDI; and having intelligence he was fled to Philippolis, a detachment of ſpahis were ſent after him, but he was gone from thence the night before they arrived; whereupon the troops divided themſelves, and one party of them marched towards the White ſea, and the other towards the Black ſea, and the unhappy Mufti was at length taken, juſt as he was about to embark on the Black ſea: whereupon he was put into a peaſant's waggon and brought back to Adrianople, where he was made Baſſa of Sophia, to prepare him for execution; for now it ſeems he was looked upon as a lay-man, and no longer their ſupreme pontif; who, as ſuch, the Turks ſeem to confeſs ought not to be ſubject to any human judicature. But as their prieſts take upon them the prieſtly office without any conſecration, ſo there needs no other ceremony to degrade them, or make laymen of them again, than their holding ſome ſecular employment.

The Mufti was afterwards put to the rack to oblige him to confeſs where his money and effects were depoſited, which on theſe occaſions always fall to the Sultan; and then he was delivered into the hands of the ſoldiery, who were moſt exaſperated againſt him. They ſet him upon an aſs with his face to the tail, which they obliged him to hold in his hand, and thus mounted, a poor Jew took the halter of the aſs in his hand and led him through all the principal ſtreets of the city; the mob crying before him, 'This is 'the man who has given pernicious advice to 'Emperors, violated the laws he ought to main-'tain, and enriched himſelf at the publick ex-'pence: behold the kiſslebaſh (Perſian heretick.') And when they had brought him to the bittbazar, or louſe-market (the name given to a place where old clothes are ſold) meeting with two Greek prieſts who had been at a funeral, and had their cenſers ſtill in their hands, they compelled them to walk behind the aſs; and ſoon after forcing the old Mufti to diſmount and kneel down in the middle of the market, one of the ſoldiers ſevered his head from his body with one ſtroke of his ſabre, which were both carried by ſome Armenians to the army, and the two prieſts above-mentioned were obliged to accompany the corps ſinging what was ordered them before it, againſt the kiſslebaſh in the ſame tune they uſed to do over their own people at a funeral: and after the ſoldiers had glutted their eyes with the miſerable ſpectacle, the head and body were thown into the river. And the next morning his two ſons were beheaded in priſon and their eſtates confiſcated.

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Theſe executions being over, the new Emperor ſet forwards for Conſtantinople, and arrived at Dahout Pacha in the neighbourhood of that city on the fifteenth of September, appointing the ceremony of his coronation, or rather inſtallation, to be the eighteenth of the ſame month, in the moſque of Yup or Job, ſituate in Ypte, one of the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople. This moſque, they tell us, took its name from ſome celebrated Captain and Muſſulman buried there, generally ſaid to be JOB: here they keep the ſtandard of MAHOMET, and an old ſabre ſaid to be worn by him: and the girding this ſabre of the prophet on the Emperor at his acceſſion is equivalent to the ceremony of ſetting a crown upon the Prince's head with us, and this ought to be performed by the Adgi Becktaſſe, who is always a deſcendant from JOB, according to tradition.

Upon the day appointed for the inſtallation of the new Sultan, about ſeven a clock in the morning, the late Sultan MUSTAPHA was brought into Conſtantinople in a covered waggon ſurrounded by white eunuchs, and guarded by a detachment of janizaries, and was afterwards placed in one of thoſe apartments, or priſons in the ſeraglio, where thoſe of the Royal blood are uſually kept: his only daughter, his ſiſter, and the Valide, or Empreſs Dowager followed in other waggons attended by their ſlaves, and afterwards came about thirty other covered waggons with the women belonging to the depoſed Sultan, being ſurrounded by black eunuchs, and guarded by another detachment of janizaries at ſome diſtance in the front and rear of the waggons, who convoyed them to the eſiky ſerai, or the old palace. About half an hour after eight the new Sultan began his magnificent entry, attended by all the officers of ſtate, paſſing through a double line of ſpahis and janizaries, who were drawn up between Dahout Pacha and the moſque where the ceremony was to be performed; but it was obſerved that he ſat but very aukwardly on horſeback, leaning down almoſt to the neck of his horſe which was a very

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very fine one; and perhaps this was the firſt time he had ever been upon the back of a horſe, having had his education in a priſon, as moſt of the eaſtern princes have, and come to the throne as ignorant of the affairs of the world, eſpecially thoſe of ſtate, as if they were juſt dropped out of the clouds: and as they often fall into the hands of deſigning rapacious Miniſters, their miſconduct, or misfortunes are not to be wondered at.

The Emperor being arrived at the ſuburb of Ypte, he diſmounted at the gate of the moſque, between ten and eleven a clock, where prayers were ſaid upon the occaſion, after which the Agdi Bectaſſe girded the ſabre about him, and taking from the Turbandi Baſſa the turbant adorned with rich plumes of feathers, put it on the Sultan's head in the room of that he wore before; after which the Mufti having prayed that heaven would ſhower down its bleſſings on the new Emperor, and proſper his arms againſt the infidels, exhorted him to propagate with all his might the Mahometan faith, and encourage his ſubjects in obſerving the law of MAHOMET by his own example: after which the Mufti embraced his knees, and the Cadiliskiers, the Aga of the janizaries, the Chiaux Baſſa, and other officers of ſtate kiſſed the hem of his veſt, and the ceremony concluded with the diſcharge of the great guns and acclamations of the people, thro' whom he paſſed; the way being lined by janizaries and ſpahis from the moſque to the ſeraglio, having the prophet's ſabre by his ſide, which he returned to be repoſited in its place, on his arrival there.

While the ceremony was performing, the Princes of the blood, viz. the three ſons of the late Sultan MUSTAPHA, and IBRAHIM the Emperor's couſin, whom the ſoldiery had deſigned to advance to the throne, being in covered waggons, and guarded by eunuchs and janizaries, were carried to their ſeveral apartments in the palace; as was alſo the haram of the new Emperor, which conſiſted of at leaſt a hundred beauties in their bloom, which had been preſented him ſince the time he was declared Emperor.

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Treats of the adminiſtration of juſtice, and of the puniſhments appropriated to certain crimes in Turkey.

AS MAHOMET was both high prieſt and Prince of his people, the eccleſiaſtical and civil authority was lodged in him, and in his ſucceſſors, the Caliphs of Babylon, &c. for ſeveral hundred years; but as the temporal and ſpiritual power is now divided, the Mufti ſeems to be complimented only with the name of the laſt reſort in judicial matters, whereas it is in fact in the Grand Seignior, his Viziers and Viceroys: no criminal of ſtate, if he be of any quality at leaſt, can be put to death indeed without the Mufti's fetfa, or confirmation of the ſentence; but then this is ſcarce ever refuſed, if the Grand-Seignior demands it, and if it ſhould, he can depoſe the Mufti, and place another in his room.

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Next to the Mufti are the Cadiliskiers, or Chief Juſtices of provinces, of which the Cadiliskiers of Romania, Anatolia and Egypt are the chief: theſe, I apprehend, are eccleſiaſticks as well as the Mufti, and may be controlled by the Viceroys of the reſpective provinces, except where the ſoldiery are concerned, and in this caſe we are told they are truly the laſt reſort. The alcoran and the comments upon it are their chief ſtudy, and from theſe they produce their authorities, which govern them in their deciſions. The judges in great towns are called mollas, or moula cadis, and thoſe of ſmaller towns and villages, cadis, and all of theſe are eccleſiaſticks, and appointed by the Mufti, or his ſubſtitutes. They generally determine eccleſiaſtical and civil controverſies, contracts of marriage, divorces, &c. in a ſummary way, but ſeldom intermeddle in capital crimes any farther than in adviſing, as to a point of law, or confirming the ſentence of the temporal magiſtrate; for theſe kind of cauſes ſeem to be determined by the Viceroys and Governors of provinces or towns, who may however call the eccleſiaſtical judge to their aſſiſtance if they pleaſe.

If any Viceroy, or Baſſa, is charged, or but ſuſpected of diſloyalty or miſconduct, there ſeldom needs any farther conviction, it is ſo much the intereſt of the Sovereign to ruin him, all his fortune devolving on the crown. He is ſeldom acquainted therefore with the nature of his offence, or the names of his accuſers, but without giving him the leaſt opportunity of making a defence, a Capagi is diſpatched with an imperial decree to take off the unhappy Baſſa's head, to which the Mufti's fetfa, declaring the lawfulneſs of the ſentence, is added for form ſake. The Capigi alſo carries an order to the civil and military officers of the place to aſſiſt him in caſe of reſiſtance; but this is ſeldom found neceſſary, ſo great is their reſignation to the divine will, and that of their Prince, and ſo firmly are they ſaid to believe the doctrine of predeſtination, and that there is no avoiding of their fate. The Capigi therefore having acquainted the cadi, and the principal officers of the place with the ſubject of his errand, and made ſome proper enquiries in relation to the perſon proſcribed, uſually goes to the Baſſa's palace, attended only with two or three ſervants of his own, and preſenting him with the Grand Seignior's order, the Baſſa receives it with the higheſt reſpect, putting it to his head, and after he

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he has read it, perhaps ſays, The will of GOD and the Emperor be done, or ſome ſuch expreſſion, teſtifying his entire reſignation, and demanding only an hour or two to regulate his domeſtick affairs, ſays a certain writer, (of which there ſeems very little occaſion, the government ſeizing all his effects;) but rather to make an inventory of his treaſure, which it ſeems is always required by the Grand Seignior in theſe caſes. Then he takes the ſilken cord, which the Capagi has ready in his boſom, and having tied it about his own neck, and ſaid a ſhort prayer, the Capigi's ſervants throw him on the floor, and drawing the cord ſtrait, ſoon diſpatch him, after which his head is cut off and carried to court and ſhewn the Sultan.

Assan Baſſa [illegible] the Capigi [illegible] head.

Examples of reſiſtance in theſe caſes are very rare, though ſome the Turkiſh hiſtories have given us, particularly that of ASSAN Baſſa, who at the revolution above mentioned was made Caimacan of Conſtantinople by the malecontents. This gentleman being at his government ſome diſtance from the court, a Capigi Baſſa who had frequently been employed on ſuch tragical errands, was ſent by Sultan MUSTAPHA to take off his head, but ASSAN Baſſa having long expected ſuch uſage from the influence of the Mufti, who was his declared enemy, had contracted an intimate friendſhip with the cadi and other inferior officers of the place, and by his bounty and impartial adminiſtration rendred himſelf exceeding popular in his government, ſo that when the Capigi came to enquire privately, according to cuſtom, of the cadi and other people into the character of ASSAN, and whether it was likely he ſhould meet with any reſiſtance, they acquainted him that he would find him perfectly reſigned to the Emperor's pleaſure, and that there was no manner of occaſion to take any ſoldiers with him; whereupon the Capigi, with two of his ſervants only, went to the Baſſa's palace, and preſenting him with the imperial order, the Baſſa kiſſed it with great reſpect, and read it over, after which he made a particular of his effects for the uſe of the Emperor, and deſired only half an hour's time to take leave of his family, which was granted him, whereupon leaving his ſteward to entertain the Capigi, for a little time he retired.

But inſtead of preparing himſelf for another world or taking leave of his wives, the Baſſa it ſeems ſpent his time in aſſembling his friends and faithful ſervants, and having acquainted them with the cruel meſſage, they unanimouſly reſolved to hazard every thing rather than ſuffer it to be put in execution.

The Baſſa hereupon returned to the Capigi, and having ordered a table to be ſpread, and a handſome entertainment provided, to which ſeveral of his friends were invited on pretence of taking his laſt leave of them, the Capigi was alſo prevailed on to ſit down among the reſt, but he had ſcarce taſted a morſel when four men came into the room and moving directly towards him demanded his head: the Capigi aſtoniſhed at the unexpected demand, begged that they would ſpare his life and he would return to court without executing his orders. He was however immediately ſtrangled, and his head cut off and carried to Conſtantinople to ASSAN's friends, with an account of the occaſion of it, which probably gave the firſt riſe to the inſurrection above-mentioned, and contributed to that great revolution which was afterwards effected.

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Puniſhments appropriated to crimes.

The uſual puniſhments appropriated to crimes in Turkey are as follow, viz. A murderer is beheaded, a thief ſtrangled, an apoſtate burnt, a traytor is dragged at a horſe's tail, and afterwards impaled; and if one maims or wounds another the like puniſhment is inflicted on the offender: an eye for an eye, a limb for a limb, according to the Jewiſh law. For perjury they are ſet upon an aſs with their faces towards the tail, which the criminal holds in his hand, and thus they are led through the city, and afterwards burnt in the cheek. Bakers and others who defraud in their weights or meaſures are condemned to the baſtinado, to receive a certain number of blows on the ſoles of their feet, or to wear a heavy pillory board about their necks for a certain time, or pay a fine inflicted on them, and in general their laws are equitable enough if they were duly executed; but there is no place in the world, it is ſaid, where juſtice is more frequently bought and ſold. Whence capital puniſhments are very rare, except for offences againſt the ſtate. Which may be aſcribed to that great plenty of proviſions in Turkey, and that charitable diſpoſition in the Turks not to ſuffer any of their brethren to come to extreme poverty, which it is ſaid is imitated alſo by the Greeks, Jews and the reſt of the inhabitants of that empire. And if people are inclined to an idle, rambling life, it is but commencing a derviſe or monk itinerant, for whom the veneration of the people is ſo great that they are ſure never to want any thing.

Proceedings in civil actions.

As to civil controverſies concerning debts or damages, the plaintiff in Turkey proceeds by way of petition, and the Judge ſends a chiaux or ſome officer of the court to ſummon the defendant, and having heard the parties themſelves and examined their proofs, the ſuit is uſually determined in leſs than a week. Here are no tedious forms or dilatory pleas allowed; no lawyers or advocates to make falſe gloſſes and wreſt the laws to the vileſt purpoſes. And tho' bribery be frequently practiſed, there is no place where it is more ſeverely puniſhed if the Sultan happens to be an active Prince,

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Prince, and concerns himself to enquire into the conduct of his officers. If a Judge be found guilty of extortion, he is doomed to be pounded in a mortar without mercy, it is said.

Ordinary punishment

The usual punishment in Turkey is the falack; where the offender being obliged to sit down on the ground, and having his legs held up, receives a certain number of blows upon the soles of his feet with a little rattan or cane of the bigness of a man's finger. The women it seems receive it on their back-sides, with their drawers or breeches on; the Turks being more modest than to expose their bare skin in publick as our magistrates do. The number of blows is always appointed by the Judge, whereas we leave it to the discretion of the executioner, and one man may be whipped to death for what another shall be scarce touched, according as the executioner happens to be bribed, or bullied by those who come to see the execution done. The Turks will not suffer any thing to be sold in their markets at extravagant prices, as cherries or other fruits, at their first coming in; and he that brings his goods first to market has no other advantage than taking his money before those that come after him: if any one offers to exact upon the buyer he is sure to be condemned to the falack, if he does not buy off the blows of the cudgel with a fine, and some are forced to suffer both. THEVENOT acquaints us that he saw a man who sold snow at five pence a pound receive a number of blows on the soles of his feet for want of weight; and another who had imposed upon a child in a penyworth of onions, condemned to receive thirty blows with a cudgel by the officers of the market. And probably it is this speedy justice and exemplary severity against little frauds which keeps the common people in awe, and occasions fewer thefts and robberies in Turkey than with us; some indeed ascribe it to the honest disposition of the natives, but if the same severity was used here it might have the same effect, and prevent many a little villain's being brought to the gallows.

Justice in their markets.

If a person be found dead in the streets, and the murderer is not known, the neighbouring houses are amerced forty five thousand aspers, which makes all people solicitous to compose quarrels and prevent any bloodshed near their doors. A watch is regularly kept also in the streets every night, and if any persons are taken up who cannot give a satisfactory reason for their being abroad at unseasonable hours, they are usually condemned to the falack or bastinado the next morning, and perhaps obliged to pay a fine.

Franks judged by their Consuls.

As to the Franks, or Christian foreigners, they have the privilege of having all controversies among themselves determined by the Ambassadors and Consuls of their respective nations; but where the Turks are concerned with them, they will, as far as I can perceive, bring the matter before their own courts of judicature; but then if injustice be done the Christians, the Resident of the nation frequently procures satisfaction to be made, on his representing the case to the government.

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When the Lord PAGET was Ambassador at Constantinople, an English cabin boy having received some hard usage from his Captain, took it in his head to turn Mahometan, and was circumcised at the house of the Vaivode of Galatia, without observing the formalities required by the capitulation between England and the Porte: for when a Frank offers to turn Mahometan, he ought not to be received, or circumcised, till he has acknowledged before the interpreter of his nation that he hath done it voluntarily, without being induced to do it by promises or threats, and must persist in that resolution four and twenty hours.

An English boy reclaimed, who turned Turk.

The Lord PAGET, who was then at Carlowitz, returning to Adrianople, was acquainted with these proceedings of the Vaivode of Galatia, and demanded that the young tar should be delivered into his hands publickly, and the Vaivode banished: the Vizier hereupon consented that the Vaivode should be sent into exile, and that the boy should be delivered to his Excellency privately, if he repented of what he had done, but not publickly, lest it should give offence to the faithful Musulmen; but if he persisted in his resolution before the druggermen or interpreters, he could not then be delivered up. But my Lord replied, he ought to have him, whether he recanted or not, the usual forms not having been observed. The Vizier said, they had been very much obliged to the Ambassador for his good offices at the treaty of Carlowitz, but desired he would not insist upon any thing which might cast a reflection upon their religion, which was no less dear to them, than ours was to us. The Ambassador replied, that the capitulations having been violated, the boy, who was not supposed to be grounded in his religion, and far from being instructed in theirs, ought not to be deemed a Mahometan, but surrendred publickly, that the capitulations might be inviolably observed for the future, and still insisted on his demand, but not so warmly as at first. The Vizier then proposed the Ambassador's demand to the Mufti, but he was positive against the delivering up the boy publickly. To compromise the matter therefore, the Vaivode was banished, and the boy, being examined by two interpreters, and assured that he had nothing to fear from his Captain, but would be protected by the Lord PAGET, declared himself a Christian, and that only the hard usage of his master had induced him to profess himself a Mahometan, and he was thereupon delivered to his Excellency.

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Treats of the province of Eyraca Arabick, or Chaldea.

I Shall now, according to my promiſe, treat more particularly of the ſeveral provinces and kingdoms the Turkiſh empire is compoſed of, in the ſame order I proceeded when I deſcribed their reſpective boundaries, beginning with thoſe which lye moſt to the eaſtward, and are bordering on Perſia; and firſt of Chaldea, called at this day Eyraca Arabick, which lyes on both ſides of the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, having Diarbeck or Meſopotamia on the north, and Arabia with the gulph of Perſia or Boſſora on the ſouth. In this province, according to ſome, was the ſeat of paradiſe; and here ſtood the tower of Babel, where the language was firſt confounded.

The city of Babylon, the metropolis of the Babylonian empire alſo ſtood here. It was firſt built by NIMROD, it is ſaid, and afterwards much enlarged by SEMIRAMIS, the widow and ſucceſſor of NINUS, the third Monarch of this empire; but NEBUCHADNEZZAR raiſed it to be the wonder of the world. The walls he ſurrounded this city with, it is related, were eighty ſeven foot in thickneſs, and three hundred and fifty foot high, and in compaſs four hundred and eighty furlongs, or ſixty miles, according to HERODOTUS. Others make the height of the walls to be but fifty cubits, which ſeems moſt probable; for to what purpoſe a wall ſhould be run up to the height of 350 foot, I cannot conceive, any more than how it is poſſible ſuch a work could be effected in many ages.

The form of the city was exactly ſquare, each ſide of the walls 120 furlongs, or fifteen miles in length, built of large bricks, cemented with bitumen, a glutinous ſlime, which, it is ſaid, ariſes out of the earth in that country, and ſoon grows much harder than either the bricks or ſtones themſelves. Without the walls was a large ditch or moat, filled with water, and lined with bricks on both ſides; and the bricks with which the walls were built, it is ſaid, were made of the earth which was dug out of the ditch, and conſequently if this account be true, the ditch muſt be 350 foot deep, which to me ſeems monſtrous, and what, I muſt confeſs, I can never ſubſcribe to, though the opinion be countenanced with never ſo many great names, it being ſo much beyond the dimenſions of any thing of the like nature that ever was heard of in the world.

On every ſide of this prodigious ſquare were twenty five gates in the walls of ſolid braſs; and from hence it was, according to Dr. PRIDEAUX, that when GOD promiſed CYRUS the conqueſt of Babylon, he acquaints him that he would break in pieces before him the gates of braſs. Between every two gates almoſt were three towers, which were built ten foot higher than the walls, though in ſome places, where the wall was inacceſſible, it is probable there were none, becauſe the whole number of towers is ſaid to amount but to two hundred and fifty.

From the twenty five gates on each ſide of the ſquare, ran as many ſtreets to the oppoſite ſide in a direct line, ſo that there were fifty ſtreets, each of them fifteen miles long, and about an hundred and fifty foot broad, beſides four great ſtreets, with houſes but on one ſide facing the walls, which were two hundred foot broad. By the ſtreets thus croſſing each other, the whole city formed 676 ſquares, each of them four furlongs and an half on every ſide. The houſes ſtood on that part of the ſquare that lay next the ſtreet, and behind them was room for yards, gardens, orchards, and all manner of conveniencies: neither were the houſes contiguous towards the ſtreet, but large ſpaces left between one houſe and another to render their abodes more healthful as well as pleaſant; and the houſes, it is ſaid, were three or four ſtories high, which cannot be contradicted ſo long after: tho' I cannot help obſerving, that there is no eaſtern nations that have run up their houſes to that height for many ages paſt.

The river Euphrates ran through the middle of the city, and divided it into two equal parts, entring on the north ſide and running through it directly ſouth; the four ſides of the city anſwered directly to the four winds, ſtanding due eaſt, weſt, north, and ſouth.

A noble bridge in the middle of the town preſerved the communication of one part with the other, but as to the length of it, I find writers vary much, ſome aſſuring it was five furlongs, and others but one in length. At each end of the bridge ſtood a Royal palace, that on the eaſt ſide called the old, and that on the weſt ſide the new palace; the firſt was thirty furlongs in compaſs, and the other ſixty: the whole city ſtood upon a flat without a hill in it, as I can learn, the ſoil exceeding fruitful and fit for gardens. And to people this vaſt city, did NEBUCHADNEZZAR almoſt depopulate Judea, and ſeveral other conquered countries; ſo that the inhabitants conſiſted of a mixture of nations, who at firſt probably underſtood each other as little as when their ſpeech was confounded at Babel.

Temple of Belus.

In this city NEBUCHADNEZZAR built the temple of Belus, or rather enlarged it; for the moſt magnificent part of the building was a tower which ſtood in the middle, and was built many ages before. At the foundation the temple was a furlong ſquare, being half a mile about, and conſiſted of eight towers, or rather ſtories one above

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above another, growing leſs and leſs at every ſtory, like the famous tower of Nanking, of which the reader may ſee a cut in this volume. STRABO, Dr. PRIDEAUX obſerves, calls it a pyramid from its decreaſing in bulk and benching in at every ſtory, and ſays the whole was a furlong high; and though this be ſuch a height as is ſcarce credible, yet ſome ingenious gentlemen will have every ſtory or tower as they call it, to be a furlong, and conſequently the whole muſt be a mile in height, which is ſo vaſtly beyond the dimenſions of any building that ever ſtood upon the earth, that the mentioning of it is ſufficient to refute this aſſertion.

And as Dr. PRIDEAUX obſerves, according to STRABO's account, it exceeds the heighth of any building we know of in the world: the biggeſt of the Egyptian pyramids indeed is ſomething larger at the Baſis, being ſeven hundred feet on every ſide, whereas this is but ſix hundred, but then the tower was ſix hundred foot in height, whereas the pyramid above mentioned is no more than four hundred and eighty one feet in height; conſequently the tower of Belus exceeds the height of the pyramid an hundred and nineteen foot, which is a quarter of the whole. The ſame reverend Doctor therefore thinks it was not without reaſon that BOCHARTUS aſſerts it to be the very ſame tower which was built there at the confuſion of tongues; and according to ſeveral authors, it was built of bricks and bitumen, as the ſcripture informs us that tower was. HERODOTUS relates that they aſcended it by ſtairs round about it on the outſide, and there being a large landing place at every ſtory, made it appear like eight towers one upon another, each of them ſeventy five foot high, and in them were many great rooms with arched roofs ſupported by pillars which were made parts of the temple afterwards. If we conſider that this was erected in the firſt ages after the flood, before arts and ſciences were arrived at any perfection, ſuch a piece of architecture muſt appear ſtill more amazing. Nay, where is the architect to be found at this day, or was ever heard of among the Greeks or Romans, who could erect a fabrick ſeventy five foot high, and ſet ſeven others of the ſame height over it one on the head of another! For my part I cannot help believing that ſome of the workmen muſt have ſeen the great improvements in architecture that were made before the flood, or at leaſt received an account of them from NOAH, or his ſons who ſurvived the deluge. How the art of building came to be loſt after the flood, as well as other arts, is not difficult to account for, if we conſider the confuſion of tongues, and the diſperſion of the people, which happened ſoon afterwards. Beſides, where nothing of this kind has happened, we have ſeen arts and ſciences decline in ſome ages as they have advanced in others, and in many parts of this very empire, famous formely for arts and ſciences, for elegant buildings and fruitful fields, are now become mere deſerts and heaps of rubbiſh; and the people ſeem to have little elſe to diſtinguiſh them from other animals beſides their form; particularly the natives of Curdeſtan, or Aſſyria, adjoining to the province we are treating of. But to proceed, on the top of the tower of Babel was an obſervatory, which doctor PRIDEAUX conceives was the occaſion that the Chaldeans advanced in the skill of aſtronomy beyond all other nations, and came ſo early to a perfection in that art, but this may poſſibly be as well aſcribed to two other cauſes, namely, becauſe this was the part of the world firſt peopled after the flood, and conſequently the natives muſt have had the longeſt experience, and if we add that it is not impoſſible they might retain ſome knowledge of what had paſſed in the old world, ſince ſome of thoſe who ſurvived it fixed hereabouts, it would not be the moſt extravagant conjecture. Another advantage was the pureneſs and ſerenity of the air, which makes it much fitter for obſervations of this nature than the air of ſome other countries: but however that be, CALISTHENES the philoſpoher who attended ALEXANDER in his conqueſts, found that they had made aſtronomical obſervations for 1903 years before that time, which it is computed muſt be from the hundred and fifteenth year after the flood, fifteen years after the time the tower of Babel is ſuppoſed to be built.

The temple of Belus contained no more than this tower till NEBUCHADNEZZAR's reign, who enlarged it by vaſt buildings erected about it in form of a ſquare, each ſide two furlongs in length, or a mile in circumference: here the God BEL or BAAL was worſhipped, who is generally ſuppoſed to be NIMROD, and called BEL, which ſignifies, Lord, from the dominion he uſurped; and NIMROD, in the Jewiſh and Chaldean languages, which ſignifies a rebel, as he revolted, or apoſtatiſed from the true worſhip of GOD. This temple ſtood till XERXES demoliſhed it in his return from his Grecian expedition: he plundered it of a prodigious treaſure, particularly of ſeveral images of maſſy gold, one of them forty foot high, which contained a thouſand Babyloniſh talents, or eight hundred ſeventy five ounces of gold, amounting to about three millions and an half of our money. There were many other images and ſacred utenſils in this temple, thoſe particularly mentioned by DIODORUS SICULUS contained five thouſand and thirty talents, which with the thouſand talents the firſt image contained, makes above one and twenty millions of our money; and no doubt there was a great deal of treaſure more which is not mentioned; but this had been collecting near two thouſand

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sand years, for so long it was from the foundation of it to the time it was destroyed.

Near the temple of Belus on the east side of the river stood the old palace, four miles in circumference; and over against it on the other side the river was the new palace which NEBUCHADNEZZAR built, being eight miles about; it was defended by three walls, the innermost commanding the other two. But what has been most admired in this palace were the hanging gardens, which contained a square of four hundred foot, and were several large terrasses one above another, the highest of which equalled the walls of the city: the whole was sustained by vast arches, and strengthened by a wall which surrounded it, two and twenty foot thick: the mould or vegetable earth on these terrasses was laid so deep that the largest trees might take root in it, and walks of them were accordingly planted here: in the upper terras there was a receptacle of water filled from the river, from whence the whole garden was watered. There were many other curiosities in this city worth the relating, but my business being chiefly with modern descriptions, I must refer my reader to Dr. PRIDEAUX and other authors which speak more largely of them; though thus much I could not avoid saying of this famous city, once the mistress as well as the wonder of the world, when I was treating of the province where it stood.

The walls of this city if they were any thing near the height and thickness it is reported, must certainly render it impregnable before gunpowder was in use, and could only have been taken by the stratagem Cyrus used of turning the river another way, and entering at that part of the wall where it used to run into the city. It could not easily have been reduced by famine, because it had been impossible to have assembled an army numerous enough to have invested it on all sides, or to have subsisted such an army of men if they had been drawn together; and there seems to have been ground enough belonging to every house within the walls to have furnished the inhabitants with provisions if there had been no communication with the country, especially in so fertile a soil as this is represented to be.

But what is as strange as any thing that is related of Babylon is, that we cannot learn either by antient writers or modern travellers where this famous city stood, only in general, that it was situated in the province of Chaldea we are now speaking of, upon the river Euphrates considerably above the place where it is united with the Tigris: travellers have guessed from the great ruins they have discovered in several parts of this country, that in this or that place Babylon once stood: but when we come to examine nicely the places they mention, we only learn that they are certainly in the wrong, and have mistaken the ruins of Seleucia, or some other great town; for this Seleucia, it is true, was some time called New Babylon, and peopled from thence, which was probably the ruins of Old Babylon; for it is said that ANTIOCHUS the son of SELEUCUS NICANOR transplanted no less than 500000 of the inhabitants of Old Babylon thither, and gave it the name of Seleucia in honour of his father; but of this great city neither does there remain any thing at this day but vast heaps of rubbish. I pass on therefore to Bagdat, sometimes also called Babylon, which arose out of the ruins of Seleucia, and is now the capital of the province.

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Seleucia.

Bagdat stands upon the river Tigris in 33 deg. odd min. north lat. and was built by MAHOMET the second Caliph of the Saracens, who reigned in the middle of the eighth century, and made it the seat of the Saracen empire. It was at first built upon the western side of the river, but about the year 1095. the Caliph MUSTETAHAR built a new city on the eastern bank of the Tigris, and united both by a bridge of boats; and it continued the metropolis of the Saracen empire till the middle of the thirteenth century, when the Tartars made a conquest of it, and put an end to the dominion of the Saracens: however it seems the religion of the Saracens prevailed, and was professed by the conquerors, and has been established in this country ever since. The city of Bagdat lost much of its splendor on its being taken by the Tartars, and was reduced to a ruinous condition; but it afterwards recovered in some measure, and proved a bone of contention between the Turks and Persians, by whom it has been alternately taken and retaken several times, until the year 1689, when the Turks made themselves masters of it, and have possessed it ever since, making it the capital city of the province, where the Beglerbeg or the Viceroy continually resides: it flourished much more and had a brisker trade while it was under the dominion of the Persians; though the trade is not inconsiderable at present, being supplied with all the merchandize of the east by the way of Bossora, which stands towards the mouth of the united streams of Tigris and Euphrates, and annually visited by the caravans from Aleppo, Smyrna, and the western part of the Turkish empire, whereby it is furnished with the produce of those countries. The pilgrims also which visit Mecca and the tombs of HALY and other Imans who lye buried not far from hence, passing annually through this place are a considerable advantage to it; though since it has been taken by the Turks, it has not been so much resorted to by the Persian devotees as formerly.

Bagdat.

The city is about fifteen hundred paces long and half as many in breadth, if we include only what

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ſtands on the Perſian or eaſtern ſide of the Tigris; there is indeed a ſuburb on the weſtern ſide, which ſome reckon part of the city, and then it would be much larger; but as this is not within the walls, or defended by either wall or caſtle, I think we may very well look upon it as a ſuburb to the other: the form of the city comes neareſt an oblong ſquare of any thing I can compare it to; indeed the weſtern ſide which lyes next the river is much the longeſt, and the north end broader than the ſouth, ſo that it is far from being a regular ſquare. The caſtle ſtands at the north-weſt corner of it on the river: the walls are of brick, and there are large towers upon it not unlike our modern baſtions. The ditch or moat is wide and deep, and though there be no half moons or other outworks, it is eſteemed a ſtrong fortreſs in this part of the world: there are but four gates, one towards the river, and the other three towards the land; and there is uſually a garriſon of three or four thouſand horſe and foot in the place. The caſtle is built of good white ſtone, and ſeems pretty ſtrong towards the river; and below the caſtle by the water ſide is the ſeraglio, or palace of the Viceroy, with ſeveral kioſchs, or ſummer-houſes on the river, which make a fine appearance. The houſes of the town are for the moſt part ill built, but their bazars, where the tradeſmen keep their ſhops, being arched and covered like our exchanges, are handſome enough. Theſe were built by the Perſians when they were in poſſeſſion of the place, as were their bagnio's, and indeed every thing elſe which is worth a traveller's notice, the Turks rather ruining than adorning all places where they come. There are five moſques in the town, of which two are indifferently well built, with handſome domes covered with varniſhed tiles of ſeveral colours. The Cadi here has an authority almoſt equal to that of the Mufti at Conſtantinople. There is alſo a Teſterda or Treaſurer, who collects the revenues; and a Reis Effendi, who ſigns all acts of ſtate, and is ſometimes called Secretary, and ſometimes Chancellor. In the hands of theſe officers is lodged the civil government of the province: they are alſo of the Viceroy's council, or rather checks and ſpies upon his actions, being accountable to the Porte for their conduct, and not to him.

Boſſora.

The next conſiderable city to Bagdat in Chaldea is Boſſora or Balſara, and this in ſome reſpects excels the other, as will appear in the deſcription of it. It ſtands about a league from the weſtern bank of Shat El Arab, which is the Euphrates and Tigris united, and has a communication with it by a canal, which will carry large veſſels; it lyes in 30 degrees odd minutes north latitude, and about 15 leagues from the mouth of the river Shat El Arab above-mentioned, the tide flows above 15 leagues higher than the town, as far as Gorno, and yet the water is freſh at Boſſora. The town is ſurrounded with a wall of earth, upwards of twelve miles in circumference, in which are contained however many void ſpaces, without houſes or gardens. Its ſituation is pleaſant, and very advantageous on account of trade, and the ground about it extremely fertile. The port is commodious and ſafe, inſomuch that large veſſels may come up to the end of the canal without danger; and as the merchandize of Europe may be brought thither by the Euphrates, which is not above four days journey from Aleppo; ſo all the rich merchandize of India and China is brought thither by the gulph of Perſia; and ſince the civil wars in Perſia, I find the Engliſh Eaſt India company have made this their principal factory for the Perſian trade, and withdraw moſt of their people from Iſpahan, Gombron, &c.

The ſhipping uſually arrives at Boſſora from the beginning of July to October, when the monſoon ſerves to bring them in; and during theſe four months, the town is crowded with foreigners from moſt parts of the world, who come thither to traffick: and why the trade of this place ſhould not come to be as conſiderable in time, as that of Ormus was, I cannot conceive, it having all the advantages in point of ſituation, that iſland had, if not more, and is in a manner a free port for all nations; whereas the trade of the other was in a great meaſure ingroſſed by the Portugueſe. The only thing which can make the trading men avoid it, is the hot winds, which blow here in July and Auguſt, when the heats are almoſt inſupportable, eſpecially if the wind blows from the ſouth-eaſt. Mr. THEVENOT aſſures us, that in the month of July, 1665, no leſs than four thouſand people periſhed in Boſſora, by the ſamiel, or hot poiſonous winds.

There is alſo another diſtemper very rife at Boſſora in the months of July, Auguſt, and September, which occaſions ſwellings and tumours in the groin, thighs, neck, and other parts of the body; and when it is cured in one place, will frequently break out in another; and though moſt people have it, there are few which die of this diſtemper. It is ſuppoſed to be cauſed by that abundance of dates which they eat, eſpecially the poor people, who have ſcarce any other food, except dry'd fiſh. About the latter end of September, when the heats are over, it is dangerous going too thin in clothes, or to ſleep abroad in the air. And from the end of October till January, it is very cool, nights and mornings, till the ſun is two or three hours high.

It is not much above an hundred and fifty years ſince Boſſora was under the dominion of the Arabs, and reckoned a part of Arabia Deſerta; but there happening a war between the Turks

Turks and the Arabians about this time, the Turks made themſelves maſters of it. The Arabs afterwards blocking up the place, and laying ambuſcades, ſo that it was impoſſible to paſs to and from it in any ſafety, the Turks came to a treaty with them, and were content to reſign all the territory belonging to it, which lay to the weſtward of the city, to the Arabs again, and they remain in poſſeſſion of the country within a league of the walls of Boſſora. And as the inhabitants of the town are for the moſt part Arabs, the Porte, to humour the people, ſuffer them to be governed by a Prince or hereditary Governor of their own, who ſometimes bids defiance to the Grand Seignior; and being in ſo remote a part of the empire, the government hath a great deal of trouble often, before they can reduce him within bounds.

The revenues of the Prince of Boſſora ariſe four ways, viz. by money, horſes, camels, and date trees. Every merchant who imports reals, are obliged to bring them into the mint, where they are coined into larins, by which he gets eight per cent. As to horſes, there are no where better or finer ſhaped than are to be found in this Prince's ſtables, which he does not think beneath his dignity to ſell to the beſt bidder. Nor does he make leſs advantage of his breed of camels, the moſt ſerviceable animal in the world for carrying burthens over the deſerts.

But in the date trees conſiſts his greateſt wealth, for all the country from the meeting of the two rivers Euphrates and Tigris to the ſea for thirty leagues together, are covered with them; and for every tree he is paid three fourths of a larin, about the value of nine-pence, our money.

The cuſtom-houſe at Boſſora alſo yields the Baſſa or Governor a great deal of money; and he keeps a Shabander or Commiſſioner of his cuſtoms, who collects them for him, and does not farm them. He raiſes alſo conſiderable ſums from the Perſian pilgrims, who moſt of them paſs through Boſſora, ſince Bagdat has been in the hands of the Turks; he demands of them thirty chequins a head, in conſideration of a guard he ſends with them of three or four hundred horſe to protect them from the Arabs, in their paſſage to Mecca and back again: he ſells them alſo what camels they want, at his own price, and when they return, he buys the camels again at eaſy rates, and ſells them horſes very dear, to carry them home. The merchants alſo, who buy horſes to be tranſported to other countries, are forced to take them at ſuch a price as he is pleaſed to ſet upon them, for all other perſons are prohibited to ſell their horſes to foreigners without licence, which is ſeldom obtained, but by a conſiderable preſent.

The ſubjects of the Prince or Baſſa of Boſſora, conſiſt not only of Arabs, but of Sabean Chriſtians, of whom I have ſpoken already in the deſcription of Perſia. There are alſo a vaſt concourſe of foreigners during the monſoons, and ſome who reſide there all the year, natives of Europe as well as Aſia, and the Carmelites were not long ſince ſuffered to have a convent, on the terraſs whereon they uſed to plant a pair of colours or ſtandard, with a croſs wrought in it, for which privilege they annually made the Baſſa a preſent; and here, not only the Catholicks of Europe, but the Armenians and Neſtorians, it is ſaid, performed their devotions: nor are the Mahometans ſo ſtrict as in ſome other parts of the empire, but every one is permitted to wear turbants of what colour they pleaſe, and not put under any marks of ignominy, as at Conſtantinople.

There is no part of the world where the fruits of the earth are more ſubject to be deſtroyed by locuſts than in the territories of Boſſora: TAVERNIER relates that when he was at Boſſora, there flew by twice ſuch a prodigious number of locuſts, that they appeared at a diſtance like a cloud, and darkened the air. They paſs over Boſſora generally four or five times in a year, being driven into the deſert, by the wind, where they die, or they would deſtroy all the corn and herbage in Chaldea.

The ſamiel or hot poiſonous winds, which have been mentioned already in treating of Perſia, ſeem to be more fatal in this country than in any other, if we may credit the account Mr. THEVENOT gives us of them: he obſerves that it reigns in the hot ſummer months from the banks of the Tigris as far as Surat in India by land, but is never perceived on the water, and he imagines it to be the eaſt wind JOB mentions, becauſe it always blows from the eaſtward, or rather from the ſouth eaſt: that thoſe who breathe this wind fall inſtantly dead, tho' ſometimes they have time to ſay, I burn. That a man no ſooner dies by this wind than he becomes as black as a coal, and if one takes him by a leg or an arm, or any other part of the body to lift him up, he will pull off his fleſh, which comes from the bone: that in this wind there are ſtreaks of fire as ſmall as a hair, which have been ſeen by ſome, and thoſe who breathe in thoſe rays of fire die, while others receive no prejudice; and he conceives that theſe fires volant may proceed from ſulphurious exhalations which riſe out of the earth, and kindling by the agitation of the wind, are drawn in by the breath, and conſume the entrails in a moment: or, if it be but a bare wind, it is ſo hot as immediately to corrupt the body it enters into.

But notwithſtanding I have a very great regard for the relations given us by Mr. THEVENOT, and ſuch an opinion of his veracity, that I ſeldom queſtion any thing he aſſures us he has been an eye witneſs of; yet as he acknowledges to have received this ac-

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count from others, I muſt beg his pardon if I do not give entire credit to it in every circumſtance. As to the hot winds in general which blow from the moſt eaſtern part of India to the frontiers of Turkey, or from the Ganges to the river Tigris in the months of June and July, and ſometimes longer, it may be obſerved, that this country for the moſt part is a barren ſandy deſert on which the ſun at this ſeaſon of the year ſhines with almoſt perpendicular rays, and heats the earth to ſuch a degree about noon, that there is no ſetting a bare foot upon it; and that the ſun which is then near the zenith, and the reflection of the burning ſands ſhould occaſion the air to be intolerably hot is no ſtrange thing: it may alſo be much hotter towards the weſtern parts of Perſia and Chaldea, than in India poſſibly, becauſe the wind has blown over a large tract of parched earth; and I am apt to believe therefore, that in theſe countries many people may have periſhed in theſe hot winds; but as to their ſucking in ſtreaks of fire with their breath, and the effect it is ſaid to have of corrupting their fleſh in a moment, Mr. THEVENOT might probably be impoſed upon in theſe particulars. A corps it is true, will corrupt in a very ſhort time in hot countries let the diſtemper be what it will, which is the reaſon they uſually bury a perſon in a few hours after he dies; but that the fleſh ſhould ſo corrupt in a moment as not to bear the handling without coming from the bone, is ſomething extraordinary.

And tho' the hot winds may have ſudden and terrible effects in Chaldea and Perſia, they certainly are not ſo pernicious in India; they may, and no doubt have brought diſtempers upon people there which have been fatal to them: but for ſeveral years that I was in India, I never heard of any perſon being ſtruck dead in a moment by them, nor can I hear from any of our Perſian factors that theſe winds have had ſuch a quick operation in any part of that kingdom; but that many of our people have died or languiſhed of fevers and other diſtempers at Gombron and Boſſora, occaſioned by the exceſſive heats, every perſon who has viſited thoſe countries can inform us; and when the wind which ſhould refreſh and relieve us in the hot ſeaſons brings an addition of heat with it, this is not to be much wondered at; but as I have already given my thoughts in relation to theſe hot winds in the deſcription of Perſia, I ſhall not enlarge any farther on this ſubject here.

I have ſaid above that Bir upon the Euphrates ſtanding but four days journey from Aleppo, the merchandiſe of Europe might be tranſported to Boſſora by that river, and ſo diſtributed all over the eaſt; but I find the Euphrates is not navigable in all places between Bir and Boſſora, either the ſtream is choked up in ſome part of it by ſands, or there are ſo many canals and dikes cut to ſupply the neighbouring country with water, that it is too ſhallow for veſſels of any burthen to paſs through: were any people maſters of this country but the Turks, they would certainly reſtore the navigation of this river, which would be ſo advantageous upon account of trade; as it is, the merchants who have goods to tranſport to Bagdat or Boſſora, are forced to croſs the Euphrates with them at Bir, and carry them from thence to Mouſſul (Nineveh) which ſtands upon the Tigris, and there embark them on the kelecks for Bagdat; for ordinary boats and veſſels, it ſeems, cannot ſail upon the Tigris, on account of the great falls, or cataracts which are in that river; at one of which, it ſeems, the water falls forty fathoms perpendicular.

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Theſe kelecks are about four fathom long and three broad, born up by skins, or borachio's filled with wind like bladders: they have perhaps twenty of theſe borachio's on each ſide, and thirteen or fourteen at each end of the machine, to theſe they faſten long poles which are tied together with withes, and upon theſe they lay poles from ſide to ſide to a conſiderable thickneſs, on which the paſſengers and their goods are placed. Two watermen row the machine with oars, or rather flat narrow ſticks; and a third wets that part of the borachios which are out of the water every half hour, or elſe, it ſeems, they will be in danger of burſting; and theſe are all the hands employed in navigating the keleck, which it is obſerved, has neither maſt or ſail, or any peg, nail, or piece of iron uſed in the framing of it, neither have they head or ſtern, but any part moves firſt as it happens, and moſt commonly they go ſide-ways. They blow up their borachios every evening, and mend thoſe that are cracked, for the kelecks put on ſhore twice a day, and uſually the paſſengers lye upon the banks of the river in the night time. In the paſſage from Mouſſul to Bagdat every one is obliged to carry his proviſions with him, for there is ſcarce a town to be found upon either ſhore between thoſe cities. Mr. THEVENOT in ſailing down this river, obſerves, that it had the moſt turnings and windings of any he had ever been upon; that it formed many large iſlands, and was full of rocks, which made the navigation impracticable in any other veſſels, eſpecially conſidering the rapidity of the ſtream. Near the banks of this river, he obſerved, ſeveral hills of ſulphur; and the wind blowing very hot one night when he lay on ſhore from thoſe hills: this gentleman apprehended it might be the famiel or poiſonous wind, which he conceived to be occaſioned by the hot vapours which aſcend from the pits of ſulphur, and indeed hot winds in the night time appear

ſomething

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ſomething extraordinary to me, having only found them blow hot for three or four hours in the middle of the day, and afterwards we were refreſhed with cooler breezes.

The Arabs, it ſeems, who feed their cattle upon the banks of this river, ſwim frequently from one ſide to the other, and if they meet with a keleck where all the people who belong to it are on ſhore in the night time, they ſeldom fail to plunder it: and Mr. THEVENOT obſerved in this voyage, that the very women and girls frequently croſs the rapid ſtream, carrying bundles on their heads, aſſiſted only by a borachio under each arm, and ſometimes without any aſſiſtance. About two days below Mouſſul the river Zarb falls into the Tigris, being about half as broad as that river and very rapid, ariſing from the neighbouring mountains of Curdiſtan or Aſſyria. Hereabouts the country on the Aſſyrian ſide is full of lions and other wild beaſts; and the other ſhore is infeſted by the thieviſh Arabs, which makes it unſafe lying on either. THEVENOT tells us, that they choſe to lye on the ſhore where they expected wild beaſts, rather than truſt themſelves among the Arabs: at midnight however they were viſited by three robbers ſtark-naked, who had croſſed the river in hopes of plunder, but finding they were diſcovered, they dived under water and diſappeared. This accident, notwithſtanding alarmed the paſſengers, for thoſe who ſaw them, ran immediately to the keleck, crying out like people in the extremeſt danger, and the reſt not knowing what the matter was, but thinking there was a lion at their heels, threw themſelves deſperately into the keleck, and the noiſe awakening thoſe who were left on board, who were equally frightned, it was very lucky that no miſchief happened in the confuſion the whole company were in; but their apprehenſions, it ſeems, were not altogether without grounds for ſome time before, it ſeems, the Arabs had robbed a keleck in that very place, on board of which were near fourſcore people whom they killed, and then overſet the keleck, that it might ſeem to be an accident; for the Turks ſometimes call them to an account for theſe depredations. Between Mouſſul and Bagdat on the Aſſyrian ſide of the Tigris are bituminous ſprings, and other ſtreams of hot water, in which ſick people frequently come to bathe.

From Bagdat to Boſſora the Tigris will carry large boats, nor are there any cataracts to hinder the navigation. The veſſels are about ten days going down, and there are villages on the ſhore, where proviſions may be had at very eaſy rates, which the paſſengers dreſſed on board; nor do they lye aſhore, as in the paſſage on the upper part of the river above Bagdat. The towns which ſtand near the ſhore, are Amurat, Manſoury, Magar, Gazen, and Gorno. Canals are cut through all the country between Bagdat and Boſſora, which makes it a little reſemble Holland; and theſe cities lye about an hundred and ſixty leagues aſunder. At Gorno, fifteen leagues above Boſſora, the Tigris and Euphrates meet; and here are three caſtles, one upon the point where the two rivers join, the ſecond on the Chaldea ſide, and the other on the ſide of Arabia, and here the cuſtoms are demanded, theſe caſtles being in the territories of the Baſſa of Boſſora.

This country is one of the richeſt under the dominion of the Grand Seignior: no fine meadow and paſture grounds can be ſeen any where; and they are covered with flocks and herds for hundreds of miles together; but horſes and buffaloes they moſt abound in: and hither the Grand Seignior ſends a Teſterdar, or Treaſurer, annually, with a body of horſe, to collect his duties, viz. for every ox or buffalo, a piaſter and a quarter; every horſe or mare, two piaſters; and for every ſheep 10 d. which would amount to an immenſe ſum, if the ruſticks did not defraud him of great part of it; and ſometimes they will refuſe to pay any, which occaſions a petty war between them and the Porte; but the government chooſe to wink at ſome frauds, rather than provoke them to revolt by too rigorous an exaction in theſe remote provinces.

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Treats of the preſent ſtate of the province of Curdiſtan or Aſſyria.

I Proceed now to enquire into the ſtate of Turkiſh Curdiſtan, or Aſſyria, for the moſt eaſterly part of Curdiſtan is under the dominion of the Perſians. This province has Armenia or Turcomania on the north: Perſian Curdiſtan on the eaſt: Chaldea on the ſouth: and Diarbeck or Meſopotamia on the weſt: and is ſaid to receive its name from ASSUR the ſon of SHEM. In this country the famous city of Nineveh once ſtood, on the eaſtern bank of the river Tigris, oppoſite to the place where Mouſſul now ſtands. This town was ſixty miles in compaſs, or three days journey, according to JONAS; twenty miles being an ordinary day's journey for a man on foot. The walls of it are ſaid to have been one hundred feet high, and to have had eleven hundred and fifty towers upon it, each of them two hundred feet in height. The houſes did not ſtand contiguous, but there were large gardens and ſpaces between them, as in Babylon. It was under the dominion of the ſame Prince, who uſed to reſide part of the year at one of theſe cities, and the other part at the other. It is ſaid to be built by NIMROD, or according to

Curdiſtan or Aſſyria.

Nineveh.

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to others by NINUS, from whom, it is conjectured, it received its name. It was beſieged by ARBACES three years, when the river overflowed twenty furlongs of the wall; whereupon SARDANAPALUS, the Prince, retired into his palace, and having collected all his wealth, which, according to tradition, amounted to upwards of twenty thouſand millions of pounds, ſet fire to the whole, and threw himſelf into the flames. This city was afterwards entirely deſtroyed by ASTYAGES, the eldeſt ſon of CYAXARES, the eighth King of the Medes, after ARBACES. There is nothing now to be ſeen but heaps of rubbiſh, almoſt a league along the river Tigris, over againſt Mouſſul, which people imagine to be the remains of this vaſt city. Half a league from the Tigris alſo is a little hill, on the top whereof ſtands a moſque, over the place where, according to the tradition of the country, JONAS was buried. And for this place the Turks have ſo great a veneration, that they will ſcarce ſuffer any Chriſtian to enter the moſque. In the middle of the temple ſtands a tomb covered with a pall of tiſſue, and at the four corners great wax candles, beſides ſeveral lamps, which hang down from the roof, and here ſome derviſes or Turkiſh monks are employed in reading the alcoran.

Sheraſoul. The capital city of Curdiſtan at this time is Sheraſoul, which lyes to the eaſtward of Nineveh, in the 36th degree of north latitude. It is the ſeat of the Beglerbeg, or Viceroy of the province, who hath ſeveral ſangiackſhips or governments under him. The town is not large but built after a particular manner, the houſes being hewed out of a rock on the ſide of a hill for a quarter of a league together; and you go up to them by fifteen or twenty ſtone ſteps, and ſometimes more.

Amadia. 2. Amadia lyes to the northward of Nineveh, in 37 degrees north latitude. It is ſeated on the top of an high mountain, which will take up an hour in aſcending. In the middle of the town is a piazza, where the merchants keep their ſhops, and is a place of pretty good trade.

Arbela. 3. Arbela, to the eaſtward of Sheraſoul, near which town is a plain fifteen leagues in extent, where ALEXANDER defeated DARIUS. In the middle of this plain there is a little hill about half a league in circumference, covered with noble oaks, and at the top of it the ruins of a caſtle, which, according to tradition, was the place where DARIUS ſtood to ſee the ſucceſs of the battle.

Betlis. 4. Betlis is ſituate on the north part of this province, near the lake of Van, in the latitude of thirty ſeven degrees ſome odd minutes north lat. The Bey or Prince of this place, it is ſaid, ſtill preſerves his independency, and is ſubject neither to the Turk or Perſian, his country being very mountainous, and almoſt inacceſſible. And as he has it in his power to interrupt the trade between Aleppo and Tauris, it is ſaid to be the intereſt of both Princes to keep fair with him. As you approach Betlis you muſt travel a whole day among high ſteep mountains, from whence there fall prodigious torrents in the wet ſeaſon. The way up to the city is cut through a rock, where there is but juſt room for a camel to paſs. It is built round the hill in form of a ſugar loaf, and ſtands at an equal diſtance from two other mountains. There is no getting up to it, but by wheeling and winding round the mountain. On the top there is a plain where the caſtle ſtands. And here the Bey alſo has his palace. 'Tis ſaid he can raiſe twenty five thouſand horſe, and a good body of foot out of the ſhepherds of his country.

Nature of the ſoil. The province of Curdiſtan is a very pleaſant fruitful ſoil, diverſified with hills and valleys. The hills are clothed with the fineſt oaks, and a great variety of other timber and fruit trees. The valleys are well watered, and bear excellent grain where they are cultivated, but being under the dominion of the ſlothful Turk, or rather a frontier country between Turkey and Perſia, there is very little of it manured. However there are vaſt flocks and herds fed in this country, the owners living in tents, like the Arabs. The governing part of the country are MAHOMETANS, but the common people are ſaid to be a kind of Chriſtians, at leaſt they go under that denomination; but according to the accounts travellers give us of them, there are not a more brutiſh people upon the face of the earth, and not leſs addicted to thieving and plundering the caravans than the Arabians: but this is not to be wondered at upon the frontiers of two great kingdoms, enemies to each other, where people will take greater liberties than in other places. Galls and tobacco are the principal produce of the ſoil at preſent, but it ſeems fit for any thing, it being very deep, as travellers complain who paſs through it: and though the country in general is pleaſant, it ſeems the roads are not. There are ſcarce any towns and villages, but the houſes lye diſperſed at the diſtance of a musket ſhot from one another, and ſcarce a houſe which has not a vineyard: however they make no wine, but dry their grapes.

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Treats of the ſtate of the province of Diarbeck, or Meſopotamia.

THE province of Diarbeck, or Meſopotamia, I come to next. This lyes between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, from whence it is ſaid to have obtained its name, and is bounded by Turcomania, or Armenia Major, on the north, and Chaldea on the ſouth: the chief towns there-

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Bir.

of are, firſt, Bir, or Beer, as we pronounce it, ſituate upon the eaſtern bank of the river Euphrates, four days journey to the eaſtward of Aleppo, in thirty-ſeven degrees odd minutes, north latitude, and is the great paſs into Meſopotamia. The town is built on the ſide of a hill, and not very large, at the top of it there ſtands a caſtle built upon a rock, where the Governor reſides; and from hence our countryman, the reverend Mr. MAUNDREL, obſerved, there was a way cut under ground to the river. In the caſtle he was ſhewn a room full of old arms, vaſt large croſs-bows, and beams which ſeemed deſigned for battering rams. There were alſo Roman ſaddles and head-pieces, of a large ſize; but the Turks would not permit him to ſtay long enough to examine theſe antiquities. In the evening he went to view the country about it, on the Meſopotamian ſide, and found ſteep chalky hills, which came up cloſe to the water-ſide, without any plain intervening, as they do alſo on the Aſſyrian ſide: however, there are two fine ſtreams, which run over the top of the hill, and fall down into the town. In the ſide of the hill there is a cave cut in the rock, with fifteen large pillars left to ſupport the roof. The city is well walled, but the houſes very indifferently built, as they are in moſt parts of Turkey. There is, however, plenty of all proviſions, good water, and a deſireable climate, which render the place agreeable enough. The garriſon conſiſts of ſix or ſeven hundred men, commanded by an Aga: but the city is within the territories of the Baſſa of Orfa.

Sharmley.

A day's journey to the eaſtward of Bir lyes the town of Sharmley, where there is a good caravanſera and baths, and a ſtrong fortreſs on a mountain near it; which is all that travellers obſerve concerning it.

About eleven hours march to the eaſtward of Sharmley ſtands the city of Orfa, (ſuppoſed to be in the ſame place where Edeſſa antiently ſtood) in thirty-ſix degrees north latitude. Here the caravan uſually ſtays eight or ten days, the people who let the horſes and mules from Turkey to Perſia, having their houſes here. Orfa is the capital city of Meſopotamia, and, according to tradition, ſtands in the place where ABRAHAM dwelt. The firſt thing they ſhew foreigners is a large fountain, the ſprings whereof are under the foundations of the principal moſque in the city. The Chriſtians have a tradition here, that this was the place where ABRAHAM prayed before he went to ſacrifice his ſon ISAAC; and that two ſprings of water aroſe from the places where he kneeled. Theſe feed the large fountain abovementioned, and they will not ſuffer any perſon to enter the grotto, where theſe ſprings riſe, without pulling off his ſhoes, and it is with difficulty that a Chriſtian is permitted to ſee it. The inhabitants are many of them Armenian Chriſtians, and are permitted to perform divine ſervice in their churches. Here are alſo to be ſeen ſeveral antient tombs of the Chriſtians, in grotto's, on the neighbouring mountains.

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The walls of the city of Orfa are of free-ſtone, with towers at convenient diſtances; but the town is meanly built, and ſeveral void places in it without inhabitants. It is governed by a Baſſa, and has a garriſon of ſix or ſeven hundred ſpahis, and about two hundred janizaries, there being much more occaſion for horſe than foot, to oppoſe the incurſions of the Arabs, who frequently croſs the Euphrates, in hopes of plunder. There are ſeveral pleaſant gardens near the walls, watered by artificial channels, and the ſoil produces good wine: but what Orfa is moſt remarkable for, is the manufacture of yellow maroyni, or Turkey leather, as we call it; the red is made at Diarbeck, and the blue at Tocat.

On the ſouth ſide of the city is a caſtle, with a broad deep ditch cut through a rock, and on the top of the caſtle is a little ſquare turret, where, according to tradition, ELIAS formerly dwelt. They ſhew ſtrangers alſo a well on the ſouth ſide of the town, which they call the well of the handkerchief for this reaſon: they ſay that ABGARUS, King of Orfa, being a leper, ſent meſſengers to our Saviour, deſiring that he would come and heal him; and with the meſſengers ſent a painter to draw our Saviour's picture: that our Lord anſwered, he could not go with the meſſengers, becauſe his paſſion drew nigh; but obſerving the painter taking his picture, he threw a handkerchief over his face, which immediately received the print of his viſage, and gave it them to carry their Prince. As they were returning, near the city of Orfa, they were ſet upon by robbers, and the perſon who had the handkerchief, dropt it into a well, to conceal it, and eſcaping to the town, related the accident: whereupon the King, the next day, with all his people, went in proceſſion to the well, where they found the water riſen to the brim, and the handkerchief floating upon it; and the King taking it into his hands, found himſelf in that inſtant cured of his leproſy; and thereupon the King and his ſubjects became Chriſtians; that they kept this miraculous handkerchief many years; but at length ſome Franks ſtole it, and carried it to Rome. The water of this well alſo is ſuppoſed ever ſince to have the property of curing lepers. From this and the like ſtories we may obſerve, that the eaſtern Chriſtians are not leſs credulous than thoſe of the weſt; though I believe the church of Rome may ſtill vie with any church on the face of the earth, for relicks and miraculous cures. But I am apt to think that the water of this well has really ſome natural virtue in it, eſpecially in

leprous

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leprous caſes; for as the leproſy is a very common diſtemper in this country, ſo travellers tell us there are always ſome people bathing here, who are afflicted with this diſeaſe: and it is not an uncommon thing among ſome people, where waters have a natural virtue in them, to improve the hint, and make a miracle of the cure, when an infirm man has received any benefit by them.

Merdin. Six or ſeven day's journey to the eaſtward of Orfa, ſtands the little city of Merdin, on a mountain, ſurrounded with a good wall. The caſtle is ſomething higher than the town, on the north ſide of it, where the Governor reſides, who has a garriſon of two hundred ſpahis, and four or five hundred foot.

Nesbin. Two days journey beyond Merdin, in the road to Perſia, ſtands the town of Nesbin, the antient Niſibis; of which it is but the ſhadow, being only now a large village, and is inhabited by Armenian and Neſtorian Chriſtians. Here they ſhew travellers the tomb of St. JAMES, Biſhop of Niſibis. In the ſame church-yard is a ſtone pedeſtal, on which are placed ſeveral lighted candles, which the poor people offer when they are ſick, or in diſtreſs, believing it to have been the pedeſtal of ſome ſaint's ſtatue, which the Turks have defaced; and the poor people are ſo very zealous, it ſeems, in the worſhip of ſaints, that they pay the ſame reverence to the pedeſtal as they would have given to the image.

Mouſſul. Five or ſix days journey to the caſtward of Nesbin, ſtands the city of Mouſſul, on the weſtern bank of the river Tigris, (over-againſt the place where Nineveh is ſuppoſed to have ſtood) in thirty-ſix degrees odd minutes, northern latitude: the walls of this city make a good appearance without, being built of free-ſtone, and three miles in circumference; there is a little caſtle on the Tigris, where the Baſſa reſides, but the houſes are very mean within, and many of them lye in ruins; it is however a place of good trade, being the ordinary road for the caravans from Aleppo to Perſia, and has a communication with Bagdat, and the gulph of Perſia, by means of the Tigris. It is chiefly inhabited by Greeks, Chriſtians, Armenians, Neſtorians and Maronites, but thoſe of the eſtabliſhment are Mahometans; and the garriſon uſually conſiſts of three or four thouſand horſe and foot. There is a great trade for galls here, being the produce of the neighbouring countries. A bridge of boats is laid over the river at this place, by which it has a communication with Aſſyria or Curdiſtan.

Diarbeck city. The city of Diarbeck ſtands about ſix days journey north eaſt of Orfa, in 38 degrees of north lat. and is called by the Turks, Caremit: it is ſituate on a riſing ground, on the right ſide of the river Tigris, where it forms a half moon; the deſcent from the walls to the river being very ſteep; it is encompaſſed with a double wall, in the outermoſt of which is ſixty two towers, and three gates, on every one of them there is an inſcription in Greek, not intelligible at preſent, only it is obſerved that it mentions the name of CONSTANTINE ſeveral times: there is in the town two or three handſome piazza's, and a magnificent moſque, which was formerly a Chriſtian church. About a league from the city there is a canal cut from the Tigris, which ſupplies the town with water, and in this water it is that all the red Turkey leather or maroynis are waſhed which are made at Diarbeck, and excel all others in colour; this manufacture employs at leaſt one fourth of the natives: the ſoil is very good in the neighbouring country, which abounds in corn and wine: the city is populous, and in it there is computed to be about twenty thouſand Chriſtians, of which two thirds are Armenians, and the reſt Neſtorians and Jacobites. The Baſſa is a Beglerbeg, or Viceroy, and one of the Vizier's of the empire, having ſeveral ſangiackſhips, or governments, under him; in which, it is ſaid, he can raiſe twenty thouſand horſe, who hold of the crown by military tenures.

Diarbeck ſtands ſo near the ſource of the Tigris that it is fordable here, except after the rains and the melting of the ſnows on the mountains, and then it is neceſſary to go a mile higher than the town, where it may be croſſed over a ſtone bridge.

As to the province of Diarbeck in general, the north part of it ſeems to be as fruitful as any part of the Turkiſh empire; affording plenty of corn, wine, cattle, wild fowl, and all manner of proviſions; but the ſouth part of it is not ſo fruitful. There is a pleaſing variety of hills and valleys in this country, and it is almoſt encloſed by the Tigris and Euphrates, and watered with ſeveral other ſtreams. The principal manufacture appears to be maroyni or Turkey leather; and they export great quantities of galls and tobacco.

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Treats of the province of Turcomania, or Armenia Major.

Turcomania, or Armenia. TO the northward of Diarbeck and Curdiſtan lyes the province of Turcomania, or Armenia major, bounded by Natolia towards the weſt, by Georgia and Natolia towards the north, and by Aderbeitzan, or Media, a province of Perſia, towards the eaſt: the chief towns whereof are, firſt, Erzerom, or Arzeron, ſituate in forty degrees odd minutes, north latitude, about five days journey to the ſouthward of the Black ſea: it ſtands at one end of a fine plain, at the foot of a

Erzerom city.

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chain of mountains, which were covered with snow, Mr. TOURNEFORT observed when he was there, which was in the middle of June, and he understood that the snows had fallen the beginning of the same month, and they were surprized to find their hands so numbed after break of day that they could not write; it contained thus cold till an hour after sun-rise, though the nights were moderate enough, and the heat troublesom from ten in the morning till four in the afternoon. The plain of Erzerom is fruitful in all manner of grain, but their harvest is very backward, seldom happening till September; but besides the sudden alteration of the weather in Armenia, from excessive cold to excessive heat, the scarcity of wood, and other fuel, make Erzerom very unpleasant. They have no other wood near it but fir, and this they bring two or three days journey; all the country about it is perfectly naked, without either tree or bush to be seen, and their ordinary fire is cow dung, with some other nauseous mixtures, which renders the air very unsavoury, and gives a taste to their milk, and the meat they dress with it, which is otherwise very good; for they abound in all sorts of cattle.

The best fruit we meet with here is brought thither from the neighbouring country of Georgia, where the summer is much forwarder: from the hills near Erzerom fall down several small rivulets, which serve the town, and water the adjoining fields; but their wine and spirits are the worst in Turkey, and yet very difficult to be come at, there being no place where the Turks see the prohibition against drinking it more strictly observed than here, frequently punishing those who sell it with the bastinado.

The town is enclosed with double walls, on which are either square or pentagonal towers, but the ditches are neither deep nor well kept, and are about two miles in circumference. The Beglerbeg, or Viceroy of the province, resides in an old ill-built palace, and the Aga of the janizaries, who is independent on him, in a castle which stands rather above the town, which the Viceroy seldom enters, unless it be to compliment the Grand Seignior with his head; for hither the Capigi sends him a summons, when he comes on this tragical errand. TAVERNIER relates, that in his last voyage to Persia, the Beglerbeg of Erzerom not having sent twelve thousand men to the wars in Candy, so soon as the Grand Seignior expected them, he met the Capigi returning to Constantinople, with the heads of the Viceroy of Erzerom and the Bassa of Cars, both in a bag, which he would needs shew him, but what was the offence of the Bassa of Cars he does not inform us.

It is computed that there are in Erzerom about eighteen thousand Mahometans, and six thousand Armenians, and in the province, sixty thousand Armenians, and ten thousand Greeks: the majority of the Turks in the city pass under the name of janizaries, who are very numerous also in other parts of this province; but they are for the most part tradesmen, who are so far from receiving the pay of janizaries, that most of them give the Aga money to purchase the privilege of being deemed of this body, and to have the power of insulting the rest of their fellow subjects. The better sort of people also are forced to list themselves, to prevent their being exposed to the violence of their neighbours; for the soldiers of this body are allowed to insult the rest of their fellow subjects with impunity.

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Erzerom is an episcopal see, where resides an Armenian Bishop, subject to the Patriarch of Erivan, in Persia: the Greeks also have their Bishop here, and one poor church; they are for the most part handicrafts, and have their quarter in the suburbs, where they make copper utensils, copper being dug in the neighbouring mountains: they have also a pretty brisk trade for furs, especially those of Jardava, where there are skins not unlike those of martens. Erzerom is a considerable thorough-fare from Persia and India to Constantinople, by way of Trapesond and the Black sea, which way the merchants choose to take often, to avoid the Arabs, who lye on the road to Aleppo.

The province of Erzerom, it is said, is worth three hundred purses to the Viceroy, every purse being five hundred crowns, which is the way of reckoning great sums in Turkey. They arise by the merchandize imported and exported, which generally pays about three per cent, and some species of goods as much more: great duties also are laid on gold and silver: the finest Persian silk, called chorbasi, and the coarsest, called ardachi, pay both alike, or about twenty pounds sterling for every camel's load, being eight hundred weight in this country. The Viceroy also disposes of most offices in the province, which, according to the laudable custom of Turkey, are usually sold to the best bidder: and every person who passes out of the province into Persia are obliged to pay five crowns a head, and those who carry with them no more gold or silver than will serve for their expences on the road, pay, however, five per cent. for all they export; though some Viceroys, it seems, have relinquished the last. But the best way, Monf. TOURNEFORT observes, to be well used upon the frontiers, is to obtain a firman from the Porte, (the nature of which I have mentioned already) and a recommendation from the Ambassadors of the respective nations, to the Viceroys and Bassas of those places through which the traveller is to pass.

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This province yields six hundred purses annually to the Grand Seignior in money, besides three hundred more levied on the Armenians and Greeks: he has also six per cent. on all merchandize, so that the whole a merchant pays is nine per cent. viz six to the Sultan, and three to the Viceroy. The town of Erzerom, it seems, does not stand on the Euphrates, as it is generally placed in our maps, but in a peninsula formed by the sources of that river; one of these streams runs a day's journey, and the other half a day's journey distant from the city, and the two rivers joining three days journey below the town, obtain the name of the Frat, and will carry small vessels; but the channel is so full of rocks, it is said, that the navigation is very difficult if not impracticable in many places.

There is not a week passes but caravans set out from Erzerom for Aleppo, Tocat, Teflis, Tauris and Trapesond. The Curdes, or people of Assyria, strole with their flocks and herds as far as the sources of the Euphrates in the summer time, and seldom return home till the snows oblige them to quit the field, and are not much less troublesom to the caravans than the Arabs in the south. They give themselves the name of Jasides, or disciples of JESUS, but seem to have very little religion amongst them, unless some absurd superstitious rites may pass for such. They own no Prince for their Sovereign, and the Turks seldom take upon them to bring them to justice, even when they are apprehended for murder or robbery, but oblige them to redeem their lives by a sum of money.

The caravans are sometimes forced to enter into a treaty with these raparees, and submit to such a tribute as they are pleased to impose upon them to avoid worse usage, and the merchants come off frequently for three or four crowns a head, for the Curdes are much fonder of money than goods, which they cannot easily vend, and are in danger also of being surprized with them. The caravans of late years travel much more through Erzerom than Bagdat, though that be much the shorter way, because the Arabs, through whose country they are obliged to pass, have rendered themselves almost independent of the Turk, and are masters of all the passes.

Mr. TOURNEFORT relates, that it was the 19th of June when he went to take a view of the country to the eastward of Erzerom; that the snow was then scarce melted on the mountains, and the plants and herbage but just begun to appear; which seems very strange in a country which lyes ten degrees nearer the sun than we do, and unless it proceed from the cold blasts which come from those vast mountains whose tops are covered with snow, I know not what to ascribe the backwardness of the season to. In travelling up the mountains of Tauris and Ararat indeed travellers assure us, they feel such excessive cold even in summer time, that a person hazards his health in passing over them. LUCULLUS long since observed, that the fields in this country were bare at midsummer, and before the autumnal equinox there was no passing the rivers without breaking the ice, so different is this country from most others in the same latitude. CHAP. XIV.

Sources of the Euphrates.

Monsieur TOURNEFORT relates that when he was at Erzerom, having the curiosity to visit the sources of the Euphrates, he applied himself to an Armenian Bishop who resided at a monastery about three hours from that city, who was so obliging as to go with him, in order to protect him against the insults of the Curdes, who were at that time there with their flocks and herds. That after two or three hours riding they entered some fine valleys, which the winding streams of the Euphrates render extremely pleasant: here they found that beautiful species of pimpernel with red flowers, which is one of the greatest ornaments of the gardens at Paris, and a great variety of other useful plants; but ascending higher in the mountains they saw nothing but moss and snow, though it was then the 22d of June; that there were abundance of springs on the tops of these mountains, which falling on every side afford a delightful prospect, and near one of them they sat down to refresh themselves with some of the monastery wine they brought with them; when they saw some of the Curdes advancing, which put all the Franks in a terrible fright, having heard so many dismal stories of this people; but, it seems they had such a respect for their Bishop, though they are rogues by profession, that they did not insult the company: on the contrary they made the reverend prelate a present of cheese, for which he gave them a bottle of brandy in return: they afterwards visited the camp of the Curdes, and found their tents to be large and covered with a thick brown coarse cloth, but the body of the tent an oblong square, of the height of a man, encompassed with cane lattices, and lined with good mats. When they march they fold up these moveable tenements like a skreen, and load them with their wives and children upon oxen and buffaloes: thus they wander from mountain to mountain, resting wherever they find good pasturage. About October the cold obliges them to remove southward into Mesopotamia, or their own country of Curdestan: the men are all well mounted, and have lances for their arms.

But to return to Erzerom: there are, it seems, mines of silver as well as copper near this city and of late I am told, the Turks have so far overcome their lazy sluggish temper as to give orders for the working of them, and that they are like to prove very valuable; it is said also, that there is some lapis lazuli found among those

of

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of copper, but in ſmall quantities, and too much mixed with marble.

Cars city.

The next conſiderable city to Erzerom is Cars, five or ſix days journey to the north-eaſt, in 42 degrees odd minutes north latitude; and gives name to a river on which it ſtands. Before the preſent war this place was a frontier town of Turkey towards Perſia. It is of an oblong figure, and has a double wall about it two miles in compaſs; but the place is very thinly inhabited: the caſtle ſtands on an inacceſſible rock next to the river; the houſes are very mean, more like dens than habitations for men; but there is a numerous garriſon in it, commanded by a Baſſa. The river Arpagi joins the Cars a little below the city, and afterwards going by the name of Arpigi, falls into the Araxes, or Arras. The Turkiſh officers at Cars exact intolerably on travellers, but eſpecially on the Franks, who find great difficulties in paſſing through this town into Perſia.

Van.

Van is a large city, and ſtands upon a lake to which it gives its name, in forty degrees of north latitude, and has a ſtrong caſtle in it, built upon mountain. The place is populous, and has a numerous garriſon commanded by a Baſſa. The lake of Van is reckoned to be about fifty miles in circumference, and ſupplies the neighbouring country with fiſh.

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Treats of the preſent ſtate of Syria and Paleſtine.

SYRIA lyes to the weſtward of Diarbeck or Meſopotamia, from which it is ſeparated by the Euphrates, having Natolia and Turcomania on the north, Arabia on the ſouth, and the Levant ſea towards the weſt, in which limits are included Phœnicia and Paleſtine.

The Turks at preſent divide this country into three beglerbegſhips and viceroyalties, namely thoſe of Aleppo, Tripoli, and Damaſcus or Scham; the ſeats of the reſpective Viceroys. That of Aleppo takes up the north part of Syria, Tripoli the middle, and Damaſcus the ſouth part of the country, but the exact limits of each province I do not find any where deſcribed. Aleppo, the capital of the province of that name, lyes in 36 degrees odd minutes north latitude, about three days journey to the eaſtward of the port of Scanderoon or Alexandretta, and four days journey weſt of the Euphrates: It is ſituated on four hills, in the middle of a pleaſant plain, being of an oval figure, and about three miles in circumference; the caſtle ſtands upon the higheſt hill in the middle of the city, and is five or ſix hundred paces round; the walls and towers of the city and caſtle are built of ſtone, but are of no great ſtrength; and there are ten gates in the walls of the town. The houſes are more beautifully built than in other cities of Turkey; thoſe belonging to people of condition have generally domes or cupola's, with high ſlender minalets, and their architecture in general does not appear contemptible. The natives are ſaid to be an ingenious, induſtrious people, imitating whatever they ſee, which is very far from the character we have received of the Turks in general. In their houſes are noble halls, with fountains in them, and duans round about. The walls and floors are frequently of marble of ſeveral colours, and the cieling of foliage or fret-work, with inſcriptions in golden characters: there are in the city and about it, ſix and twenty moſques, ſome of which are very magnificent, having ſtately domes covered with lead, the largeſt of which was a Chriſtian church, ſuppoſed to have been built by St. HELEN: it hath a large court belonging to it almoſt ſquare, paved with black and white marble, and towards the middle there is a baſon covered with a dome ſupported by ſix pillars; a cloiſter or piazza running all round the court, which is terraſſed above: there are alſo many noble kanes or caravanſera's in Aleppo, one whereof hath two great gates leading into a large court, with a piazza on every ſide, under which are rooms for the foreign merchants and their goods, and this is the general form of thoſe kinds of buildings. Three colleges alſo travellers mention in Aleppo, which are endowed for the teaching of grammar and philoſophy, as it is called, with the grounds of their religion, which it is obſerved is almoſt the whole of the Turkiſh education. There are alſo a great number of publick bagnio's, and ſome fair bazars where the merchants and tradeſmen have their ſhops.

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Though there be no river runs through Aleppo, there is a rivulet without the city which ſerves their gardens, and there are abundance of fountains and receptacles of water, which are fed by two ſprings at a diſtance from the town. The gardens are alſo well planted with fruit, eſpecially piſtachios; and their vineyards yield great plenty of grapes, with which they make a ſtrong wine: they have alſo oranges, lemons and pomegranates, but want apples, pears, cherries, gooſeberries, and other kinds of fruit which our gardens produce. In the kitchen garden they have plenty of ſallads, collyflowers, artichokes, onions, melons, roots, kidney-beans, and other kinds of pulſe.

The ſuburbs of the city are large and populous, and here almoſt all the Chriſtians have their houſes and churches. Of the eaſtern Chriſtians there are four ſorts, viz. Greeks, Armenians, Jacobites and Maronites or Syrians; of whoſe religion I ſhall ſpeak particularly hereafter. It is

computed that there are about two hundred thouſand ſouls in this city, of which there may be forty thouſand Chriſtians of every denomination, beſides foreigners, who are very numerous.

The country about Aleppo yields good crops of wheat and barley, and their harveſt uſually happens in May: the vallies are full of olive-trees and capers, but they have little or no graſs.

The trade of this city is very conſiderable, eſpecially for ſilks and camlets, and Turkey leather is one of their principal manufactures. They make alſo what we call ſhagreen, of the thickeſt part of the skin of an aſs; and their mechanicks in general are pretty good workmen: but I ſhall treat more particularly of the trade of Turkey hereafter; give me leave here only to ſubjoin the reverend Mr. MAUNDREL's account of the Engliſh factory at Aleppo belonging to the Turkey company: he ſays, they live here among the Turks with all imaginable quiet and ſafety, which is all they deſire of the natives, who have little that is entertaining in their converſation: their pleaſures therefore are among themſelves, and there being more than forty of them, they never want agreeable company. Their way of life reſembles in ſome meaſure the academical; they live in ſeparate ſquares ſhut up every night after the manner of colleges. The day they begin conſtantly with publick prayers, and have three ſet times for their buſineſs, meals and recreations: in the winter they hunt in a moſt delightful campaign twice a week, and in ſummer time go as often to divert themſelves under their tents with bowling and other exerciſes; and there is not a ſociety out of England, in this gentleman's opinion, that can be compared to this for all good and deſirable qualities.

Salt valley. The ſame reverend author acquaints us, that about four hours from Aleppo there is a valley of ſalt two or three hours in extent. It is an exact level, and appears at a diſtance like a lake of water: there is a kind of dry cruſt on the ſurface which ſounds when the horſes go upon it like frozen ſnow: four ſmall rivers empty themſelves into this place and overflow it in the time of the rains, and when the water is dried up in the heat of ſummer a cruſt of ſalt is left remaining, which they gather and lay in ſeveral heaps, according to the fineneſs of it, for ſome is exquiſitely white, and others mixed with dirt. The ſurface was ſo ſoft in ſome places that the horſes hoofs ſtruck deep into a ſoft brown clay, in other parts a black one, which was very ſalt at a great depth. On one ſide of the valley there is a precipice occaſioned by their digging for ſalt, and here may be diſcerned how the veins of ſalt lye; upon trial it was found that what was expoſed to the ſun and weather, tho' it appeared like ſalt, had loſt its ſavour, but the inward part which cleaved to the rock retained its ſaltneſs. In ſome parts of the valley it was obſerved, that the thin cruſt of ſalt upon the ſurface bubbled up, as if inſects had been working under it, and taking off the part, there were found under it effloreſcences of pure ſalt ſhot out according to its proper figure. Magazines of this ſalt are laid up at the neighbouring village of Gibul, where may be ſeen little mountains of it ready for ſale. The ſalt of this valley is farmed of the government at 1200 dollars a year.

The Viceroy or Beglerbeg of Aleppo commands all the country between Scanderoon and the Euphrates: there are alſo in the place an Aga, or General of the horſe, and another General of the janizaries: to the latter the keys of the gates are carried every night, neither has he any dependance on the Viceroy. The caſtle alſo has another independent Governor, it being the policy of the Turks never to put any conſiderable place into the power of any one officer, or of one body of troops, but to make them checks upon each other; whereby it is apprehended the government is better ſerved, and there is leſs danger of conſpiracies; at leaſt it is much eaſier to baffle them, than when the forces are all under the influence of one popular commander.

Scanderoon. Scanderoon, or Alexandretta, the port town to Aleppo, ſtands between twenty and thirty leagues to the weſtward of it: it is ſaid to be founded by ALEXANDER the Great, but is at preſent a place of no great beauty, conſiſting chiefly of little houſes for the entertainment of mariners; for few merchants or men of condition reſide here, the air being very unwholeſom, occaſioned by the ſalt marſhes about the place. Half a league from hence ſtands a tower in the highway, whereon, it is ſaid, the arms of GODFREY of Boloign are ſtill viſible. When an European ſhip arrives at Scanderoon the factors who reſide in this port immediately ſend advice of it to Aleppo by a letter faſtened to a carrier pidgeon which has been bred there, and flies home in four or five hours, which is three moderate days journey for a horſe.

In the road between Scanderoon and Aleppo ſtands the village of Belan, ſituate on a mountain, whither moſt people retire from Scanderoon in the hot ſeaſon. This is generally the firſt ſtage or place of baiting, for thoſe who are going from Scanderoon to Aleppo. Deſcending from this mountain may be diſcovered the city of Antioch, once the capital of Syria, but now a ruinous place, the channel being choked up where veſſels uſed to ride. In the plain of Antioch (which is about fifteen leagues long and three broad, is a long cauſey joined together by ſeveral bridges over the rivulets which water the plain, without which the road would ſcarce be paſſable; and this great work was finiſhed, it is ſaid, by the Grand Vizier in the reign of Sultan ACHMET in the ſpace of ſix

Antioch.

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fix months, for the conveniency of tranſporting the artillery and ammunition to the ſiege of Bagdat: at the end of this plain is a great ſtone bridge over a conſiderable ſtream, which, with the other rivulets that run through it, form a lake to the ſouth, which is called the lake of Antioch: the plain is very well planted with olives. Half a day's journey beyond it are ſeen nothing but the ruins of antient monaſteries for two or three leagues on each ſide the road, ſome of them built of free-ſtone; what is left moſt entire among theſe ruins are the free-ſtone ciſterns.

The city of Antioch is ſituated on the river Haſi, once Orontes, and has been in the poſſeſſion of the Turks ever ſince 1188. It was heretofore ſirnamed the Great, and called by the Greeks, Epidaphne, from the grove and oracle of Apollo adjoining to it: here, it ſeems, the diſciples of the bleſſed JESUS were firſt called Chriſtians; but how great ſoever this place was formerly, it is but a poor town at preſent, having been neglected by the Turks ever ſince they were maſters of it.

The little city of Jebilee antiently Gabala, ſtands three or four days journey to the ſouthward of Antioch cloſe to the ſea in a fruitful plain, but makes a very indifferent appearance at preſent, tho' in the time of the Greek Emperors it was dignified with a Biſhop's ſee; and among the ruins are found a great many pillars of granate with capitals of white marble finely carved; but the moſt conſiderable antiquity in Jebilee, and the greateſt monument of its former ſplendor, is the remains of a noble theatre at the north gate of the city: the walls of it are not now above twenty foot high, and the flat ſide of it has been blown up with gunpowder by the Turks, who have taken from thence great quantities of the marble to adorn the moſque and bagnio they have in this place. All that is now ſtanding is the ſemi-circle, extending from ſide to ſide a hundred yards: in the ſemi-circular part is a range of ſeventeen round windows juſt above the ground, and between the windows were raiſed on high pedeſtals large maſſive pillars ſtanding like buttreſſes againſt the wall for a ſtrength and ornament to the fabrick; but theſe are now broken to pieces: on the weſt ſide the ſeats of the ſpectators remain entire, as do alſo the vaults which run under the ſubſellia all round the theatre: the outward wall is three yards and three quarters thick, and built of very large firm ſtones, and might have ſtood many ages longer if they had not fallen into the hands of the Turks, who ſeem to take a pleaſure in demoliſhing the nobleſt ſtructures.

To the ſouthward of Jebilee about a day's journey ſtands Tortoſa, the antient Orthoſia; it was once a Biſhop's ſee in the province of Tyre, and frequently mentioned in the hiſtory of the holy wars as a place of great ſtrength. It is ſituated on the ſea ſhore, with a ſpacious plain about it on the land ſide: there is but little remains of it at preſent, except a large caſtle, which on one ſide is waſhed by the ſea, and on the other defended by a double wall of coarſe marble: on the ſouth and eaſt parts of the caſtle antiently ſtood the city wall, whereof there are ſtill conſiderable remains; but there are no other buildings except one church, which ſtands about a furlong from the caſtle; and this is an hundred and thirty feet long, ninety and three broad, and ſixty one in height: the walls, arches and pillars of a baſtard marble, and ſtill ſo entire, that a ſmall expence would make it a beautiful church again; but it is however converted into a ſtable for cattle, where travellers tell us, they go almoſt up to the knees in dirt to view it.

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To the ſouthward of Tortoſa in 34 degrees odd minutes of north latitude, ſtands the city of Tripoli, the ſeat of the Turkiſh Viceroy or Beglerbeg of this province, and the chief town at preſent of that country, which antiently was called Phœnicia; the people whereof were famous for their skill in navigation and other arts in the earlieſt ages, and ſettled their colonies in the remoteſt parts of Europe as well as Africk. It is ſituated about half an hour from the ſea between two hills, on one of which towards the eaſt ſtands a caſtle which commands the place, but is now in a ruinous condition, and ſerves rather for a priſon than a garriſon: the other hill ſtands on the weſt between the town and the ſea. The port is rather a road than a harbour; but is however a little covered from the wind by two iſlands which lye about two leagues from the ſhore. This city ſtands at a little diſtance from the foot of Mount Libanus, where there riſes a rivulet which runs through the town and waters the gardens about it: they are full of orange trees and white mulberries, and here is a conſiderable manufacture of ſilk. It is ſuppoſed antiently to have been called Tripoli, as conſiſting of three towns which ſtood in a cluſter within a furlong of each other: of which the firſt was inhabited by the Aradij. The ſecond by the Sidonians, and the third by the Tyrians. Tripoli.

Sayd or Sidon lyes a days journey and upwards to the ſouthward of Tripoli upon the ſame coaſt: this town is ſtill populous, but fallen much from its antient grandeur, as the many beautiful pillars which lye ſcattered up and down the gardens without the preſent walls ſufficiently manifeſt: on the ſouth ſide of the city on a hill ſtands an old caſtle, which according to tradition, was erected by LEWIS the ninth of France, ſirnamed the Saint; and not far from it is an old unfiniſhed palace where the Baſſa reſides, but neither theſe nor any other buildings in the place have any great beauty in them. Sayd or Sidon.

Sur,

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Sur or Tyre.

Sur, which is ſuppoſed to ſtand in the place of the antient Tyre, lyes about twenty miles to the ſouth of Sidon: it ſtands on a peninſula, and at a diſtance makes a grand appearance, but when you approach it there is little elſe to be found beſides ruins. On the north was an old Turkiſh caſtle, where we meet with only broken walls and pillars at preſent: the inhabitants are poor fiſhermen who live in vaults and caves. The iſland of Tyre, which was joined to the continent by ALEXANDER, ſeems to have been of a circular figure, and not to have contained above forty acres of ground, round which are ſtill the remains of an antient wall: in the middle of the ruins ſtands a pile higher than the reſt, being the eaſt end of a great church, which Mr. MAUNDREL conjectures to have been the cathedral of Tyre, for it was a Biſhop's ſee; and he obſerves, that of all the ruined churches which he ſaw in this country, he always found the eaſt end ſtanding and tolerably entire; and that he did not ſee fewer than an hundred of theſe inſtances; from whence he ſeems to be of opinion that they have been preſerved by a miraculous providence, as ſtanding monuments of Chriſtianity in theſe unbelieving regions, and are preſages of its future reſtoration.

Acra or Acho.

Between forty and fifty miles to the ſouth of Sidon, on the ſame coaſt ſtands the town of Acra, antiently called Acho; it was enlarged by PTOLEMY the firſt, and called by him after his own name Ptolemais, but ſince it has been in the poſſeſſion of the Turks, it has almoſt acquired its antient name again, being called Acca or Acra. On the eaſt and north of it lyes a ſpacious fertile plain; on the weſt it is waſhed by the Mediterranean, and on the ſouth by a large bay, extending from the city as far as mount Carmel. The Saracens took it from the Chriſtians in the time of OMAR, and afterwards with the reſt of Syria it fell into the hands of the Turks; it was ſeveral times taken and retaken in the holy war. In the year 1191 it was taken by King RICHARD the firſt of England, and PHILIP of France, and given to the knights of St. JOHN of Jeruſalem, who kept poſſeſſion of it an hundred years, when the Turks again made themſelves maſters of it, and razed it to the ground.

There being a fine nunnery in the town of Acra when the Turks took it the laſt time by ſtorm, it is related of the abbeſs, that fearing ſhe, and the virgins under her care, ſhould be obliged to ſubmit to ſuch brutal uſage as is frequently practiſed by the ſoldiers on ſuch occaſions, ſummoned the nuns together, adviſing them to cut and mangle their faces, as the only means to preſerve their virgin purity, and immediately cut and disfigured her own, to ſet them an example; the nuns thereupon gaſhed and tore their faces, and cut off their noſes, and made themſelves ſuch diſmal ſpectacles, as they might be infallibly ſure would preſerve them from a rape; at which, it is ſaid, the Turkiſh ſoldiers were ſo enraged, who expected here to have found a kind of paradiſe on earth, and to have indulged their wanton flames among the beautiful young nuns, that they put them every one to the ſword, thus reſtoring them, ſays the ingenious Mr. MAUNDREL, to a new and inviolable beauty.

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Damaſcus or Scham.

I proceed now to enquire into the preſent ſtate of Damaſcus, the capital city of the ſouth part of Syria, and the ſeat of a Turkiſh Beglerbeg or Viceroy. This city is called Scham by the Turks, and ſtands in thirty three degrees of north latitude, two days journey to the eaſtward of Sidon and the Mediterranean ſea. As we approach this town, on the ſouth weſt ſide of it, there is erected a little building on the top of a high precipice, under which runs the river Barrady, from whence Damaſcus appears a perfect paradiſe. It is ſituate in a plain of that extent, that the mountains which encompaſs it on the farther ſide are but juſt diſcernible. The town is built on the weſt ſide of the plain, about two miles from the place where the river Barrady falls from the mountains, the gardens extending almoſt thither. The city ſtretches itſelf from the ſouth weſt to the north eaſt, extending near two miles in length, and is narrow in the middle, but ſwells to a greater bulk at each end. It is adorned with fine moſques and ſteeples, and encompaſſed with gardens for near thirty miles about. The gardens are well planted with fruit of all kinds, and ever freſh and green, being watered by ſeveral branches of the river Barrady. You ſee alſo towers, and ſteeples, and pleaſure houſes in every part, lifting up their heads among the trees, which renders the proſpect ſtill more entertaining. The Barrady, which plentifully ſupplies both the gardens and city with water, as ſoon as it iſſues from the clefts of the neighbouring mountains, immediately divides itſelf into three ſtreams, of which the middlemoſt and biggeſt runs directly to Damaſcus, through a large field called the agar damaſcenus, and ſerves all the fountains and receptacles of water in the city. The other two branches, which ſeem to be the work of art, flow on the right and left, on the borders of the gardens, into which they are let by little channels, and diſperſed into every part of them. There is not a garden which has not a fine quick ſtream improved into fountains, caſcades, or other waterworks, though it muſt be confeſſed they are not contrived with ſo much art, as in ſome gardens of Europe.

This river having thus contributed to the beauty and fertility of the fields and gardens about

Damaſcus, loſes there ſo much of its waters, that in a few leagues beyond the city it is entirely dried up, and never reaches the ſea. Mr. MAUNDREL obſerves, that the Greeks, and from them the Romans, called this river Chryſorrhous; but as for Abana and Pharphar, rivers of Damaſcus, mentioned 2 Kings, he could not learn where they were, unleſs the branches of the Barrady were antiently ſo called.

The ſtreets of Damaſcus are but narrow, and the houſes built of unburnt bricks, or common clay, on the outſide, though they have good ſtone in the adjoining mountains: but the Turks think it to little purpoſe to build durable houſes, in which their tenure is ſo very precarious, and ſeem particularly averſe to making a ſhow to the ſtreet, leſt it ſhould tempt their Governors to covet them. The doors however are adorned with marble portals, and the inſide of the building elegant enough, for here we uſually find a large ſquare court, beautified with a variety of trees, flowers and marble fountains, and ſurrounded with ſplendid apartments and duans. (The duans are broad ſeats raiſed ſixteen or eighteen inches above the floor, which are ſpread with carpets, and furniſhed with pillows and cuſhions to lean on: and here the Turks eat, drink, ſleep, ſmoke, receive viſits, and perform their devotions, and a ſtranger ſeldom ſees any of the apartments beyond). The duans of people of condition at Damaſcus, are floored and wainſcotted in a manner with marble; the cielings, pillars, and arches painted and gilded after the Turkiſh mode, and the carpets and cuſhions as rich as can be procured.

Among other things which deſerve a traveller's notice in this city, is the church of St. JOHN Baptiſt, now converted into a moſque, in which there are three ſeveral gates to enter the courts, vaſtly large, and covered with braſs ſtamped all over with Arabick characters. The court on the north ſide of this moſque, is about an hundred and fifty yards long, and an hundred broad, and paved throughout: on the ſouth ſide whereof ſtands the moſque, and on the other three ſides a double cloiſter ſupported by two rows of granate pillars, exceeding lofty and beautiful, of the Corinthian order. Within the building is ſpacious and lofty, containing three iſles, between which are rows of poliſhed pillars of a ſurpaſſing beauty; but a particular account of it is ſcarce poſſible to be had, a Chriſtian being ſcarce allowed to look into it. There is one room in this church, where the head of St. JOHN Baptiſt is kept, and ſome other relicks, eſteemed ſo very ſacred by the Mahometans, that it is penal even for a Turk to go into the room where they are kept. And Mr. MAUNDREL relates, that he was told by a Turk of condition, that 'they expected our 'Saviour would deſcend into this moſque at the 'day of judgment, as MAHOMET would into 'that of Jeruſalem.'

Another thing which foreigners uſually go to ſee in this place is, the ager damaſcenus, a long beautiful meadow on the weſt ſide of the city, divided in the middle by the river Barrady: and they have a tradition at Damaſcus, that ADAM was made of the earth of this field. There ſtands a large hoſpital adjoining to it, within which is a fine ſquare court with a ſtately moſque on one ſide of it, with cloiſters and lodgings on the other three, of no ordinary ſtructure.

Another curioſity in this city is, a large coffee-houſe, capable of entertaining four or five hundred people, and ſhaded over head with trees, in which there is a ſmall iſland ſurrounded with a large ſwift ſtream. Here are daily a multitude of Turks come to regale themſelves upon the duans, nothing delighting them more than greens and water; to which if a beautiful face be added, theſe three, according to a proverb amongſt them, will baniſh the moſt obſtinate melancholy.

They ſhew here alſo a little grotto, with a Chriſtian altar, and a Turkiſh oratory in it, which according to their traditions, was the houſe where ANANIAS reſtored St. PAUL to his ſight. And about half a mile out of the eaſt gate of the city, they hold, was the place of his viſion. About two furlongs nearer the city, is a ſmall timber building, with an altar in it, where they tell us the apoſtle reſted for ſome time, after the viſion, in his way to the city. They ſhew alſo a gate, which is at preſent walled up, where, it is ſaid, St. PAUL was let down in a basket. Such is the inſolence of the Turks at Damaſcus, it ſeems, that they will not ſuffer a Frank to ride on horſeback, when he goes to ſee the gardens or other curioſities without the city, but he muſt either walk on foot, or ride upon an aſs; and accordingly there are always hackney aſſes ſtand ready equipped, in the ſtreets, to be let. The rider has no occaſion to uſe either whip or ſpur, when he is mounted, but the maſter of the animal, or his ſervant, follows him wherever he goes, and forces him along with a goad, ſo that he performs his ſtage in leſs time than could be expected from ſo ſluggiſh a creature. The ſtreet called ſtrait, in the Acts, ſtill retains the ſame name at Damaſcus, or at leaſt they ſhew one which they pretend to be it, being about half a mile in length, and ſo narrow with the houſes jutting over, that the length or the ſtraitneſs of it is not eaſily diſcerned.

Towards the weſt part of the town ſtands the caſtle, three hundred paces in length, and not much leſs in breadth. Franks are ſcarce ever admitted farther than juſt within the gate, where there lies heaps of antique arms and armour, tho:

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the ſpoils of the Chriſtians heretofore. The bazars or market places of Damaſcus are covered, and perpetually crowded, it being a place of great trade, they have little in them elſe worth obſerving; but their bagnio's are reckoned amongſt their moſt elegant buildings. One of the principal manufactures here is, the making of ſword blades, knives, and other utenſils of iron and ſteel, the water here being eſteemed excellent for tempering their metal. The branching of ſattins, which we call damasks, is another manufacture which theſe people excel in: and they make great quantities of ſoap. Raw and wrought ſilks, wine and prunes, and roſe water made of the damask roſes, which grow plentifully here, are ſome of the principal merchandizes brought from hence.

Two or three hours diſtance from Damaſcus is a high hill, which according to tradition is the ſame on which CAIN and ABEL offered ſacrifice, and where CAIN killed his brother. And about four hours from Damaſcus, there is a Greek convent called Sidonia, ſituate on the ſide of a large valley, on ſo ſteep a rock that they are forced to aſcend it by ſtairs cut into the rock. It was firſt founded and endowed by the Emperor JUSTINIAN, but is however a mean ſtructure, and has nothing remarkable in it, except the excellent wine which is made here. There are about twenty Greek monks, and forty nuns in this cloiſter at preſent, who live together as in one family, without any ſeparation: and ſuch a retirement, with good wine, agreeable company, and fine women, as one obſerves, can be no great mortification. There are few gentlemen poſſibly would think it a hardſhip to be thus baniſhed from the reſt of the world. But this rock was certainly eſteemed a very ſacred place in the primitive times, for we find no leſs than ſixteen churches or oratories dedicated to their reſpective ſaints within a ſmall compaſs round it; but moſt of them now lye in ruins.

The Fathers of the Greek convent above-mentioned relate, that having formerly in their chapel a little picture of the Bleſſed Virgin, much reſorted to by her votaries, and famous for many miraculous cures and bleſſings obtained in anſwer to the prayers offered up before it, a ſacrilegious villain had the aſſurance however to ſteal away the bleſſed picture: but he had not kept it long in his houſe before he obſerved that it was metamorphoſed into real fleſh and bones, at which he was in ſuch a conſternation, that he carried back his prize to the Fathers, imploring their forgiveneſs.

The monks, in order to prevent another theft of a thing which was now become ſo very valuable on account of the laſt miracle, repoſited the body, as they tell us, in a ſtone cheſt, which they put into the cavity of the wall, behind the altar, and placed an iron grate before it, and upon this grate are hung abundance of little offerings of the votaries, who imagine the ſucceſs of their prayers ought to be aſcribed to the interceſſion of the Bleſſed Virgin. The monks alſo ſet a ſilver baſon under the cheſt, where the incarnate picture is repoſited, from whence they pretend there diſtils an holy oil, which performs wonderful cures. But what the Turks muſt think of a religion where the frauds and follies of its prieſts are ſo manifeſt, it is not difficult to conceive.

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Seven hours north-weſt of Damaſcus ſtands the city of Balbeck, in a moſt engaging ſituation, on the eaſt ſide of the valley of Bocat, for it is encompaſſed with gardens, through which run ſeveral fine rivulets. The city is of a ſquare figure, and ſurrounded with a tolerable good wall, with towers at equal diſtances, each ſide of the ſquare being about a quarter of a mile in length, but the houſes within are very mean, ſuch as we uſually find in Turkiſh villages. This is ſuppoſed to be the antient Heliopolis or city of the ſun. On the ſouth-weſt ſide of the city are the ruins of a noble heathen temple, with ſome other buildings belonging to it, all of them exceeding magnificent; but of late years theſe antient ſtructures have been pieced up, and the whole converted into a caſtle. The additional buildings are of no mean architecture, but are however eaſily diſtinguiſhable from the more antient.

As we approach the ruins, the firſt thing we obſerve is a little round pile of building, all of marble, encompaſſed with beautiful pillars of the Corinthian order, which ſupport a lovely corniſh that runs all round the ſtructure, and though this part of the fabrick be in a very tottering condition, the Greeks have converted it into a church, and celebrate divine ſervice in it at preſent. From this place we come to a large firm pile of building, very lofty, and compoſed of vaſt ſquare ſtones, but yet does not ſeem to be part of the original building. Through this we advance into a ſtately arched walk or portico, an hundred and fifty paces long, which reaches to the temple.

The form of the temple is an oblong ſquare, thirty two yards in breadth, and ſixty four in length, of which the anti-temple took up eighteen, and is now tumbled down. The body of the temple, which is ſtanding, is encompaſſed with a noble portico, ſupported by pillars of the Corinthian order, ſix foot and three inches in diameter, and forty five foot high, conſiſting each of three ſtones only. Theſe pillars ſtand at the diſtance of nine feet from each other, and as much from the wall of the temple. A ſtately architrave runs round the capitals of the pillars, and a corniſh exquiſitely carved. The portico is

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covered with large ſtones, hollowed like an arch, and extending between the columns and the wall of the temple, and the figures of ſome Heathen gods and goddeſſes or heroes are carved on each ſtone: among the reſt there is a GANYMEDE and an eagle flying away with him, done to the life.

In the walls of the temple all round are two rows of pilaſters, one above another, and between the pilaſters, niches, which ſeem deſigned for images. About eight yards from the upper end of the temple are ſtanding part of two fine fluted pillars, which ſeem to have made a partition in that place, and to have ſupported a canopy over the throne of the chief idol. On that part of the partition which is remaining are ſtill to be ſeen carvings in relievo repreſenting NEPTUNE, Tritons, fiſhers, ſea gods, ARION and his dolphin, and other marine figures. The roof of the temple is entirely broke down, but yet, ſays Mr. MAUNDRELL, the whole, as it now ſtand, ſtrikes the mind with an air of greatneſs beyond any thing we have ſeen, and is an eminent proof of the magnificence of the antient architecture.

The old wall, which encompaſſes all the ruins above mentioned, is built with ſtones of that prodigious bigneſs, that the natives aſcribe the architecture to the devil. Three of the largeſt of theſe ſtones, Mr. MAUNDRELL aſſures us, he was at the pains of meaſuring, and found one of them twenty one, and the other two twenty yards apiece in length; each of them being four yards broad, and as much in depth, and theſe three ſtones lay in the ſame row, end to end, extending ſixty one yards; and which was equally ſtrange, they were lifted up into the wall more than twenty foot from the ground: and I muſt confeſs, had this ſtory been related by a writer of leſs credit than Mr. MAUNDRELL, I ſhould have been afraid to inſert it.

The ſame reverend author gives the following account of his viſiting mount Libanus when he was in this country. He ſays he ſet out from Tripoli, and having croſſed over the plain, which lies contiguous to the city, for three hours, he came to the foot of the mount. From thence continually aſcending with great fatigue, he came in four hours and an half to a village called Eden, and in two hours and an half more to the famous cedars. Theſe noble trees, he ſays, grow amongſt the ſnow near the higheſt part of Lebanon, and are remarkable for their age and bulk, though there are others younger, and of a ſmaller ſize; of the firſt ſort, he could reckon but ſixteen, and meaſuring one of the largeſt of them, he found it to be twelve yards ſix inches about, and very ſound, the boughs ſpreading thirty ſeven yards, about five or ſix yards from the ground it divided into five limbs, each of which was equal to a great tree; but though there were but few of theſe dimenſions, the ſmaller ſort were very numerous.

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The ſame evening our author arrived at Canobine, which is a convent of Maronites, and the ſeat of their Patriarch. The ſtructure is but mean, but admirably adapted, it ſeems, for retirement and devotion; for he tells us there is a very deep aperture in the ſide of Libanus, which runs twenty miles and upwards, directly up into the mountain. It is on both ſides exceeding ſteep, but clothed with fragrant greens from top to bottom, being every where watered with fountains, which overflowing fall down from the rocks on every ſide, and form moſt beautiful caſcades. Theſe ſtreams uniting at the bottom, make a full rapid torrent, whoſe agreeable murmuring is heard all over the place, and adds no ſmall pleaſure to it. Canobine is ſeated on the north ſide of this great chaſm, on the ſteepeſt part of the mountain, about half way up. It ſtands at the mouth of a great cave, having a few ſmall rooms only which front outward and enjoy the light of the ſun, the reſt being all under ground; and had, it is ſaid, the Emperor THEODOSIUS the Great for its founder. The valley of Canobine was once much frequented by the religious; for here may ſtill be ſeen hermitages, cells and monaſteries, almoſt without number, and not any little part of the rock which jets out on the ſide of the mountain, but you ſee ſome little ſtructure upon it for the reception of monks and hermits, but very few of them inhabited at this day. The monaſtery of Canobine is about ſix hours to the weſtward of Tripoli.

Canobine convent.

The ruins of Palmyra or Tadmor have been ſo much taken notice of by travellers that they muſt not be paſſed by, therefore before I enter upon that part of Syria which goes under the name of Paleſtine, or the Holy-Land; I ſhall enquire into the ſtate of this place, and the country about it; and theſe ruins I find lye an hundred and fifty miles to the ſouth-eaſt of Aleppo, or rather a point or two more ſoutherly, between which places there is a barren deſert where ſcarce any good water is to be found. Our Engliſh merchants at Aleppo have twice within theſe few years travelled to Palmyra out of mere curioſity, and from the account we have of theſe expeditions in our philoſophical tranſactions, I ſhall collect what I apprehend may be moſt to our purpoſe.

Palmyra or Tadmor.

In the firſt expedition were ſixteen Engliſh gentlemen, and the whole party, with ſervants and muletiers, amounted to forty people. In the ſecond day's journey they came to a well in the deſert, where they met with ſome Arabs, who were ſhooting antelopes, and their bullets they obſerved were little round ſtones covered with lead; the Arabs on the palms of their hands, elbows, knees and

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feet had pieces of antelope skins faſtened, that they might the better creep after their game, and made uſe of an aſs inſtead of a ſtalking-horſe till they came within diſtance. There were other Arabs of this place making pot-aſhes of an ordinary ſort of weeds, which they cut and dried, and having put them into a pit ſet fire to them; but the beſt ſort of aſhes are made of the weed ſticaon, which grows about Palmyra; and theſe aſhes they carry to Tripoli and other places where ſoap is made. This plant has no leaves but a ſoft juicy ſtalk ſhooting out into ſeveral branches, reſembling our ſamphire, and in burning runs into cakes, not unlike the cinders of a forge, but heavier, and not ſo full of pores, nor ſo hard as they are.

The third day they came to Andrene, where they found the ruins of ſome churches, and of a great town lying in a large plain, they obſerved here ſome fragments of Greek inſcriptions, which were evidently Chriſtian, but nothing perfect. Four hours beyond Andrene they came to a pleaſant aqueduct cut through a rock, a great way from the mountains, and at the end of it the Arabs had a garden which afforded melons, cucumbers, purſlain, and other garden ſtuff; and in a neighbouring grotto dwelt an Arab with his family, who kept a dozen buffalos, which did not only yield milk, but were ſerviceable in plowing his grounds, which were ſowed with wheat and barley, and hither it is that the Arabs ſometimes reſort to divide the ſpoil, when they have taken a booty.

The fourth day they found it very troubleſom riding the deſert, being full of burrows made by rats and other vermin, which the Arabs make no ſcruple of eating: they aſcended a hill this day covered with trees, for the moſt part ſmall piſtachios, which the Arabs pickle, or eat green to quench their thirſt.

The ſixth day they ſaw a high mountain with a caſtle upon it, called by the Arabs, Anture, and having travelled two or three hours in the plain, they were met by an Arab mounted on a ſwift camel with his lance, whom they looked upon as a ſpy; he told them he was of Tadmor (i. e. Palmyra) and that his Prince the Emir MELKAM had that day made peace with HAMET SHIDED, another Arabian Prince, that they were both at Tadmor, having about four hundred men with them. The Arab travelled with the Engliſh gentlemen an hour or two, and took an opportunity of enquiring of their muletiers if they were not Turks in diſguiſe, and came with intent to ſeize the Emir MELKAM, and when they aſſured him the gentlemen were Franks, he could not believe they would travel ſo far into the deſert out of pure curioſity. Being come pretty near Tadmor, the Arab rode from them with all the ſpeed he could to the town; hereupon the company expecting they ſhould be attacked, diſmounted twenty of their ſervants, giving each of them a fuzee and piſtols in their girdles, and ordered them to advance before them, the gentlemen following at a little diſtance on horſeback, armed with carbines and piſtols, and in this order they marched till they came to a noble aqueduct of five miles in length, and covered with an arch of baſtard marble; the Arabs finding them advance in ſo good order did not think fit to interrupt their march till they had gained the top of the hill, from whence they had a view of thoſe vaſt and noble ruins of Palmyra, having a plain like a ſea for its vaſt extent to the ſouthward of them: here having refreſhed their people, they fetched a compaſs, and deſcended by the foot of a mountain, on which ſtands a great uninhabited caſtle, where they were met by two Arabs ſent by the Emir MELKAM, who ſaluted the company, and told them that the Emir being adviſed of their coming, ſent to aſſure them of his friendſhip, and that they were welcome into his country. Whereupon they ſent their janizary (without one of whom I perceive the Franks ſeldom travel) and a ſervant to pay their compliments to the Prince, who had pitched his tents in a garden; and in the mean time they diſmounted at a watering place among the ruins, but did not think fit to unload their beaſts till the janizary returned with the Emir's teſcar, a writing containing a protection for the company, which it ſeems the Arabs were never known to violate before. With the janizary came alſo one that belonged to the Sheik of the town, for whom they had letters from ſome Turks of condition at Aleppo. He deſired them to pitch their tents under the town wall, in the ruins of a great palace for their ſecurity, but it was in a ſandy place, where they found themſelves violently incommoded with the heats. Here they ſtaid a conſiderable time, expecting that the Sheik would have preſented them with ſome refreſhments, and given an anſwer to the letters they brought him; but on the contrary they found by the motions of the people they had reaſon to apprehend ſome ill uſage, and ſome of the company ſuggeſting that the Emir probably expected a preſent, two of the company, taking the janizary and a ſervant with them, ventured to make him a viſit, carrying with them two pieces of red cloth, and four of green, and ſeveral other things as a preſent. The Emir welcomed them into his tent, placing one of the gentlemen on his right hand and the other on his left, treating them with coffee, camel's fleſh and dates, and enquired concerning their journey, and the reaſon of their coming. To which they anſwered, it was mere curioſity brought them thither to ſee the noble

ruins

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ruins of Tadmor. He ſaid, that SOLOMON IBU EL DOUD formerly built a city in that place, which being deſtroyed was rebuilt by a ſtrange people, and he believed that the Franks underſtanding the inſcriptions on the pillars, came to look for treaſure, he having himſelf found a pot of cotia cruſſes ſix moons before.

The Emir ſoon after went out of the tent, leaving his gueſts ſmoking tobacco, and calling the janizary and their ſervant to him, he told them that till that day no Franks had ever been in that place, and that if they ſhould acquaint the Turks with the way through the deſert it might be of fatal conſequence to the Arabs, and therefore if they purſued their own intereſt they ought to deſtroy them all; but ſince they came as friends he ſhould only demand four thouſand dollars as a preſent, which if it was not comply'd with, he would hang up them and the two Franks in the tent, and immediately fall upon the reſt: the two gentlemen in the tent being acquainted with the Emir's reſolution, anſwered, they could ſay nothing to his demand till they had conſulted the reſt of their company, but if they were permitted to ſpeak with their friends they would return an anſwer: hereupon the Emir threatned them with preſent death: but gave leave at length to the janizary to carry a letter to the company, which expreſſed the danger the two gentlemen were in, and deſiring their friends to redeem them; but the company examining their money and effects, found that they had not near enough to anſwer the demand; with which the Emir being acquainted, came to them in perſon, and it was at length agreed to give him in money and goods to the value of fifteen hundred dollars, whereupon their two friends were brought to them, and they returned to Aleppo the next day.

This and ſome other violences committed by the Arab Prince, ſo provoked the Baſſa of Aleppo, that he determined to deſtroy him, and having amuſed him with the hopes of making him King of the Arabs, and drawn him near the city, the Baſſa ſurprized the Emir one night in his tent, and ſoon after put him to death.

The ſecond journey our merchants made to Tadmor they were in all thirty men, maſters and ſervants, well armed, and had with them an officer of ASSYNE's King of the Arabs for their guide as well as protection. They ſet out from Aleppo on Michaelmas-day 1691. and upon the road met with little worth obſerving, more than has been mentioned in the former expedition, but had a better opportunity of viewing the ruins, being in no danger from the Arabs. Theſe gentlemen made it ſix eaſy days journey to Tadmor: as they rode into the town they took notice of a caſtle about half an hour's diſtance from it, ſeated on the top of a very high hill as to render it impregnable, but this did not appear very antient. This caſtle ſtands on the north ſide of the town, from whence the traveller ſees Tadmor under him, encloſed on three ſides with long ridges of mountains, which open towards the eaſt gradually for an hour's riding, but to the ſouth there ſtretches a large plain beyond the reach of the eye: in this plain is a large valley of ſalt, affording great quantities thereof, about an hour's diſtance from the city. In this place, our travellers were of opinion, it was, that DAVID defeated the Syrians, rather than in that valley which lyes four hours from Aleppo; though I cannot but think either of them much beyond the bounds of DAVID's dominions, particularly Tadmor, which is computed to be three hundred miles to the northward of Jeruſalem; and I cannot but obſerve alſo that great part of this country which antiently was deemed part of Syria, and ſtill for ought I ſee ought to be ſo, is in our maps placed in Arabia Deſerta, particularly this very town of Palmyra or Tadmor; but perhaps it may be ſaid, that a majority of the inhabitants being Arabs, the country ought to bear that name: to which it may be anſwered, that then Paleſtine and ſeveral other countries ought to come under that denomination by the ſame rule, for there alſo the greateſt part of the inhabitants are Arabs at this day. But to proceed, the air about Palmyra is very good, tho' nothing can appear more barren than the ſoil about it at preſent, there being nothing green to be ſeen, except ſome palm-trees, from whence our travellers ſuppoſe it obtained its name; for as Tadmor in Hebrew ſignifies a palm-tree, ſo does Palmyra in Latin: and the whole country is from thence frequently denominated Syria Palmyrena, and ſometimes Solitudines Palmyrenæ: ſo that the Latins did not change but tranſlate the old name, which ſtill obtains in the eaſtern parts, and the more modern one is wholly unknown there. The city ſeems to have been of a large extent by the ruins; but there is no footſteps of any wall left, or any poſſibility of gueſſing at the figure of it: there are now only forty or fifty wretched families, who live in little dirty huts within the walls of a ſpacious court which incloſed a magnificent heathen temple.

The whole encloſed ſpace where the temple ſtood, is a ſquare of two hundred and twenty yards on each ſide, ſurrounded with high and ſtately walls, built of large ſquare ſtone, and adorned with pilaſters within and without to the number of ſixty two on each ſide, as near as can be computed from thoſe that are left; and upon the corniſhes which are remaining are to be ſeen ſome of the moſt curious and exquiſite carvings in ſtone that can be met with. The two ſtones which ſupported the ſides of the great

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gate are each of them thirty five foot in length, artificially carved with vines and cluſters of grapes exceeding bold and to the life: they are both ſtanding in their places, and the diſtance between them which gives the wideneſs of the gate is fifteen foot, but the ſpace is now walled up, except a narrow door-way which is left.

On the entrance into the court are ſeen the remainders of two noble rows of marble pillars thirty ſeven foot high, with their capitals of moſt exquiſite carved work, but of theſe only fifty eight are remaining entire, but there muſt have been many more, becauſe they appear to have gone round the whole court, and to have ſupported a ſpacious double piazza or cloiſter: the ſpace within this once beautiful incloſure, our travellers conceived to have been an open court, in the midſt whereof ſtood the temple, encompaſſed with another row of pillars of a different order and much higher than the former, being fifty foot high, of which there are but ſixteen remaining at preſent; and the whole ſpace contained between theſe laſt pillars was fifty nine yards in length, and twenty eight in breadth: in the midſt of which ſpace is the temple, extending in length thirty three yards and upwards, and in breadth thirteen or fourteen: it pointed north and ſouth, having a moſt magnificent entrance on the weſt exactly in the middle of the building; and juſt over the door may ſtill be diſcerned part of the wings of a large ſpread eagle, extending the whole wideneſs thereof.

There is nothing ſtanding of this temple at preſent but the outward walls, in which the windows were not large, but adorned with excellent carving, and narrower at the top than at the bottom. Within the walls the Turks or Mamalukes have built a roof which is ſupported by ſmall pillars and arches, but much lower, and in all reſpects diſproportionate and inferior to what the antient roof muſt have been, and have converted the place into a moſque, having added to the ſouth end of it new ornaments after their manner, with Arabick inſcriptions and ſentences out of the alcoran wrote in flouriſhes and wreaths with ſome art; but at the north end of the building, which is ſhut out of the moſque, are relicks of much greater artifice and beauty, whether they ſerved for canopies over ſome altars which were placed there, or to what other uſe they were deſigned is not eaſy to conjecture; but they are beautified with moſt curious fretwork and carvings: in the midſt of them is a dome or cupola above ſix foot diameter of one entire piece whether hewn out of ſome rock, or made of ſome artificial cement or compoſition, and hardened into a ſubſtance as hard as ſtone, our travellers would not take upon them to determine, but it is an inimitable piece of workmanſhip they aſſure us.

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Another curioſity at Tadmor are the ſepulchres, which are ſquare towers four or five ſtories high, which ſtand on the north part of the city on both ſides a hollow way for a mile together; they are all of the ſame form, but of different dimenſions and ſplendor. The firſt our travellers viewed was entirely of marble, and tho' pretty much ruined, they found the pieces of two ſtatues, one of a man and the other of a woman, cut in a ſitting, or rather leaning poſture, whoſe habits ſeemed to approach nearer the European faſhion than that of the eaſt.

Two other tombs they viewed which were more entire: they were two ſquare towers larger than ordinary ſteeples, five ſtories high; the outſide of them was of common ſtone, but the partitions and floors within of good marble, beautified with lively carvings and paintings, and figures of men and women as far as the breaſt and ſhoulders, but miſerably defaced and broken. They entered one of theſe ſepulchres by a door on the ſouth ſide, from which there was a walk croſs the whole building juſt in the middle; and the floor being broken up, they diſcovered the vault below, which was divided in the ſame manner, and the ſpaces on each ſide again ſubdivided into ſix partitions by thick walls, each of which places were capable of receiving the largeſt corps, and if they piled them upon one another they might contain ſix or ſeven bodies each. There were ſeveral Greek inſcriptions on theſe tombs, which by their dates appeared to be very old; but the moſt antient our travellers met with at Tadmor, was dated the 314th year after the death of ALEXANDER the Great.

There are a multitude of other pillars and ruinous buildings theſe gentlemen mention in the deſcription of Tadmor; for which I refer the reader to the philoſophical tranſactions to ſatisfy his curioſity, and proceed to give an account of ſome occurrences our travellers met with in their return to Aleppo, which will afford us ſtill a better idea of the nature of the country I am treating of, and the people who inhabit it.

Theſe gentlemen having ſpent four days in viewing the curioſities of Tadmor, ſet out for the Euphrates, and arrived the third day at that river, having travelled eaſtward: they continued their journey two days afterwards along the banks of it, ſhaping their courſe weſt and north weſt, as the river lay. This was very pleaſant travelling between the Euphrates on the right hand, and delightful groves of tamerisk and mulberries on the left; every thing looked freſh and verdant, and they met men and women frequently paſſing on the road; whereas in the firſt two days journey from Tadmor the way was all deſert. Having travelled two days north weſt up the Euphrates, they arrived at the King's camp, who had been ſo gracious as to ſend one of his officers with them for their protection.

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tion. His tents ſpread over a large plain, and took up ſo vaſt a ſpace, that tho' they had the advantage of a riſing ground, they could not ſee the utmoſt extent of them. His Majeſty's tent ſtood near the middle of the camp, the reſt being pitched about it, not in a circular manner, but ſtretching in length and breadth as the plain opened, and the rivulet winded which run through the camp. The King's tent was not different from the reſt, except in the ſpaciouſneſs of it, for they were all made of a ſort of hair cloth. Theſe people have not ſettled dwellings, but remove from place to place, as they can find water or paſture for their cattle, and are proud of deriving their pedigree from ISMAEL the ſon of ABRAHAM.

Our travellers were no ſooner arrived but the officers of Emir (King they have called him hitherto) attended them to a noble tent made after the Turkiſh mode, pitched near his Majeſty's, whither he ſent to congratulate their arrival, and ſome refreſhments: not long after the King came to their tent himſelf, and bid them welcome, enquiring into what occurrences they had met with in their journey, particularly at Tadmor, and whether they had found any treaſure there; for they cannot believe the Franks come ſo far to ſee a parcel of ruins, but imagine they meet with ſome inſcriptions which direct them to the treaſures; and therefore it is not an uncommon thing with them, when they meet with a ſtone which has an inſcription on it, to turn that ſide down to the ground, leſt the Franks ſhould read it: but our travellers aſſured the Emir they only came to ſee the place, and had brought nothing from thence but a piece of porphyry, which they had broken off from one of the pillars, which at his deſire they ſhewed him. The King having made them a ſhort viſit, told them they might command whatever his camp afforded, and left ſome of his people to attend them.

At ſupper time a large diſh of pilo was brought in, with twelve or fifteen diſhes of ſeveral ſorts of meat ſet about it, all dreſſed after the Arabian way, and exceeding good; and after the gentlemen had eat and drank what they pleaſed, they roſe up, and their ſervants ſat down in their places: for it ſeems they all eat at the ſame table and of the ſame food in this country, only thoſe of the beſt quality ſit down firſt, and the reſt ſucceed in their order, if there be three or four ſets of them.

The King going to a great entertainment of one of his principal officers the next day, our travellers had notice of it, and were directed to follow him thither, and underſtood that among other things two young camels were killed to furniſh out the feaſt, the fleſh whereof is eſteemed a diſh fit for a Prince. When they came to the tent they found about two hundred gueſts of different quality, the King being ſeated at the north end towards the middle of the tent, upon a place raiſed with cuſhions and carpets, where he lay in a leaning poſture and did not ſit croſs-legged like the reſt: they ſeemed to obſerve an exact order in taking their places, and when any perſon of diſtinction entered, thoſe near the place roſe up and ſtood till he had ſeated himſelf; but far the greateſt number could not come into the ring, but ſtood behind the reſt, there being a ſpacious area left in the middle: our travellers were placed on the King's left hand, which is looked upon to be the poſt of honour, where they ſat down croſs-legged. Before noon a carpet was ſpread in the middle of the tent, and the entertainment ſerved up in large wooden bowls, each of them brought in by two men, and as much as they could well carry: of theſe great veſſels there were fifty or threeſcore, with a great many ſmaller diſhes placed as a border or garniſh round the table: in the middle of the table was a bowl or diſh larger than any of the reſt, in which were the camels bones and a thin broth wherein they were boiled: in the other great bowls there was a kind of plum broth made of rice and the fleſh of the camels, with currants and ſpices: the ſmaller diſhes contained chiefly rice dreſſed ſeveral ways, and in ſome of them was leben, or thick ſour milk, a diſh in much eſteem in this hot country, as it quenches their thirſt.

They uſe neither knives, forks nor ſpoons at their meals, any more than the people of India, but take up both rice and meat with their hands, mixing the liquids with the rice. When the table was completely furniſhed, the King ſat down by the diſh which was next him, and after him the reſt of the company, to the number of an hundred; and for thoſe diſhes which were at too great a diſtance, a ſervant ſtood in the middle, and with a ladle helped the company to what they wanted. When the King had dined he roſe up and waſhed, and returned to his former ſeat, as the reſt of the company did to theirs, and others took their places; but I do not find there was any liquor ſtirring, unleſs a diſh of coffee before dinner. Our travellers did not ſtay to ſee the end of the feaſt, but got leave to retire to their own tents, where they had ſome diſhes provided which were more acceptable to them than camels fleſh; and the next day they took their leave of the Emir (King) Assyne, and returned to Aleppo.

But to conclude the account of Palmyra or Tadmor: it is ſuppoſed to have been rebuilt or augmented by the Emperor ADRIAN: the famous Queen ZENOBIA maſſacred the Roman garriſon here, and defended the city againſt them during the reigns of GALLIENUS, CLAUDIUS and QUINTILIUS; but was taken priſoner by the Emperor AURELIANUS, and led in triumph through Rome, and the city entirely deſtroyed.

This

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This country was long the ſeat of war between the Romans and Parthians; and when the Romans became maſters of it they made it a diſtinct province, giving it the name of Syria Secunda, to diſtinguiſh it from the other part of Syria, which they called Syria Prima: they alſo called it Syria Salutaris, on account of the medicinal waters which riſe near it in many places. It is ſuppoſed to be the Aram Zobah mentioned in the ſcripture, whereof ADAD EZAR was King in the time of DAVID, and to have been rebuilt and beautified by King SOLOMON. But as I have intimated already, this city was too far diſtant from Jeruſalem to be under the dominion of the Kings of Juda or Iſrael, whoſe territories ſeem to be circumſcribed in much narrower bounds.

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Treats of Paleſtine, or the Holy Land.

PAleſtine or the Holy Land, ſometimes alſo called Judea, is bounded by mount Libanus on the north; by Arabia Deſerta on the eaſt; by Arabia Petræa on the ſouth; and by the Mediterranean ſea on the weſt: being about an hundred and fifty miles in length, and eighty in breadth generally, though it is wider in ſome parts, and narrower in others. It is ſituate in the fourth and fifth climates, between thirty one and thirty three degrees thirty minutes north latitude, the longeſt day being about fourteen hours and a quarter.

Jeruſalem.

Jeruſalem is ſtill reckoned the capital city of Paleſtine, though much fallen from its antient grandeur. It is ſituated in 32 degrees of north latitude, about thirty miles to the eaſtward of the Mediterranean ſea, ſeated on a rocky mountain with ſteep aſcents to it on all ſides, except towards the north, and ſurrounded with a deep valley, which is again encompaſſed with hills. It is at this day about three miles in circumference, and does not ſtand upon the ſame ground the antient city did; for mount Calvary, which is a ſmall eminence upon the great mount of Moriah, and formerly appropriated to the execution of malefactors, was ſhut out of the walls as a polluted place; whereas ſince our Saviour's ſuffering upon it, it has been ſo reverenced and reſorted to by all Chriſtians, that it has drawn the city round about it, and ſtands now near the middle of Jeruſalem; and on the contrary a great part of the hill of Sion is left without the walls.

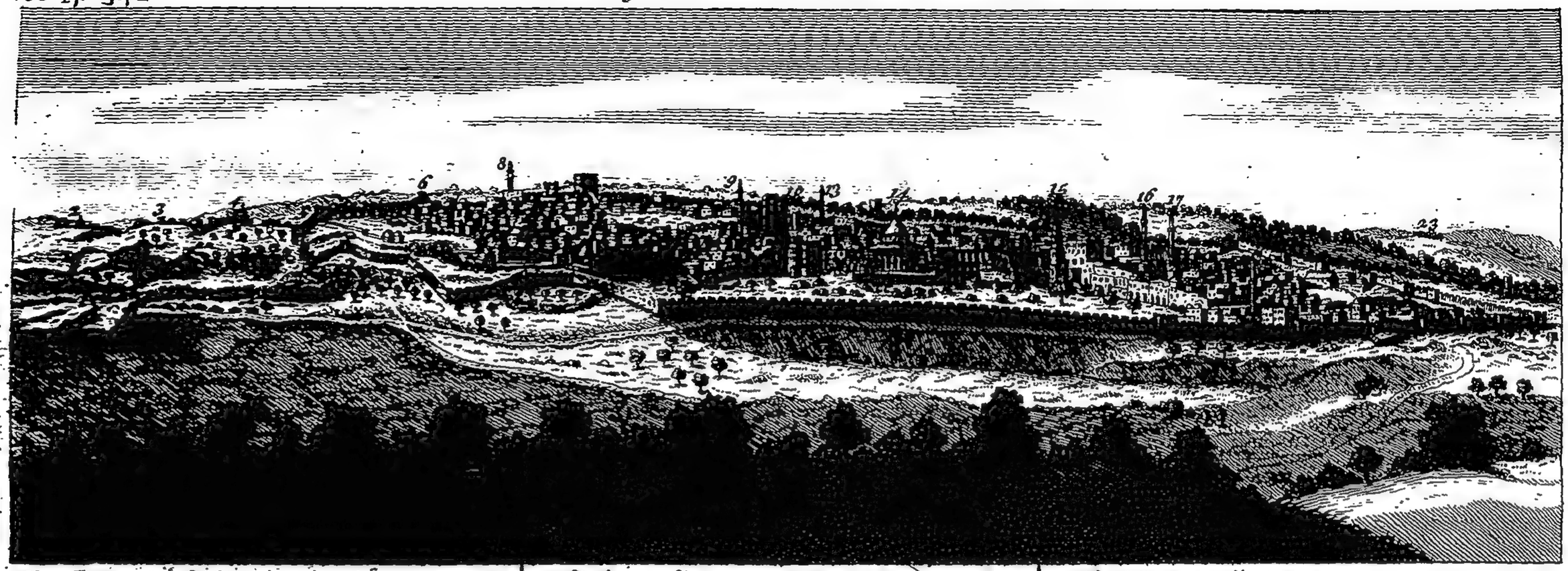
The city has ſix gates, viz. thoſe of Bethlehem, mount Zion, Sterquilina or the Dunghill Gate, St. Stephen's, Herod's, and that of Damaſcus, beſides the Golden Gate, which is ſhut up. The walls are not ſtrong, nor have any baſtions, but towers, after the old way of fortification, and an inconſiderable ditch on one ſide only. The private buildings are very mean, the ſtreets narrow, and the place in general but thinly inhabited. The only thing that renders Jeruſalem conſiderable at preſent, is the reſort of pilgrims thither; and the accommodating them with neceſſaries ſeems to be the principal buſineſs of the inhabitants. A Turkiſh Baſſa indeed reſides here, on account of ſeeing good orders obſerved, and collecting the Grand Seignior's tribute from the pilgrims, and the Fathers who reſide here, and to protect them from the Arabs, when they viſit the holy places in the country about Jeruſalem.

No Frank (European Chriſtian) may enter the city till the Governor is acquainted with his arrival, and he has paid the caphor or duties required: nor muſt they enter on horſeback or with arms, unleſs they come with ſome publick Miniſter or Conſul. The Franks, whether Papiſts or Proteſtants, always go to the Latin convent, where the guardian and friers entertain them civilly for their money, though there is ſome diſtinction made between thoſe who come thither out of devotion, and thoſe who come only out of curioſity: but it is not poſſible, it ſeems, for an European to remain in this place with any ſecurity, without having a good correſpondence with the Fathers of the Latin convent; there having been inſtances of ſeveral Engliſhmen who have been traduced and accuſed for ſpies by thoſe holy men, and met with great difficulties; and ſome, it is ſaid, who have ſlighted the aſſiſtance of the Latin Fathers, have never been ſuffered to return to give an account of the uſage they met with.

The church of the holy ſepulchre, which the pilgrims chiefly viſit, ſtands upon mount Calvary, and is about an hundred paces long, and ſixty wide. In order to the fitting this hill for the foundation of the church, the founders were obliged to reduce it to a plain area, which was done by cutting down ſeveral parts of the rock, and by elevating others: but care was taken however that none of thoſe parts of the hill which were more immediately concerned in our Saviour's paſſion ſhould be altered or diminiſhed; and therefore that part of Calvary where it is ſaid Chriſt was faſtened to the croſs, and lifted up, is left entire, being about ten or twelve yards ſquare, and ſtanding at this day ſo high above the common floor of the church that there are one and twenty ſtairs to go up to the top: and the holy ſepulchre itſelf, which was firſt a cave hewed in the rock under ground, having had the rock cut away from it all round, is now a grotto above ground: but before I give an account of the ſacred places in the church of the holy ſepulchre, and of the ceremonies performed at them, I ſhall obſerve from Mr. TURNEFORT what

A Draught of the City of JERUSALEM as it is now, taken from the South East by CORNEILLE LE BRUYN.

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1. The Borough of Sloam.
2. The Borough of the evil Counsel.
3. The House, or Tower of Simeon.
4. The Church of the Holy Ghost on ye Top of Mount Sion.
5. David's Gate.
6. The Church of S.t James.
7. S.t John's Church, at present a Turkish Mosque.
8. The Citadel.
9. S.t Peter's Church.
10. The Church of the Holy Sepulcher.
11. The Tower of ye Lady, just by ye Judgment Hall.
12. The Church of the Presentation.
13. The Tower of the Saints of ye Holy Sepulcher.
14. Solomon's Temple.
15. The Tower of Pilate's Palace.
16. The Church of S.t John upon ye Hill at present a Turkish Mosque.
17. The Tower of Simon the Pharisee.
18. The House of S.t Ann.
19. The Tower of Bethesda, or the Sheep Pool.
20. The Gilded Gate.
21. S.t Stephen's Gate.
22. Herod's Gate.
23. S.t Samuel's Church.
24. The Gate of Damascus
25. The Mount of Olives.

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what reception the pilgrims meet with from the Fathers of the Latin convent on their arrival at Jeruſalem.

The druggerman, and ſome others deputed by the convent, uſually meet the pilgrims without the gate of the town, where they pay their duties, after which they are brought to the cloiſter, and handſomly entertained, and an apartment is aſſigned them, where their feet are waſhed; ſome time after they are conducted to the chapel, whither the Father guardian comes with all his monks, and having made the pilgrims ſit down on a crimſon velvet couch, waſhes their feet in veſſels of water full of roſes, and kiſſes them; and after the guardian, all the monks perform the like ceremony, ſinging hymns and anthems all the while. When this ceremony is over, they give each of the pilgrims a white wax taper, and then make a proceſſion about the cloiſter, ſinging Te Deum, for bringing the pilgrim in ſafety to the holy city, and this they perform upon three ſeveral altars, viz. at the high altar, dedicated to the Holy Ghoſt: at the altar of our Lord's ſupper: and at the altar of our Lord's appearing after his reſurrection to St. THOMAS.

Upon the Saturday before Palm-ſunday, Mr. THEVENOT relates, that he and the reſt of the pilgrims went out in the morning with the Father, to whoſe care they were committed to viſit the dolorous way, and other holy places, and firſt they paſſed near the judgment gate, through which our Saviour went bearing his croſs to mount Calvary, ſo called, becauſe malefactors went out of it to the place of execution. On the right hand of it they were ſhewn the houſe of VERONICA, who ſeeing our Saviour loaded with his croſs, and his face ſmeared with ſweat and blood, made way through the crowd, and with her white vail wiped our Lord's face, who in teſtimony of his thankfulneſs for that charitable office, left the picture of his face ſtamped on the vail, which is ſhewn at St. PETER's in Rome four times a year, it is ſaid. A little farther on the ſame ſide is ſhewn the houſe of the rich glutton, and over againſt it the place where our Saviour ſaid to the women, weep not for me, but for your ſelves and for your children. A little farther is the place where Simon the Cyrenian helpt our Saviour to carry his croſs, when he fell down under the heavy burthen. And on the right hand the place where the Bleſſed Virgin fell into a ſwoon, on ſeeing her ſon ſo cruelly and deſpitefully uſed. About an hundred paces beyond they paſs under an arch, upon which it is ſaid Pilate ſtood when he ſaid, behold the man. It is a large arch reaching from one ſide of the ſtreet to the other, and has two windows which look into the ſtreet, ſeparated only by a little marble pillar, and under theſe windows is this inſcription, tolle, tolle, crucifige eum. At the end of the ſtreet on the left hand they ſhew the palace of HEROD, where our Saviour was cloathed with a purple robe in deriſion, and ſent back to PILATE, to whom he was this day reconciled. Leaving this ſtreet on the left hand, they were ſhewn PILATE's palace, an ordinary fabrick at preſent. They afterwards proceeded to a chapel called the place of flagellation, where our Saviour was ſcourged, and at this place ends, or rather begins, the dolorous way, which reaches from PILATE's houſe to mount Calvary, being about a mile in length, and here the temple of the ſepulchre is built, of which our countryman Mr. SANDYS gives the following account: he ſays the temple is lofty, curiouſly arched, and ſupported by great marble pillars: the outward iſles have galleries, and the whole fabrick is magnificent: that the monk who offered to ſhew them the moſt remarkable things in the temple, demanded firſt, if devotion or curioſity led them thither, and being informed the latter, the uſual pater noſters, ave Maria's, &c. were omitted. He ſays, that right againſt the door in the midſt of the ſouth iſle, and level with the pavement, there lyes a white marble grave ſtone, encompaſſed with a braſs rail about a foot high, being the place where JOSEPH of ARIMATHEA and NICODEMUS, it is ſaid, anointed the body of our Saviour with ſweet ointments. This the pilgrims kiſs and kneel to, rubbing their crucifixes, beads, handkerchiefs, and even whole pieces of linen upon it, which they carry home to make winding ſheets of: and over this ſtone hang ſeven lamps, which burn continually. Againſt the eaſt end of the ſtone there is a little chapel, and near the entrance on the right hand ſtands the ſepulchre of GODFREY of Boloign with this Latin epitaph.

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Hic jacet inclitus GODEFRIDUS de Buglion qui totam iſtam terram acquiſivit cultui Chriſtiano cujus anima requieſcat in pace. Amen.

And on the left hand that of his brother BALDWIN with this inſcription.

Rex BALDWINUS JUDAS alter MACHABEUS ſpes patriæ vigor eccleſiæ virtus utriuſque quem formidabant cui dona tributa ferebant cedar Egypti Dan ac homicida Damaſcus proh dolor in modico clauditur hoc tumulo.

Theſe were the two firſt Chriſtian Kings of Jeruſalem. At the farther end of this chapel, which joins to the foot of Calvary, there is on the left ſide of the altar, a cleft in the rock, in which, according to tradition, the head of ADAM was found, that it might be ſprinkled with the precious blood of our Saviour, which he knew would be ſhed

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ſhed in that holy place. Over this are the chapels of mount Calvary, aſcended on the north ſide by twenty ſteps, the higheſt hewn out of the rock, as is part of the paſſage to it. The floor of the firſt chapel is laid with marble of ſeveral colours, on which the pilgrims never tread, but creep upon their knees. At the eaſt end of it, under a large arched concave of the wall, is the place where our Saviour ſuffered, and may aſſuredly be thought the ſame, ſays Mr. SANDYS. In the midſt is the place where the croſs did ſtand, plated with ſilver, gilt and emboſſed, and here the rock riſes half a yard higher than the pavement, in form of an altar ten foot long, and ſix broad, and is covered with white marble, to which the pilgrims creep, kiſs, and proſtrate themſelves thereon, and touch their beads and crucifixes, which gives them, as is apprehended, an uncommon ſanctity. On the right ſide of the place, where our Saviour's croſs ſtood, ſtands that of the good thief, which was crucified with him: and on the left hand the croſs of the other thief, which is divided from our Saviour's by the rent in the rock, which cleft in ſunder at the time of his paſſion; and the inſide thereof teſtifies (ſays Mr. SANDYS) that it was not the work of art, the ruggedneſs of one ſide anſwering to the other, where they are inacceſſible to the workman, and the aperture may go to the centre for ought can be diſcovered. This chapel belongs to the Georgians, and no other nation ſays maſs at that altar, over which there hang forty ſix lamps, which burn continually.

On the ſame floor is another chapel exactly of the ſame form, and divided only by a curtain, which belongs to the Latins. In the middle of it is a ſquare place enchaſed with ſtones of different colours, where Chriſt, it is ſaid, was nailed to the croſs. This place is never trod upon, but worn in ſeveral places with the knees of the pilgrims, who kiſs and proſtrate themſelves upon it. Over the altar of this chapel, which is richly adorned, are three and thirty lamps burning. Theſe two chapels are all that are on the top of the rock, except that where ABRAHAM would have ſacrificed ISAAC, wherein is the altar of MELCHISEDECH.

In other parts of the temple are chapels belonging to ſeveral other nations and ſects, as the Abyſſines, Jacobites, Cophtes, Greeks, Armenians, and Maronites. In the middle of the ſouth ſide of the temple, is the Emperor CONSTANTINE's effigies, and oppoſite to it that of his mother HELENA's, the foundreſs. This part of the temple is covered with a cupola, ſuſtained with rafters of cedar, open in the middle, like the Pantheon at Rome, at which it receives all the light it hath, which is ſufficient. Juſt in the middle, and in the view of heaven (ſays SANDYS) ſtands the glorified ſepulchre, an hundred and eight feet diſtant from mount Calvary. For the deſcription of the remaining curioſities of the church of the ſepulchre, I refer the reader to Mr. THEVENOT, and Mr. SANDYS, and proceed to the more modern account of it given by Mr. MAUNDREL.

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This church, ſays that reverend writer, is ſo contrived, as to contain under its roof (as is ſuppoſed) twelve or thirteen places conſecrated to a more than ordinary veneration, by being reputed to have ſome particular actions done in them, relating to the death and reſurrection of Chriſt, as 1. The place where he was derided by the ſoldiers. 2. The place where the ſoldiers divided his garments. 3. The place where he was ſhut up whilſt they digged the hole to ſet the foot of the croſs in, and prepared every thing for his crucifixion. 4. Where he was nailed to the croſs. 5. Where the croſs was erected. 6. Where the ſoldier ſtood who pierced his ſide. 7. Where his body was anointed in order to his burial. 8. Where his body was depoſited in the ſepulchre. 9. Where the angels appeared to the women after his reſurrection. 10. The place where Chriſt appeared to MARY MAGDALEN, &c. All which places are adorned with ſo many ſeveral altars, erected in little chapels about this church.

In the galleries round the church, and in ſome little buildings on the outſide adjoining to it, are apartments for the reception of the monks and pilgrims, and in ſome of theſe almoſt every Chriſtian nation formerly maintained a ſmall ſociety of monks; as the Latins, Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, Georgians, Neſtorians, Cophtes, &c. but theſe have all, except four, forſaken their apartments, not being able to bear the exceſſive rents and extortions the Turks were pleaſed to impoſe upon them; and of thoſe that remain, viz. the Latins, Greeks, Armenians and Cophtes, the Cophtes lately had but one poor repreſentative of their nation left; and the Armenians were ſo much in debt that it was expected they muſt ſoon follow the reſt.

Beſides theſe diſtinct apartments, every fraternity had their altars and ſanctuary for their ſeparate uſe, from whence other nations were excluded. But what has ever been moſt contended for by the ſeveral ſects, is the command and appropriation of the holy ſepulchre: the Greeks and Latins particularly have diſputed the privilege of ſaying maſs here ſo warmly, that they have ſometimes come to blows, and wounded each other at the very door of the ſepulchre, mingling their own blood, ſays MAUNDREL, with their ſacrifices; and the Father guardian ſhewed him a ſcar which he had received in his arm from a Greek prieſt in one of theſe conteſts. For putting an end to theſe infamous quarrels the French King it ſeems interpoſed

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interpoſed by his letter to the Grand Vizier, deſiring that the holy ſepulchre might be put into the hands of the Latins, and in the year 1690. an order was obtained for putting the holy ſepulchre into the hands of the Latins, and they had lately the ſole privilege of ſaying maſs in it; but it is permitted to the Chriſtians of all nations, to go into this chapel, and perform their private devotions, though none may ſolemnize any publick office of religion there but the Latins.

The buſineſs of the monks belonging to this church is to trim the lamps, and to make devotional viſits and proceſſions to the ſeveral altars and ſacred places there. In this employment many of them ſpend ſeveral years, and ſome, out of their abundant zeal, their whole lives, burying themſelves as it were alive, ſays our reverend author, in our Lord's ſepulchre: the Latins particularly, who are about ten or twelve reſiding here with their preſident, make every day a ſolemn proceſſion with tapers and crucifixes, and other proceſſionary ſolemnities to the ſeveral ſanctuaries, ſinging at every one of them a Latin hymn, relating to the ſubject of the place; but in the holy week before Eaſter, when the pilgrims uſually come to Jeruſalem, the duty is greater than at any other time.

This reverend writer acquaints us, that on Good-Friday 1697. he attended the French conſul to the church of the holy ſepulchre, and found the church doors guarded by ſeveral janizaries, and other Turkiſh officers, who were placed there to watch that no perſons entered, who had not firſt paid their caphor (tribute to the government) this is different according to the character of the perſon or the country he comes from; Franks uſually pay fourteen dollars per head, except eccleſiaſticks, and they pay half as much: Whoever has paid this caphor may afterwards go in and out gratis during the whole feaſt at publick times, when the doors are open, but if they would have them opened at any time on purpoſe, the ſame expence muſt be repeated. But to proceed,

The pilgrims being entered the church doors were ſhut, and opened no more till Eaſter-day, but the whole company was kept confined there the greateſt part of three days; as ſoon as it grew duskiſh on Good-Friday in the evening, all the monks and pilgrims aſſembled in the chapel of the apparition, which is a ſmall oratory on the north ſide of the holy grave, in order to go in proceſſion round the church, but a ſermon was preached firſt, by one of the Latin Fathers, who began his diſcourſe in this manner: in queſta notte tenebroſa: at which words all the candles were immediately put out, to yield the livelier repreſentation of what they were commemorating. The preacher having continued his ſermon about half an hour in the dark, every one had a large lighted taper put into his hand, and the crucifixes and other utenſils were diſpoſed in order to begin the proceſſion; and amongſt others there was a crucifix which bore the image of our Lord as big as the life: this image was faſtned to the croſs with great nails, crowned with thorns and ſmeared with blood, and ſo exquiſitely formed that it repreſented in a very lively manner the tragical ſpectacle of our Saviour's body hanging upon the croſs. This was carried at the head of the proceſſion, firſt to the pillar of flagellation, a large piece of which is kept in a little cell at the door of the chapel of the apparition, and the hymn was ſung proper to the occaſion; and here another monk preached a ſermon in Spaniſh concerning the ſcourging of our Lord: from hence they proceeded to the place where it is ſaid our Saviour was impriſoned whilſt the ſoldiers prepared every thing for the crucifixion; and here another hymn was ſung, and a third Father preached in French. They went next to the altar of the diviſion of Chriſt's garments, where only a hymn was ſung. Then they advanced to the chapel of the deriſion, where they had a hymn and a ſermon. The next place they viſited was Calvary, leaving their ſhoes at the bottom of the ſtairs, and coming to the altar where our Lord is ſuppoſed to have been nailed to the croſs, they laid down the great crucifix on the floor, and ſeemed buſied in nailing the body to the croſs, and after an hymn one of the Fathers preached a ſermon in Spaniſh on the crucifixion. From hence they removed to the adjoining altar on the top of the ſame mount, where the croſs is ſuppoſed to have been erected; and here is a hole in the rock, where it is ſaid the foot of the croſs really ſtood: here therefore they ſet up the croſs with the bloody crucified image upon it, and leaving it in that poſture, ſung an hymn; after which the Father guardian, ſitting in a chair before it, preached a paſſion ſermon in Italian.

About a yard and an half diſtance from the hole where the foot of the croſs is fixed, is that memorable cleft in the rock, ſaid to have been made by the earthquake when the ſon of GOD ſuffered, the rocks rent, &c. Mat. xxvii. (I mention the thing again to ſhew what opinion this learned traveller had of it.) The cleft, he ſays, is about a ſpan wide, in the upper part of the rock, and two deep, after which it cloſes, but opens again below in another chapel contiguous to Calvary, and from thence runs down to an unknown depth in the earth; but that this rent was made at our Lord's paſſion, they have only tradition to prove, this reverend writer obſerves. But if it is evident from ſcripture, that the rocks were rent by an earthquake in or near the very

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place, and at the time when our Lord ſuffered, ſurely there is as good a foundation for this tradition as for moſt others which have been delivered down to us; and it can ſcarce be ſaid there is only tradition, when there is nothing plainer in ſcripture than that there was an earthquake, and the rocks were rent in the view of thoſe who were witneſſes of our Lord's paſſion, which was acted on this very mount Calvary near Jeruſalem. I ſhall however tranſcribe the 51ſt and 54th verſes of the 27th chapter of St. MATTHEW, and then leave every man to conclude as he ſees fit as to the probability of this being one of thoſe very rocks which were cleft at our Saviour's paſſion. Verſe 51. 'And behold the vail 'of the temple was rent in twain from the top 'to the bottom; and the earth did quake and 'the rocks rent.' Verſe 54. 'Now when 'the Centurion, and they that were with 'him, watching JESUS, ſaw the earthquake, 'and thoſe things that were done, they feared 'greatly, ſaying, truly this was the Son of GOD.' As to its being a natural and genuine breach, and not counterfeited by art, this very writer aſſures us, that the ſenſe and reaſon of every one that ſees it may convince him; for the ſides of it fit like two talleys to each other, and yet it runs in ſuch intricate windings as could not well be counterfeited by art, or come at by inſtruments.

But to return from this digreſſion: ſermon being ended, two Fathers perſonating JOSEPH of Arimathea and NICODEMUS, approached the croſs with great ſolemnity, and all imaginable concern in their looks, and drawing the nails took down the feigned body from the croſs, which was ſo contrived, that the limbs were ſoft and flexible as if they had been real fleſh: nothing, ſays our author, could be more ſurprizing than to ſee theſe two pretended mourners bend down the arms which were before extended, and diſpoſe them in ſuch a manner as is uſual in laying out a corps.

The body was afterwards received in a large winding ſheet, and brought down from Calvary, the whole company attending it to the ſtone of unction, which is taken to be the very place where our Lord's body was anointed and prepared for burial: here it was laid down again, and having thrown ſweet powders and ſpices upon it, they wrapped it in the winding ſheet, ſinging an hymn ſuitable to the occaſion; after which one of the Fathers preached a funeral ſermon in Arabick. And thus the obſequies being finiſhed, the ſuppoſed corps was repoſited in the ſepulchre, and the door ſhut; and the whole company being pretty well wearied, retired to their reſpective apartments.

The next morning ſeveral pilgrims had their arms marked with the uſual enſigns of Jeruſalem; the way of doing which need not be deſcribed here, there being artiſts in London that can make theſe characters full as well as the monks of Jeruſalem. In the afternoon the congregation aſſembled in the area before the holy grave, where the Fathers ſpent ſome hours in ſinging over the Lamentations of JEREMIAH, which with the uſual proceſſion to the ſacred places was all the buſineſs of that day.

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The ſepulchre was ſet open very early on Eaſter-Sunday, and the Fathers put on a face of joy, as if it had been the very time of our Lord's reſurrection; and maſs was celebrated this morning juſt before the holy ſepulchre, where the Father guardian had a throne erected, and being clothed in epiſcopal robes with a mitre on his head, he gave the hoſt in the view of the Turks to all ſuch Chriſtians as were diſpoſed to receive it, even to children of ſeven or eight years old. After which the company went out of church and returned to the Latin convent, where they dined.

Upon Eaſter-Monday the Governor of the city with a ſtrong detachment of the garriſon, convoyed the pilgrims, amounting to two thouſand of every nation and ſect, towards the river Jordan, according to cuſtom; and for his protection every Frank pilgrim paid twelve dollars, except the eccleſiaſticks, who paid but ſix; and whether they take the journey or remain in the city, it ſeems, they pay the ſame ſum. But the Arabs are ſo very powerful in this part of Paleſtine that there is no travelling without ſuch a guard. Having croſſed the valley of Jehoſaphat and part of mount Olivet, they came in half an hour to Bethany, which is at preſent but a ſmall village. Here they ſhew the tomb where LAZARUS was laid when he was raiſed from the dead; and about a bow-ſhot farther they were ſhewn the habitation of MARY MAGDALEN; and then deſcending a ſteep hill, they came to a well called the fountain of the Apoſtles; becauſe here, according to tradition, they uſed to drink and refreſh themſelves in their paſſage between Jeruſalem and Jericho.

Pilgrimage to Jordan.

From hence they travelled through an intricate way among hills and valleys of a very barren aſpect, but diſcovered however evident ſigns of the induſtry of the husbandmen in former times. After ſome hours travelling in this ſort of road they came to a mountainous deſert, in which, it is ſaid, our Saviour was tempted by the devil: and looking down into a deep valley they diſcovered the ruins of ſome ſmall cells, where formerly hermits retired, as it is ſaid, to perform their penances: nor could there be, according to our author, a more comfortleſs and abandoned place for that purpoſe.

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From the tops of theſe deſolate hills they had a delightful proſpect of the mountains of Arabia, the Dead ſea, and the plain of Jericho; into which laſt they deſcended after five hours march from Jeruſalem. They were here ſhewn the mountain, which is indeed an exceeding high one, whither, it is ſaid, the devil took our Saviour when he ſhewed him the kingdoms of the world, which has a chapel half way up, and another at the top, beſides ſeveral caves and holes in the ſides of the mountain, to ſome of which hermits reſort at this day to keep their lent, in imitation of our Saviour: but here were alſo quartered abundance of Arabs with fire-arms, who oppoſed the paſſage of the pilgrims up the mountain, demanding two hundred dollars for permiſſion to go up: whereupon they turned down into the plain and came to the fountain of ELISHA, ſo called upon its being miraculouſly purged of its brackiſh taſte by the prophet. Theſe waters are received into a large baſon here, from whence they iſſue, and dividing themſelves in ſeveral ſtreams, diſperſe themſelves through the fields between this place and Jericho, and render them extremely fruitful. About a mile diſtant from hence ſtands Jericho, at preſent a poor dirty village, inhabited by Arabs. About two furlongs from hence, the Governor and his troops encamped, and the pilgrims pitched their tents. Not far from them, near this village, they were ſhewn the place where ZACHEUS is ſaid to have ſtood, which is an old ſquare ſtone building to the ſouthward of it.

The next morning our pilgrims ſet out very early towards Jordan, where they arrived within two hours. The plain through which they paſſed was barren, producing nothing but a kind of ſamphire, and ſuch other marine plants: and in many places of the road where water had ſtood, they obſerved a whiteneſs on the ſurface of the ground, which they found to be a cruſt of ſalt, which ariſes every year, as it does in the valley of Aleppo, after the winter's inundation. Theſe ſaline efflorescences were at ſome leagues diſtance from the Dead ſea, which makes it appear that the whole valley is plentifully impregnated with ſalt. When they arrived within a furlong of Jordan, they found an old ruined church and convent, dedicated to St. JOHN, in memory of his baptizing our Saviour, and is ſounded as near as can be conjectured to the place where the Baptiſt had the honour of performing that office. On the farther ſide of the convent runs a ſmall deſcent, which they imagined to be the firſt and outwardmoſt bank of Jordan, or at leaſt that it antiently overflowed thus far at ſome ſeaſons of the year, as is mentioned in Joſhua, and 1 Chron. xii. 15. But at preſent, our countryman obſerves, it ſeems to have forgot its antient greatneſs, there being no ſigns of its overflowing when he was there, though it was on the thirtieth of March, being the proper time for ſuch inundations; nay it was ſo far from overflowing, that it ran two yards below the brink of its channel. Having deſcended the outermoſt bank, they went about a furlong upon a level ſtrand, before they came to the immediate bank of the river, which was ſo covered with buſhes and trees, ſuch as tamerisk, willows, &c. that they could ſee no water till they had made their way through them. When they arrived at the river they were alarmed by ſome parties of Arabs appearing on the other ſide, and firing at them, and though it was at too great a diſtance to do any miſchief, it ſo terrified the poor monks, that it hindred them for ſome time performing the devotions preſcribed them, and ſeemed to put them in a greater fright than any of the pilgrims in the company. The alarm being over, every one reſumed his former purpoſe, ſome ſtripped and bathed themſelves in the river: others cut down boughs from the trees: every one did ſomething to preſerve the memory of his having been at this famous ſtream. The water, it ſeems, was turbid, and ſo rapid that there was no ſwimming againſt it. The river was in this place above twenty yards over, and in depth above the height of a man. And on the oppoſite bank there was a much larger thicket of buſhes and ſhrubs than on this, but their apprehenſions of the Arabs prevented their viſiting the other ſide. The pilgrims having performed what they intended here, were ſummoned by the Governor to attend him in the middle of the plain, where he made them paſs before him man by man, as he ſat in his tent, that he might take an exact account of them, and be ſure he loſt none of the caphor or duty which was to be paid him. After which our countryman and ſome other of the pilgrims deſired a guard of him to viſit the Dead ſea, to which he conſented.

The Dead ſea.

This ſea is encloſed on the eaſt and weſt by vaſt high mountains. The plain of Jericho lyes on the north of it, on which ſide alſo it receives the waters of Jordan, and to the ſouth it extends beyond the reach of the eye, being four and twenty leagues long, and ſix or ſeven broad. The hills about the lake abound with ſulphurous ſtones, which being held in the flame of a candle, burn, yielding a ſmoke of an intolerable ſtench. According to tradition, birds attempting to fly over this ſea drop down dead, and no fiſh or other animal, it is ſaid, can ſubſiſt in theſe deadly waters. But our countryman aſſures us he ſaw ſeveral birds flying over it, without receiving any hurt: and he queſtions whether there be not fiſh in the lake, having ſeen the ſhells of ſome upon the ſhore. The water of the lake indeed is not

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only ſalt, but extreme bitter and nauſeous: and our author deſiring to make an experiment of its qualities, went into it, he ſays, and it bore up his body in ſwimming, with an uncommon force; but as to the report, that a man wading into it as high as his navel, will be buoyed up by it, this he found not to be true. The bitumen which this lake is ſo famous for, is gathered near the mountains on both ſides in great plenty, and ſo exactly reſembles pitch, that it cannot eaſily be diſtinguiſhed from it, but by the ſulphurouſneſs of its ſmell and taſte.

Our countryman being deſirous to ſee the remains of thoſe cities, if there were any in this lake, which were antiently made ſo dreadful an example of the divine vengeance, diligently ſurveyed the waters, but could diſcern no heaps of ruins, or any ſmoke aſcending above the ſurface of the water, as is deſcribed in the writings or maps of geographers; but the Father guardian and procurator of Jeruſalem, both men of ſenſe and probity in appearance, aſſured him, that they had actually ſeen one of theſe ruins, and that it was ſo near the ſhore, and the waters ſo ſhallow, that they went amongſt them with ſome Frenchmen, and found there ſeveral pillars and other fragments of buildings; and he ſuppoſes that the reaſon of his being deprived of this ſight, was the height of the water when he was there. But the ſtories of the apples of Sodom he looks upon to be altogether fabulous, for there was no tree to be ſeen near the lake, from which ſuch fruit might be expected: the being therefore as well as beauty of this fruit is a mere fiction, probably kept up, as the Lord BACON obſerves many other whimſical notions are, to ſerve as an alluſion, and help the poet to an apt ſimilitude.

Bethlehem.

The pilgrims having made their obſervations on this part of the country, returned to Jeruſalem, from whence they immediately ſet out again to viſit Bethlehem, which is about two hours diſtance from that capital. In this journey they paſſed through the valley of Rephaim, famous for being the place of DAVID's victories over the Philiſtines. In the way they were ſhewn the houſe of old SIMEON, who ſung the Nunc Dimittis in the temple, on our Saviour's being brought thither. After this they were led to the famous turpentine tree, under the ſhade whereof the Bleſſed Virgin is ſaid to have repoſed herſelf, when ſhe carried our bleſſed Lord in her arms, to preſent him at the temple. They came afterwards to a convent dedicated to ELIAS, the impreſſion of whoſe body the Greek monks pretend to ſhew in the hard ſtone. RACHEL's tomb is another curioſity ſhewn to pilgrims; but the preſent ſepulchral monument is evidently of modern Turkiſh ſtructure.

Bethlehem, antiently a fine city, but now a poor village, is only reſorted to at this day on account of its being the place of our Lord's nativity, over which HELENA, the mother of CONSTANTINE, erected a magnificent temple, the roof whereof is cedar, ſupported by four rows of white marble pillars, ten in each row; the walls of the church alſo being faced with the ſame kind of marble. The church is built in the form of a croſs, of which the chancel conſtitutes the upper part, and is covered with a noble cupola. Under the church in a cave hewn out of the rock is the chapel of the nativity, where they ſhew the manger our Saviour was laid in, cut alſo out of the rock, and now cruſted with marble. An altar with the repreſentation of the nativity is erected here, and lamps kept burning before it. Here is alſo the chapel of St. JOSEPH, the ſuppoſed father of our Lord, and of the Holy Innocents: and adjoining to the church is a monaſtery of Franciſcans: they ſhew a valley near this town, where they ſay JACOB kept his flocks; being the ſame, as they relate, where the angels appeared to the ſhepherds, declaring the birth of CHRIST. Here the ſame pious Empreſs alſo built a church, but it is now in ruins.

Solomon's pools and gardens.

In the neighbourhood of Bethlehem, are thoſe famous fountains, pools and gardens, ſaid to have been the contrivance and delight of SOLOMON, and to theſe works this King is ſuppoſed to allude, Eccleſ. ii. 5, 6. where, among other inſtances of his magnificence, he reckons his gardens, vineyards and pools. Theſe pools are ſo diſpoſed, that the waters of the uppermoſt deſcend into the ſecond, and thoſe of the ſecond into the third, their figure is quadrangular, and their breadth the ſame in all, but their length is different, the firſt being about an hundred and ſixty paces long, the ſecond two hundred, and the third two hundred and twenty. They are all lined with a wall, and contain a great depth of water: and about an hundred and twenty paces from them is a fountain, from whence they principally derive their waters, which are carried thither by a large ſubterraneous paſſage: but there is an aqueduct laid from it, which receives part of the ſtream, which carries it by many turnings and windings about the mountains to Jeruſalem. And our author does not think it improbable that the pools abovementioned are the ſame with SOLOMON's, there being not the like ſtore of excellent ſpring water in all Paleſtine. But I ſhould tire the reader's patience to enumerate every little place which ſcripture ſtory has rendered remarkable in the Holy Land; I ſhall mention therefore but very few more, before I take my leave of it, and one is a convent of Greeks, between Bethlehem and Jeruſalem, called the convent of the holy croſs, having obtained that name, becauſe, according to tradition, here is the ground which nouriſhed the root that bore the

Holy cross.

tree,

tree, which yielded the timber that made the croſs of our Saviour, and under the high altar is ſhewn the hole where the ſtump of the tree ſtood, which the pilgrims frequently fall down before and worſhip; and this perhaps is as remarkable an inſtance of the credulity and ſuperſtition of the poor bigotted people, as is to be met with in the Chriſtian, or heathen world; and cannot but excite the laughter of infidels.

Holy fire.

Another pious fraud of the Greek Fathers is their pretending, that upon every Eaſter eve a miraculous flame deſcends into the holy ſepulchre at Jeruſalem, and kindles all the lamps and candles there. Mr. MAUNDREL, the reverend writer abovementioned, relates, that the Eaſter of the Greeks happening a week after that of the Latins, when he was at Jeruſalem, he went on the evening before their Eaſter Sunday to the church of the holy ſepulchre, which he found crowded with a diſtracted mob, making a hideous clamour, very unfit for ſo ſacred a place, and better becoming Bacchanals than Chriſtians. He ſays, they began the diſorder by running round the ſepulchre, crying out with all their might, huia, huia This is he, this is he. By which they aſſert the verity of the Chriſtian religion. And after they had, by this running round, and their vociferation, almoſt turned their heads, they acted the moſt antick tricks imaginable, dragging ſome along the floor, and carrying others upon their ſhoulders round the ſepulchre: ſometimes they carried men with their heels upwards, expoſing their nudities: and others tumbled as if they had been ſhewing tricks on a mountebank's ſtage.

This tumult continued from twelve to four in the afternoon, which was longer than uſual, on account of a law ſuit which was then debating between the Greeks and Armenians about the holy fire, the Greeks endeavouring to exclude the Armenians from any ſhare in the miracle: and the parties having expended about five thouſand dollars before the Turkiſh tribunal in this conteſt, the Cadi or Judge, it ſeems, at length decreed that they ſhould enter the holy ſepulchre together, as they had done in former times; and accordingly at four o'clock, both ſects proceeded in the ceremony, ſurrounding the holy ſepulchre with ſtandards, ſtreamers, crucifixes and embroidered habits, as is uſual on this occaſion; and towards the end of the proceſſion, a pigeon came fluttering into the cupola over the ſepulchre, at which there was a great ſhout: and, as the Latins relate, this bird was let fly on purpoſe by the Greeks, to make the people believe it was a viſible deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt. But methinks it is pity this reverend Proteſtant divine, who furniſhes us with his account, did not enquire of the Greeks themſelves, if they pretended there was ſuch a viſible deſcent at this time; the Latins, with whom they are frequently at variance, having too great an inclination to traduce them.

After the proceſſion was over, the ſuffragan of the Greek Patriarch (who was himſelf at Conſtantinople) and the chief Armenian Biſhop entered the door of the ſepulchre, and ſhut it after them, all the candles and lamps having been before extinguiſhed in the preſence of the Turks and other witneſſes. As the miracle drew nearer its accompliſhment, the ſhouts of the mob were redoubled, and the people preſſed with that vehemence towards the door of the ſepulchre, that it was not in the power of the janizaries, who ſtood to guard it, to keep them off, though ſome of them were ſeverely drubbed. The reaſon of all this crowding, it ſeems, is to light their candles at the holy flame, as ſoon as it is firſt brought out of the ſepulchre, that being eſteemed the moſt pure, as coming immediately from heaven. The two holy men, who were to work this miracle, had not been a minute in the ſepulchre, before a glimmering of the holy fire was ſeen, at which time, according to our friend MAUNDREL's phraſe, Bedlam itſelf never ſaw ſuch an unruly tranſport as was produced in the mob at this ſight. And the two reverend gentlemen immediately after appeared with two blazing torches in their hands, which they held at the door, while the people thronged about them to light their tapers at this divine flame; the janizaries in the mean time with their ſtaves, laying on them without mercy: but the exceſs of their tranſport rendered them inſenſible of the bruiſes they received. Thoſe who got any fire, immediately applied it to their faces and boſoms, pretending it would not burn like an earthly flame; tho' our author obſerved, none of them could endure the experiment long enough to make good this pretenſion. But however that be, there were tapers innumerable lighted, and the whole church, galleries and every place, ſeemed to be in a flame in an inſtant, and this illumination concluded the ceremony.

Mr. MAUNDREL ſays, the fire was kindled in the holy ſepulchre with great quickneſs and dexterity; but the Latins juſtly expoſe the practice as a ſhameful impoſture, and ſcandal to the Chriſtian religion. And as Mr. THEVENOT obſerves, a flint and ſteel would ſoon produce fire, if there was none in the ſepulchre before: and according to him, even the Turks have diſcovered the cheat, and would have puniſhed them for it, but that the Patriarch repreſented he could not pay them the money required of him if they took from him the profit of the holy fire; they are therefore ſuffered to continue the juggle, and the Greek and Armenian Chriſtians, it ſeems, are ſo perſuaded of the reality of the miracle, that they make their pilgrimages chiefly on this account. Their prieſts have acted the cheat ſo long,

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long, that they are in a manner compelled to ſtand to it now, for fear of endangering the apoſtacy of their people: in the ſame manner as our pretenders to divine inſpiration are ſtill obliged to maintain their claim to the ſpirit, leſt their infatuated diſciples ſhould drop them, and they ſhould be reduced to get their bread by the laborious employments they have been bred to. But to proceed. Theſe zealous Chriſtians ſmear pieces of linen with the melting wax which drops from theſe tapers, and lay them up for winding ſheets for themſelves and their friends, imagining that nothing is a better ſecurity, ſays MAUNDREL, againſt the pains of hell.

The Armenians have a large convent in Jeruſalem, ſituated upon a pleaſant ſpot of ground, which with the gardens takes up all that part of mount Sion which is at preſent within the walls of the city, their church being built over the place where they aſſure us St. JAMES the brother of JOHN was beheaded. In this church are two altars ſet out with extraordinary ſplendor, being adorned with rich mitres, embroidered copes, gold and ſilver croſſes, crowns, chalices, and other church utenſils without number; and in the middle of the church ſtands a pulpit made of tortoiſe-ſhell and mother of pearl, with a beautiful canopy or cupola over it of the ſame fabrick. The tortoiſe-ſhell and mother of pearl are ſo exquiſitely mingled and inlaid, that the work far exceeds the materials.

Among other things pilgrims are led to ſee in this city, is the palace of PILATE, or rather the place where it ſtood; for now a mean Turkiſh houſe poſſeſſes its room: however from the terraſs of this houſe there is a fair proſpect of all the place where the famous temple once ſtood, and the only proſpect of it a Chriſtian is allowed; for there is no going within the bounds of it without forfeiting a man's life, or at leaſt his religion: but a fitter place for an auguſt building, Mr. MAUNDREL obſerves, could not be found in the whole world than this area. It lyes on the top of mount Moriah over againſt mount Olivet, the valley of Jehoſaphat lying between both mountains; it is about five hundred and ſeventy paces in length, and three hundred and ſeventy in breadth; and there may ſtill be diſcerned marks of the great labour it coſt to cut away the hard rock and level ſuch a ſpacious area upon ſo ſtrong a mountain. In the middle of the area there ſtands at preſent a Turkiſh moſque of an octogonal figure, ſuppoſed to be built upon the ſame ground where antiently ſtood the ſanctum ſanctorum: it is neither eminent for its largeneſs or ſtructure, and yet makes a very noble figure purely by the advantage of its ſituation.

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CHAP. XVII.

Treats of Natolia, or Aſia Minor.

Natolia or Aſia Minor divided into four large provinces.

I Come now to treat more particularly of Natolia, or the Leſſer Aſia, which I have already obſerved our geographers uſually divide into four parts, namely, 1. Natolia Proper. 2. Amaſia. 3. Aladulia. And 4. Caramania. The ſtate of which laſt ſubdiviſion I ſhall firſt enquire into, becauſe it lyes contiguous to the province of Syria we are juſt come from.

1 Caramania.

The beglerbeglick, or province of Caramania, is ſituated in the ſouthern part of the Leſſer Aſia; and contains the antient Lycia, Pamphylia, Piſidia, Lycaonia, and Cilicia.

Lycia.

Lycia, at preſent known by the name of Mentiſeli, is bounded on the north and eaſt by Phrygia Major and Pamphylia, on the ſouth by the Mediterranean ſea, and on the weſt by Caria: it is ſurrounded by mountains on every ſide, except that which lyes on the Mediterranean. It has been eſteemed a pleaſant fruitful country, when it was well cultivated, and had ſeveral conſiderable cities in it; but great part of the province lyes unmanured at preſent, and the towns in ruins, as in other parts of Turkey. The chief towns were, 1. Telmeſſus, ſituated on a bay of the ſea, towards the weſtern part of this province. 2. Patara, ſtanding near the ſea alſo, farther to the eaſtward: it is a little town, ſeated on a hill, and formerly famous for a temple and oracle of APOLLO. 3. Xanthus, which is an inland town, ſeated on a river of the ſame name. 4. Myra, or Limira, the metropolis of the country, ſituate within land, on a river of the ſame name.

Pamphylia.

Pamphylia is bounded by Piſidia on the north, by Cilicia on the eaſt, by the Mediterranean on the ſouth, and Lycia on the weſt: the inland country is very mountainous; but towards the ſea-coaſt it is naturally fruitful and pleaſant. They have alſo large flocks of goats upon the mountains, and make excellent camlets of their hair. The chief towns are, 1. Attalia now called Sattalia, a port town, which has a pretty good harbour, but of difficult entrance; and the caſtle is reckoned no mean fortification in that part of Turkey. 2. Perga, ſituate on the river Ceſtrius, famous antiently for a temple dedicated to DIANA. 3. Syda, or Candalor, a port town, ſituate more to the eaſtward.

Piſidia.

Piſidia, a little province on the north of Pamphylia, is one fruitful plain, entirely ſurrounded by mountains: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Sagalaſſus, ſeated towards the weſt part of the province. 2. Antiochia Piſidiæ, the capital city, while under the dominion of the Romans. And three

3. Termeſſus, a town naturally ſtrong, being ſeated in the ſtreights of the mountains.

Lycaonia and Iſauria, a ſmall province to the eaſtward of Piſidia; a fine champain country: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Lyſtra, where the people would have ſacrificed to St. PAUL and BARNABAS. 2. Derbe, towards the ſouth part of the province. 3. Iſauria, which once gave name to the province, but is now entirely deſtroyed. 4. Iconium, now Cogni, the capital city, not only of Lycaonia but of the whole province of Caramania, where the Beglerbeg, or Viceroy, reſides. It ſtands about an hundred miles north of the ſea coaſt, near a freſh water lake, ſtyled Trogilus Palus, and lyes in 38 degrees odd minutes, north latitude.

Cilicia ſtretches along the coaſt of the Mediterranean near two hundred and fifty miles, having Syria on the eaſt and Pamphylia on the weſt, but is not more than fifty miles in breadth from north to ſouth. The plain country is very fruitful, but towards the north and eaſt it is rocky and mountainous, and the paſſes between them exceeding ſtreight. In ſome of theſe ſtreights it was where ALEXANDER defeated the forces of DARIUS the ſecond time, called the battle of Iſſus. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Silenus, or Iſſenus, ſeated on a river, to which it gives its name, near the ſea coaſt. 2. Seleucia Trachea, more to the eaſtward, on the river Calycadnus, being an Archbiſhop's ſee. 3. Philadelphia, more to the northward. 4. Sole, or Pompeopolis, ſituate on the river Latamus. 5. Tarſus, the capital of the province, and ſee of an Archbiſhop, ſituate on the river Cydnus near the middle of Cilicia: it is called Theraſſa at preſent, and ſometimes Hemſa; and was famous for being the place of St. PAUL's nativity. 6. Iſſus, now called Aiazzo, or Lajazzo, ſituate on a bay, to which it gives its name: remarkable for the battle fought near it between ALEXANDER and DARIUS.

I paſs on now to the next grand ſubdiviſion of Natolia, called Aladulia, or the Beglerbeglick of Maroſch, or Marat, extending eaſtward to the river Euphrates, and contains all Cappadocia.

Cappadocia lyes between Armenia Minor on the eaſt and Galatia on the weſt, having Cilicia on the ſouth. The river Melus, or Lyma, which riſes in Galatia, paſſes through the ſouth part of this province, and falls into the Euphrates; and the rivers Halis and Iris, which fall into the Euxine ſea, have their fountains here. The chief towns are, Cæſarea, or Mazaca, now Caiſar, which was the capital city when Cappadocia was under the dominion of the Romans. It ſtands on a rock a little diſtance from the river Melus, and is ſtill a fair city, and indifferently well peopled. 2. Maroſch, or Marat, antiently Metita, ſituate near the banks of the river Euphrates, in the ſouth-eaſt part of this province, is a large town, and the ſeat of the Beglerbeg, or Viceroy. 3. Nyſſa, which lyes on the confines of Armenia. Cappadocia is a country of a very large extent, and abounded formerly in the greateſt plenty of corn, wine, and fruits, of which it is not deſtitute at this day; but as the Turks manure no more land than they want for their own private uſe, and tranſport nothing abroad, it cannot be expected that the face of the country ſhould appear ſo beautiful, or the ſame plenty of all things ſhould be found here as formerly. There is a large ridge of hills called Anti Taurus, which run quite croſs the country, wherein are mines of ſilver, copper, iron, and alum: there are a good breed of horſes alſo in this country; and plenty of ſheep, oxen, buffaloes, wild-fowl, game, and veniſon.

3. Amaſia.

The next grand ſubdiviſion of Natolia, is Amaſia, containing Pontus Galaticus, Pontus Polemoniac, and Pontus Cappadocius.

Pontus Galaticus.

Pontus Galaticus is bounded by the Euxine ſea on the north, by the river Thermodon towards the eaſt, and by Galatia on the weſt. The chief towns are, 1. Amaſia, or Amnaſan, ſituate among the mountains, about a league from the banks of the river Iris, from whence they receive their water by an aqueduct cut through a rock as hard as marble: the river runs from Tocat hither, and falls into the Euxine ſea, about four days journey to the northward of Amaſia. The city is large, and has a fine proſpect over a plain which lyes to the ſouth of it; but the ſight is bounded on every ſide by the mountains. Sometimes the Beglerbeg, or Viceroy, of the province reſides here. It is not, however, a place of any great trade, nor are the buildings good. It was antiently the ſeat of the Kings of Cappadocia, and there are the ruins of very magnificent ſtructures to be ſeen about it. It is an Archbiſhoprick, and ſaid to be the place of STRABO the geographer's nativity. 2. Themiſcyra, now Lerio, ſituate on the Euxine ſea, about ſixty miles to the north-eaſt of Amaſia. 3. Comana, called Pontica to diſtinguiſh it, ſtands about eighty miles to the eaſtward of Amaſia; formerly a Biſhop's ſee, but now an inconſiderable place.

Pontus Polemoniac.

Pontus Polemoniac lyes to the eaſtward of Galaticus: the chief towns whereof are, Neoceſarea, now Tocat, the capital of the province, and ſeat of the Beglerbeg, or Viceroy: it is a fair city built at the foot of a very high mountain, but branching itſelf out round a rock, which liſts itſelf up almoſt in the middle of the town, on the top whereof ſtands a caſtle: the ſtreets of the town are narrow, but the houſes pretty well built for Turkey; and among the moſques of the town there is one very magnificent. The city is

Tocat city.

very

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very well inhabited with Mahometans, Armenians, Greeks, and Jews; and for fourteen or fifteen leagues about Tocat the country is inhabited chiefly by Armenian Chriſtians, moſt of them handicraft trades, particularly ſmiths, who work chiefly in copper, all manner of copper veſſels being made here, and ſent to Conſtantinople and Egypt. Another great manufacture is Turkey leather, made of goat-skins. The wine of Tocat is excellent, and they have all manner of fruits almoſt in great plenty: they have better accommodations for merchants and travellers, in their caravanſeras here, than in moſt towns of Turkey: it is one of the greateſt thorough-fares of the eaſt; for here the caravans lodge which come from Perſia, Diarbeck, Bagdat, Conſtantinople, Smyrna, Synopus, &c. There runs a fine river about a quarter of a league from the city, over which there is built a beautiful ſtone bridge: this river waters a fruitful plain to the northward of Tocat, being three or four days journey long, and two or three broad. There is no part of Aſia where ſaffron grows in that plenty it does here, which is as profitable a commodity as can be carried to the Eaſt-Indies, the natives uſing vaſt quantities of it in their food, as well as upon other occaſions. When the caravans ſet out either way from Tocat, the toll-gatherer numbers all the camels and horſes as they paſs by, and takes for every camel loaden half a rix dollar, and for every horſe half as much; but nothing for thoſe beaſts which carry paſſengers or proviſions. But theſe duties are arbitrary, and raiſed or leſſened as the Baſſa pleaſes, or the exigencies of the government require; ſo that there may have been great alterations ſince we received this account. 2. Sebaſtia, now Suvas, about two days journey to the ſouthward of Tocat, where the Beglerbeg reſides almoſt as much as he does at Tocat. The Amazons are ſuppoſed to have inhabited the country hereabouts.

Pontus Cappadocius.

To the eaſtward of Pontus Polemoniac lyes Pontus Cappadocius, extending to the frontiers of Georgia, and bounded by the Euxine ſea on the north, and Armenia Minor on the ſouth. The

Trabiſond city.

chief towns whereof are, 1. Trabiſond, or Tarrabaſſan, ſituate in 42 degrees of north latitude, at the foot of a little ſteep hill, by the ſea ſide: the walls are ſuppoſed to ſtand upon the antient foundations, becauſe the town is ſtill an oblong ſquare, in the form of a table, but they are built with the ruins of antient buildings, as appears by the inſcriptions on old pieces of marble ſet in ſeveral parts of them. The town is large but not populous: there being more groves and gardens in it than houſes, which are pretty well built, having one ſtory only. The caſtle is large, and ſituated upon a flat rock, through which the ditches are cut; but the fortifications are neglected, as in other towns. By an inſcription on the gate of this caſtle it appears that the Emperor JUSTINIAN repaired the buildings of the city. The port is to the eaſtward of the city; and ſo commodious, formerly, that it occaſioned a very great trade, but is now almoſt deſtroyed, and cannot be entered by veſſels larger than the Turkiſh ſaiques. The ſuburbs, which are much larger than the city, are inhabited chiefly by Armenians and Greeks, who have the free exerciſe of their religion here, and it is an Archbiſhop's ſee. Neither the hills or valleys about the town are ſo fruitful as in other parts of Natolia, which is the reaſon that proviſions are neither ſo good, nor ſo cheap, as they are in other places: fleſh is to be found in their markets but ſome few months in the year, and fiſh is ſtill ſcarcer: their wine is indifferent, oil is the beſt thing in the kind that the country produces, and they keep both their oil and wine in earthen jars.

The Roman and Greek Emperors were maſters of Trabiſond in their turns. ALEXIS COMMINES, ſirnamed the Great, uſurped the ſovereignty of it in the year 1209, with the title of Duke; and, it is ſaid, his ſucceſſor JOHN COMMINES was the firſt who permitted the Greeks to ſtyle him Emperor of Trabiſond; and this title its Princes enjoyed till 1460, when MAHOMET II. reduced the unfortunate DAVID COMMINES, and carried him priſoner to Conſtantinople, with all his family; where DAVID was ſometime afterwards put to death; and the principality has ever ſince been under the dominion of the Turks, who have a Viceroy here. There are three other towns mentioned by geographers in this province, ſituated to the weſtward of Trabiſond, on the coaſt of the Euxine ſea, namely Pharnacia, Iſchopolis, and Ceraſus; but I do not find they have any thing which render them worth a deſcription.

4. Natolia Propria.

The laſt, and much the largeſt ſubdiviſion of Natolia, or Aſia Minor, is called Natolia Proper, and contains many fine provinces within it, viz. 1. Pontus, and Paphlagonia. 2. Galatia. 3. Phrygia Major. 4. Lydia, or Mœonia. 5. Doris. 6. Caria. 7. Ionia. 8. Æolis. 9. Myſia and Phrygia. And 10. Bithynia.

Pontus and Paphlagonia are bounded by the Euxine ſea on the north, Cappadocia on the eaſt, Galatia on the ſouth, and Bithynia on the weſt: the name of Pontus extended formerly to all the coaſt of the Euxine ſea, then called Mare Ponticum. This, which we treat of with Paphlagonia, is but a ſmall part of it: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Heraclea Ponti, now Pendera-chi, a ſea-port in the north-weſt part of this country. 2. Amaſtris, now Semaſtro, alſo a ſea port, ſituate at the mouth of the river Partheonius. 3. Claudiopolis or Bithynium, now Caſtro-

mena,

mena, an inland town. In that part of this province which goes under the name of Paphlagonia, are, 4. Teuthrania, now Tripoli, a port-town ſituate at the bottom of a ſmall bay. 5. Sinope, or Sinabe, is a large town in the ſouth-eaſt part of Paphlagonia, and ſtands upon the iſthmus of a peninſula, about ſix miles in circumference, having a harbour on each ſide the iſthmus. MITHRIDATES King of Pontus made it antiently the capital of his dominions. LUCULLUS firſt added it to the Roman conqueſts; all the ground of the peninſula is thrown into pleaſant fields and gardens. There is a double wall about it at preſent, with triangular and pentagonal towers. The caſtle runs to ruin, and has but a ſmall garriſon in it, the Turks having no enemy to fear on this ſide. The town is inhabited only by Turks; the Greeks and Jews being obliged to live without the walls in the ſuburbs. There are pieces of marble pillars interſperſed with the other ſtones in the walls; and in the Turkiſh burying place are ſeen a prodigious quantity of pedeſtals, baſes, chapiters, &c. which the Turks have carried thither from the noble ruins about this city, to erect and adorn their tombs. The country about Sinope produces good oil and wine as well corn. When the French and Venetians made themſelves maſters of Conſtantinople, Sinope fell under the power of the Commines, and was one of the chief cities of the empire of Trebiſond; and afterwards became a principality independent of it, till it fell under the dominion of the Turks, in the fifteenth century. In this city was born that famous cynick philoſopher DIOGENES.

Galatia is bounded by Paphlagonia on the north, by Cappadocia on the eaſt, by Pamphylia on the ſouth, and Phrygia on the weſt: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Peſſinus, ſituate on the river Sangarus, remarkable in poetick ſtory for the Goddeſs CYBELE, who was ſuppoſed to reſide here. 2. Therma, on the ſame river, famous for its hot baths. 3. Ancyra, now Angouri, ſituate on the river Melus; near which place POMPEY obtained a ſignal victory over MITHRIDATES: and here alſo TAMERLANE defeated BAJAZET. It is at this day one of the beſt cities of Natolia, and every where diſcovers marks of its antient magnificence. The ſtreets are full of old marble pillars, among which there is a ſpecies of reddiſh porphyry, grained with white, and ſome pieces of red and white jaſper are found here: and though the houſes of the city are for the moſt part built with clay, we frequently find noble pieces of marble employed in the buildings. The walls of the city are low; but theſe alſo are compoſed of pieces of fine pillars, capitals, baſes, and architraves, which they have collected out of the antient ruins, and mingled with the maſonry; but they are moſt frequently found in the towers and gates.

The caſtle of Angouri has a triple wall, compoſed of large pieces of white marble, and a ſtone much like porphyry, and there is upon one of the ſtones the following inſcription, 'Domino 'totius orbis JULIANO AUGUSTO ex oceano 'Britanico vis per barbaras gentes ſtrage reſiſten-'tium patefactis' —— The reſt not legible, but ſuppoſed to be made when JULIAN the Apoſtate was at Ancyra. There are abundance of other inſcriptions, for which I refer the curious reader to TOURNEFORT's voyages.

It is computed that there are in Angouri about forty thouſand Mahometans, four or five thouſand Armenians, and a thouſand Greeks. The Armenians have ſeven churches in the place, and the Greeks two. This city ſtands about five days journey ſouth of the Black ſea; and the caravans uſually make ten days journey from hence to Pruſa, and twenty to Smyrna; but, one day with another, I do not ſuppoſe the caravans, where the beaſts are heavy laden, travel twenty miles a day.

In the country about Angouri are ſaid to be the fineſt breed of goats in the world: they are of a pure white, and their hair, which is as fine as ſilk, is curled, and eight or nine inches long, which is worked up into the fineſt ſtuffs and camlets. This is the great manufacture of the country, and makes Angouri a place of good trade: but theſe kind of goats are not to be met with above four or five days journey from this city; if they are carried farther the breed degenerates.

Phrygia Major.

Phrygia Major, now Germian, is an inland province, bounded by Bithynia on the north, by Galatia on the eaſt, Pamphylia on the ſouth, and Myſia on the weſt: a fruitful and pleaſant country formerly, but now in a great meaſure uncultivated, like the other Aſiatick provinces. The rivers Sangarius, Hermus, Meander, and Marcius, have all their ſources here. The chief towns are, 1. Cotæum, now Chintaia, the ſeat of the Beglerbeg, or Viceroy, of Natolia, once the ſeat of the Turkiſh Emperors, before the taking of Conſtantinople, and ſtill a conſiderable town. 2. Gordium, the ſeat of GORDIUS, King of Phrygia, who is reported to have tied that famous knot in APOLLO's temple of which it was predicted, that the perſon who untied it ſhould be Emperor of the world; whereupon ALEXANDER, finding a great deal of difficulty in looſing it, cut the knot, it is ſaid, having a ſtrong faith that he was the perſon deſtined to be the Lord of the globe. 3. Apamia, ſeated near the conflux of the Meander with the Marcius, formerly a place of good trade, but now upon the decline. 4. Coloſs, now Chonoſs, ſituate on the ſouth ſide

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of the Meander, being the city to which Saint PAUL wrote his epiſtle, which is part of the canon. 5. Hieropolis, now Bamboukale, ſeated on the frontiers of Lydia, famous at preſent only for its noble ruins, and a hot ſpring which riſes here. 6. Prymneſia, ſituate near the head of the river Sangarus. And 7. Tiberiopolis, near the mountain Sipilus, of which I do not find any thing remarkable.

Lydia and Myſia.

Lydia, or Mœonia, bounded by Phrygia Major on the eaſt, Caria on the ſouth, by Æolis and Myſia on the weſt. It was a fruitful country, being well watered by ſome conſiderable rivers, particularly the Caicus, Hermus, Caiſtratus, and Pactolus, which run through it from eaſt to weſt. Of this country the wealthy CROESUS formerly was Sovereign. The chief towns are, 1. Sardis, antiently the capital city, but now a poor village on the river Pactolus, about ſeventy miles to the eaſtward of Smyrna. It was a Biſhop's ſee, and one of the ſeven churches of Aſia, demoliſhed by an earthquake, and there are ſtill ſome noble ruins to be ſeen where the city ſtood. 2. Philadelphia, or Alachſheyer, the ſeat of the Metropolitan, and another of the ſeven churches. It is ſituate in a fruitful plain, on the north ſide of the mountain Molus, but fallen much from its primitive grandeur: however, ſome travellers relate, it ſtill contains two thouſand Chriſtian inhabitants, who have four churches in the place. 3. Thyatira, a Biſhop's ſee, and another of the ſeven churches, now called Akhiſar, is ſituate about thirty miles to the northweſt of Philadelphia, near the ſouth bank of the river Hemus, where are ſeen the ruins of antient marble ſtructures, but the preſent buildings have no better than clay walls. It is however ſaid to be a place of ſome trade for corn and cotton. 4. Magneſia, now Guſethiſar, ſituate on the river Meander, about fifty miles ſouth of Sardis, was antiently a conſiderable city, as appears by its ruins, and is ſtill a pretty large walled town, trading to Smyrna with cotton-yarn. 5. Laodicea, or Eskihiſar, ſituate on the eaſtern boundaries of this province, and has been reckoned part of Phrygia. It was antiently one of the ſeven churches, and a very large city, as appears by the ruins; among which are three theatres of white marble, almoſt entire, and a ſtately circus; but the place is perfectly uninhabited at preſent.

Caria and Doris.

Caria and Doris are uſually thrown together, and now called Adinelli, being bounded by the ſea on the ſouth and weſt, and by the river Meander on the north. The chief towns in Caria Proper are, 1. Miletus, now Palatſchia, ſituate on the ſouth ſide of the river Meander, near the ſea. It was antiently a large city, and had a magnificent temple dedicated to APOLLO, once the ſeat of the oracle. It was alſo famous for being the place of THALES's nativity. It is now only an inconſiderable village, conſiſting of ſhepherds cots, though the ruins of the antient city are very large. Near this place is the mountain Latmus, where the poets feign the moon made her viſits to ENDYMION, with whom ſhe was enamoured. 2. Heraclea ad Latmum, ſtanding at the foot of the ſaid mountain. Alſo Borgylia, Mylaſſa, Stratonice, and Alinda, are within the limits of Caria; but I do not find they are at this day worth the deſcription. In Doris, which is the ſouthern part of Caria, the chief towns are, 1. Myndus, a ſea-port, ſituate on a ſmall bay, called Iaſicus Sinus, and is the ſeat of a Turkiſh Baſſa, or Sangiack. 2. Halicarnaſſus, once ſituate to the ſouthward of Myndus, once the capital of Caria, but now a heap of ruins, famous heretofore for the tomb built by Queen ARTEMISIA, in honour of her husband MAUSOLUS, being ſo noble a ſtructure that it was eſteemed one of the wonders of the world. And in this city thoſe two celebrated hiſtorians HERODOTUS and DYONISIUS were born. Ceramus, Cyndus, and Creſſa on this coaſt, were once good towns, and famous for their harbours, but have now nothing that renders them remarkable.

Æolis and Ionia are alſo uſually laid together: this is a long tract of country, ſtretching from north to ſouth, and bounded on the weſt by the Egean ſea, or Archipelago. In Æolis the chief towns are, 1. Elea, ſituate at the mouth of the river Caicus, and the port town to Pergamus, the place of ZENO's nativity. 2. Myrina, called afterwards Sebaſtiopolis. 3. Cuma, antiently the capital of Æolis, and gave name to one of the Sybils. 4. Phocea, ſituate a little more to the ſouthward, on the ſame coaſt. Theſe towns all of them lye over-againſt the iſland of Lesbos.

Ionia lyes to the ſouthward of Æolis, the chief towns are, 1. Smyrna, or Iſmir, ſituate in thirty-eight degrees odd minutes, north latitude. About eight days journey from Conſtantinople, at the bottom of a large bay in the Egean ſea, over-againſt the iſland of Scio, the town runs above half a mile along the ſhore, from whence it riſes gradually on the ſide of a hill, facing the ſea. The houſes of the Conſuls, and moſt of the merchants, are waſhed on one ſide by the ſea, and form a ſtreet, called the Frank-ſtreet, being inhabited entirely by European Chriſtians. The port of Smyrna is one of the fineſt in the Levant, and capable of containing the largeſt fleet of ſhips, and there are ſeldom leſs than an hundred ſhips of ſeveral nations in it. The circumference of the preſent city is about four miles, and pretty near the form of a triangle, but the ſide next the mountain is much longer than the other

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other two. The houſes have but very little beauty in them, being built low, and for the moſt part with clay walls, ſince the laſt deſtruction of the city by an earthquake, which levelled the greateſt part of it; but the hans, or caravanſeras, and ſome other of their publick buildings, have an air of magnificence. The ſtreets are wide, and almoſt one continued bazar, or fair, where all kinds of merchandize of Europe and Aſia almoſt is expoſed to ſale, with other proviſions in great plenty, but not ſo cheap as in ſome other parts of Turkey, on account of the populouſneſs of the place, and the great reſort of foreigners hither. Beſides the Turks, who have the government, and are much the moſt numerous in this city, there are ſome thouſands of Greeks, Jews, and Armenians, and ſome hundreds of European Chriſtians. The houſes of the Conſuls of England, Holland, and France, ſtand near the ſhore, and are handſome buildings. There are about ſeventeen moſques, two churches belonging to the Greeks, and one to the Armenians, and five Jewiſh ſynagogues, in the place. The Papiſts have three convents, one of the Jeſuits, another of the Franciſcans, and a third of Recollets; and there is one of the Fathers Della Terra Santa. Here reſides an Archbiſhop of the Greek church, and a Latin Biſhop alſo, who has a ſtipend from Rome, with the ſtyle of Biſhop of Smyrna, in partibus infidelium, and the Engliſh and Dutch factories have each of them their chaplain. This was another of the ſeven churches.

A caſtle ſtands at the entrance into the port of Smyrna, which commands all ſhipping which goes in or out. There is alſo an old ruinous caſtle in the upper part of the city, near a mile in circumference, built, according to tradition, by the Empreſs HELEN, and near it an antient ſtructure, ſaid to be the remains of a palace where the Greek council was held, when Smyrna was the metropolis of the Leſſer Aſia. They ſhew alſo the ruins of an amphitheatre, where, it is ſaid, St. POLYCARP, the firſt Biſhop, fought with lions. The walks about the town are extremely pleaſant, eſpecially on the weſt ſide of the Frank-ſtreet, where there are ſeveral little groves of lemon and orange trees, which being always clothed with leaves, bloſſoms, and fruit, regale at the ſame time more ſenſes than one: and through theſe gardens runs the river Melus, on the banks whereof they have a tradition that HOMER was born; though this is an honour contended for by Rhodes, Scio, Athens, and ſeveral other places. The vines which cover the little hills about Smyrna, afford a very delightful proſpect, as well as plenty of grapes, of which a good ſort of wine is made: and theſe hills are agreeably intermixed with fertile plains, and little foreſts of olives, and other fruit-trees, and pleaſure houſes diſperſed in every part of them, and hither the Franks uſually retire during the ſummer. But the exceſſive heats, the unhealthfulneſs of the ſituation, and above all, the frequent earthquakes, from which they are ſcarce ever free two years together, and have been felt ſome years forty days ſucceſſively, abate much of the pleaſure that might otherwiſe be taken here. In June 1688 there happened a very dreadful earthquake, which immediately overturned great part of the houſes, and the rock opening where the caſtle ſtood, ſwallowed it up, no leſs than five thouſand perſons periſhing in the place; whereupon the merchants for ſome time retired to the iſland of Scio: but the town is now built and inhabited again, in the manner above deſcribed.

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There is great plenty of game and wild fowl in the neighbourhood of Smyrna; particularly deer and wild hogs; hunting and ſhooting therefore are diverſions which the Franks frequently take, and it is ſaid they are allowed all imaginable liberties in this city, clothing themſelves after the European modes, which if a perſon ſhould do in ſome other parts of Turkey, he would be in danger of being mobbed, or perhaps of the animadverſion of the magiſtrate. Nor do their ſeas abound leſs with a variety of good fiſh, than the country with game. As to the trade of Smyrna, I ſhall ſpeak of it more particularly when I come to the head of trade.

2. Clazomene is a maritime town in the peninſula, about twenty-eight miles ſouth-weſt from Smyrna, and now called Urla. It was in the time of the Romans a conſiderable city; and there are antient medals of this city, with AUGUSTUS on one ſide and the Empreſs LIVIA on the reverſe: but this place is now an inconſiderable village.

3. Colophon, another city which claims the honour of HOMER's birth, is ſituate about thirty miles ſouth of Smyrna.

4. Epheſus, ſituate fifty miles ſouth of Smyrna, near the mouth of the river Caiſtrus, now a poor village of twenty or thirty houſes. It was pleaſantly ſeated near a fine haven, and under the Romans was the metropolis of Aſia. It was antiently famous for the temple of DIANA, eſteemed one of the wonders of the world. This ſtructure, it is ſaid, was 425 foot long and 220 broad, ſupported by 127 marble pillars 70 foot in height, deſtroyed by EROSTRATUS, to eternalize his name, who ſet it on fire the ſame night ALEXANDER the Great was born. St. TIMOTHY was the firſt Biſhop of this city: and Saint PAUL honoured them with an epiſtle, which is part of our canon; and the third general council was held here. There are ſtill the veſtigia of a Roman theatre, circus and aqueduct; and heaps of ſtately ruins, which ſome ſuppoſe to be the re-

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remains of DIANA's temple; for there was a ſecond temple, it ſeems, built to the honour of that Goddeſs, after the deſtruction of the firſt, not at all inferior to the former in magnificence.

Myſia and Phrygia.

Myſia and Phrygia Minor are bounded by the ſea of Marmora, or the Propontis on the north, by Bithynia and Phrygia Major towards the eaſt, by Lydia on the ſouth, and the Egean ſea or Archipelago on the weſt. The principal river in this province, is that which antiently went by the name of Granicus, famous for the battle fought upon the banks of it, between ALEXANDER and DARIUS. It riſes in the mountains of this country, and after a ſhort courſe of fifty or threeſcore miles, running from ſouth to north, falls into the ſea of Marmora; mount Ida is alſo ſituated in this province, where the poets feign PARIS gave judgment between the Goddeſſes. The chief towns are, 1. Cyzicus, or Spiga, the metropolis of the conſular Helleſpont in the time of the Romans, when it was a beautiful city; but being overturned by an earthquake, and the ſtones made uſe of in the buildings of Conſtantinople, it was never re-edified, but remains a poor town on the ſouth coaſt of the Propontis, about ſixty miles weſt of Nice. 2. Lampſacus, ſeated on the Propontis. 3. Abidus, or Avido, a fortreſs oppoſite to Seſtus, at the mouth of the Helieſpont, celebrated by the poets for the loves of HERO and LEANDER, as well as for the obſtinate reſiſtance this place made to PHILIP of Macedon, and the inhabitants deſtroying themſelves when they could no longer defend the place. It is now the ſouthern caſtle of the Dardanels, ſo named from Dardanus, a little town which lyes to the ſouthward of it. 4. Troy, or Ilium, ſituate to the ſouthward of Abidus, not far from the ſea, over-againſt the iſland of Tenedos, rendred famous by HOMER and VIRGIL, for the ten years ſiege it is ſaid to have ſuſtained; and the noble ruins that are ſtill diſcovered hereabouts, incline ſome to think that there was a foundation for the poets genius to work upon. 5. Troas Alexandria, ſeated to the ſouthward of Troy. Once the metropolis of the province, but now a ruinous place. 6. Aſſos, mentioned Acts xx. ſtands about ten miles ſouth of Troas; and about thirty miles to the ſouth-eaſt lyes, 7. Pitana; twenty miles from whence, 8. Pergamus is ſituated, in a plain, near the banks of the river Caicus. This was another of the ſeven churches, and the place of GALEN's nativity. Parchment and tapeſtry are ſaid to be firſt invented here. It was antiently a noble city, but now a very indifferent town, having but one moſque and a Chriſtian church.

Bithynia.

Bithynia, now Beeſangil, is ſeparated from Europe only by the narrow ſtreight of Conſtantinople, antiently called the Thracian Boſphorus, and is ſo near that metropolis, that Scutari, which ſtands on the Aſian ſide, is reckoned but a ſuburb to it. The chief towns were, 1. Chalcedon, which ſtood two miles from the place where Scutari now ſtands. It was once a flouriſhing city, and the fourth general council was held in it, but it is now only a poor village. 2. Nicomedia, or Iſmigimid, ſituate at the bottom of a bay eighty miles to the ſouthward of Chalcedon. It was once reckoned the capital of Bithynia, and is ſtill a populous trading town, and pleaſantly ſituated in a fruitful country. Their trade conſiſts chiefly in ſilk, cotton, and earthen, and glaſs ware; and moſt of the ſhipping of Conſtantinople is built here. It took its name from Nicomedes, King of Bithynia, who enlarged it. The ruins ſhew, ſays MOTRAYE, that this city was once more ſpacious than Conſtantinople or London. It is at preſent very well peopled by Chriſtians, Turks, and Jews. The Turks have twenty moſques, the Chriſtians ſome poor churches, and the Jews two ſynagogues in the place. 3. Nice or Iſnich, ſituate on the lake of Acſu, or Aſcanea, to the ſouth-eaſt of Nicomedia: antiently a noble city: here CONSTANTINE aſſembled the firſt general council againſt the Arian hereſy: the Greek Emperors alſo reſided here when Conſtantinople was taken by the Latins. The preſent city is large and pretty well peopled, and there are ſtill the remains of ſome magnificent ſtructures. 4. Lybuſſa, ſituate between Chalcedon and Nicomedia: memorable for the death of HANIBAL, who choſe to be his own executioner rather than be delivered up to his enemies, by the inhoſpitable King of Nicomedia. 5. Pruſa, or Brouſſa, at preſent the capital of Bithynia, as it was of the Ottoman empire before the taking of Conſtantinople; ſtands about fourſcore or an hundred miles to the ſouthward of Conſtantinople, ſituated upon ſeveral little hills at the foot of mount Olympus, from which it is not more than two or three leagues diſtant. The city is about half a league in length, and ſtill ſurrounded by the antient wall which it had when it was in the poſſeſſion of the Chriſtians, but broken down in many places: it is pretty well peopled by Turks, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. There are in it above thirty moſques, which may be reckoned elegant buildings, and its caravanſera's are very magnificent, covered with lead: nor is the biſiſtin, or exchange, inferior to the beſt in Conſtantinople. The city ſtands upon the edge of a fine large plain, full of mulberry-trees, and other fruit-trees; and is watered by ſo many ſprings which deſcend from mount Olympus, that every houſe almoſt hath its fountain: the moſt conſiderable rivulet riſes from a ſpring, from whence there iſſues a ſtream as big as a man's body, conveyed to the town in a marble channel, and diſperſed

to

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PART of POLAND
HUNGARY
TRANSIL VANIA
MOLDAVIA
WALLACHIA
SLAVONIA
CROATIA
BOSNIA
SERVIA
BULGARIA
ROMANIA
TURKY in EUROPE
MACEDONIA
ACHAIA
ALBANIA
GREECE
VOLINIA
PODOLIA
PART OF MOSCOVY
LITTLE TARTARY
BUDZIAK TARTARY
DON COSSACKS
CIRCASSI TARTARY
KOEBAN
MEOTIS
CRIM
Precop
Asof
Astracan
Belgorod
Bessa Rabia
Danube River
BLACK SEA
Ste of Caffa
MEGRELIA
Abcassia
IMERETA
GURIEL
GEORGIA
DAGESTAN
Derbent or Iron Gate a considerabel Pass
CASPIAN SEA
Trapesond
Amasera
Amasia
Tocat
TURKY
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ARMENIA
Erzerum
Gangea
Erivan
CHIRWAN
Baku
PART OF PERSIA
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ADIRBEITZAN
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Ardebil
Maraga
Miana
Roumi Lake
Sultanea
Ebber
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Natolia
CARMANIA
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Diarbeck
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Gran R.
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Inn R.
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Essek
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Belgrade
Semlin
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Philippopoli
Adrianople
Constantinople
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Salonika
Larissa
Trikala
Zeitun
Lepanto
Corinth
Athens
Negropont
Smyrna
Ephesus
Sardis ru
Philadelphia ru
Laodicea ru
Pergamos
Troy
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Mytilene
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Rhodes
Candia
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Famagusta
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Aleppo
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Scandiroon
Tripoli
Barut
Sidon
Damascus now Schan.
Jerusalem
Gaza
Cairo

The Whole
TURKISH EMPIRE,
With the Countries and Territories bordering upon it Agreable to Modern History

LEVANT

PART OF AFRICA

BARCA
To EGYPT

DESART OF BARCA

EGYPT

HOLY LAND

SYRIA

DIARBECK

IRACA

ARABIA DESERTA

ARABIA

ARABICK

THE RED SEA

Gulf of Sidra

Gulf of Persia

CYPRUS ISL.

CANDIA ISL.

Gulf of Satalia

Barren Desart

Desart

Tropick of Cancer

Alexandria

Cairo

Damascus now Schan.

Alcpo

Nicosia

Candia

Rhodes

Bagdad

Medina

Mecca

Gidda or Sidon

Suez

Jerusalem

Babylon

Ruins of Babil

Mt. Sinai

Mt. Horeb

Mt. Meiis

Lake Mœris

Pyramids

Village of the Mummies

Ker Lake

Buchaira Lake

Bahr el Mohila

Red Sea

Triangle I.

Damiata

Rosetta, Fanous, Fort Hot and Cold Baths

Tower of Alcem: Lago Sirio

Pharos

Castle

Fontain of Moses

Mansur Bulbeyd

Grand Cairo

Desart

Mala

Said

Munsia

Belliano

Dendera

Girgi

Tchmin

Dacati

Assouan

Isle Dilac

Cataracts made by ye Nile in this place

Meks

Elgoar

Maihan

Tamaima

Algueciet

Batnasa

Desart

Zala

Garam

Berdoa

Zaara

Sim

Tolometa

Cairoan

Bonandria

Doora

I. Ananea

C. Ruzato

C. Misurat

Salinas

C. Sorta

Laconda

Mumi

Tabia

Salinas

C. Rosatim

Bomba I.

Port Imbocho

Port Salomiffa

C. Lucho

Lucho

Patriarcha

P. Ramadan

P. Albion

C. Burazo

Derota

Buchaira

Aboukir

Rosetta

Cattle

Habra

Maan C.

Dead Sea

Baruth

Sidon

Tyre

Aera re Nazaruth

Jaffa

Gaza

Tamascus

Palmira ru

Balbec

Hamma

Tripoli

Tortosa

Marra

Aleppo

Salt Lake

Antiochia

Scanderoon Alexandret

Gulf of Satalia

Adana

Tarsus

Tarsa

Candelo Antiochia

Tripoli

Patera

Madaria

Satalia

Scarpanto

Caso

C. Sidera

C. St. Pisano

Famagusta

Calina

C. de la Gata

C. St. John

Gozo

Scardi

Brosa

Cana

Suda

Ova

Serigo

C. Caglia

Vitulo

Navarino

C. Sapienza

Arcadia

Anguio

C. St. Mela

Tarauro

Cerigo

Cerigotto

Stampalia

Nio

Argentiera

Metasso

Salamis

Lepanto

Corinth

Sicyon

Patras

Zante

Cephalonia

Ithaca

Corfu

Otranto

Leuca

Malta

Tripoli

Tamorasto

Oifa

Bir

Harran

Rabain

Racca

Raban

Nisibin

Mosul

Nineve

Amadia

Curdistan

Merdin

Tigaran

Diarbeck

Kerkisia

Rabba

Gabbar

Anbar

Gidida

Sukara

Ibar

Palmira

Anna

Baruth

Sidon

Tyre

Aera re Nazaruth

Jaffa

Ierusalem

Gaza

Dead Sea

Bahr el Hamra

Bahr el Kolzum

Fontain of Moses

Mansur Bulbeyd

Grand Cairo

Suez

Mt. Horeb

Mt. Sinai

Corondel Wells

Moses

Pharos

Castle

Habra

Maan C.

Riche

Bahr el Hamra

Bahr el Kolzum

Red Sea

Madian

Moubelen

Tabouc

Zaafaran C.

Zaafaran

Zaafaran C.

Al Mehadan C.

Al Aala

THAMMUD

Hagiar

Aouz

Medina

Char

Alfe re

Hagefa

Vadifatima

Tajef

Mecca

Gidda or Sidon

Aquaitha

Alfo or Gio

Tebala

Talabia

Good Water Well

Faid

Chaibar

TER

NAGED

IAMAMA

Tuna

Iamam

Falam

Dama

Tangia

Seryfe

Giddila

Patha

Desart

Loba

Maran

Almanarel

Porca

Olbot

Cariathain

Schouster

Ahwaz

Ghulpaigan

Courmaba

Hamadan

Arnova

Medik

Territ

Hadra

Nisibin

Mosul

Nineve

Amadia

Schirazur

Irbil

Pinjar

Tigaran

Merdin

Diarbeck

Kerkisia

Rabba

Bagdad

Anna

Ibar

Sukara

Tripoli

Hamma

Tortosa

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Salt Lake

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Cerigotto

Stampalia

Nio

Argentiera

Metasso

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Lepanto

Corinth

Sicyon

Patras

Zante

Cephalonia

Ithaca

Corfu

Otranto

Leuca

Malta

Tripoli

Rhodes

Rhodes

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to ever part of it. The ſilk of the adjacent country is the beſt in Turkey; and here they have the beſt workmen, who imitate the tapeſtry of France and Italy. The town is well paved and neat, eſpecially the bazars or market-places; and there is plenty of good wine, and all manner of proviſions.

The Grand Seignior's palace ſtands on a high rock encloſed with a double wall, but in a ruinous condition: and here they ſhew the ſepulchres of the firſt Turkiſh Emperors and their Sultana's in little chapels covered with domes. The baths of Calipſa are little more than a mile diſtant from the city: the largeſt has four domes covered with lead, in which there are round lights: all the rooms are paved and cruſted with marble on the inſide: the firſt is a large room with a fine fountain of cold water in the middle of it, and round the wall a broad bench or ſofa two foot high, and covered with mats, where people undreſs themſelves: on the right hand are the rooms where they bathe, covered with domes pierced through as the other are to let out the ſteam and let in the light: on the left are rooms for thoſe to lye in who are diſpoſed to ſtay all night. In the bathing room is a deep baſon large enough to ſwim in, with ſteps on each ſide to go in as deep as one pleaſes. In the other rooms are fountains of water of ſeveral degrees of heat: the water of ſome of them is hot enough to boil an egg, and muſt be mixed with two thirds of cold to make it tolerable. People are rubbed and ſweated here by ſervants kept on purpoſe in the ſame manner they are in Perſia, and the men and women have their different times aſſigned them. Theſe baths are ſo famous for the cures they have effected, that people come an hundred miles to receive the benefit of them. Mount Olympus, in the neighbourhood of this city is of a prodigious height, the top of it barren and covered with ſnow, from whence Conſtantinople is ſupplied with it: this mountain, though an hundred miles diſtance from that metropolis, it is ſaid, may be ſeen from thence. The middle of it is planted with firs and other trees, and the valleys beneath abound with all manner of fruits, particularly grapes, apples, mulberries, melons and nuts. Fleſh, fiſh and fowl are no where more plentiful; and the fields would produce all manner of corn and grain if they were cultivated; but ſuch is the ſloth or indolence of the Turks, notwithſtanding the Leſſer Aſia be naturally one of the moſt beautiful and fertile countries of the world, that great part of it lyes waſte. The Turks indeed were originally ſhepherds, and, like the Hebrews and Arabs, minded little elſe but their flocks, driving them from one country to another as they could find paſture: tillage, as it was then, ſeems ſtill to be their averſion, even in countries where the fineſt plants and flowers grow ſpontaneouſly they take no manner of care to reduce them into order, or lay out regular gardens. There are a race of Turcomans at this day who live in tents as their anceſtors did, and ſupply the towns in Aſiatick Turkey with cattle; but neither they nor thoſe who inhabit towns apply themſelves to husbandry any farther than to provide corn for their preſent ſubſiſtence.

Baths of Calipſa.

Conclusion of the preſent ſtate of the continent of Aſia.

With Natolia I have now finiſhed The preſent ſtate of the continent of Aſia. The great ſcene of action in the firſt ages of the world, and in many reſpects at this day preferable to any other quarter of it: ſome arts and ſciences indeed have arrived to greater perfection in Europe than ever they did in Aſia: but from the noble ruins we have paſſed over, and the accounts we have received of theſe countries from antient writers, we may diſcern the Aſiaticks made no inconſiderable figure heretofore: and here we cannot but obſerve what miſerable havock falſe principles occaſion not only in the rational but the vegetable part of the creation: how many fruitful countries are now depopulated and converted into barren deſerts, and the remaining inhabitants reduced to the loweſt ebb of ignorance and brutality through the abſurd notions of thoſe who have gained the dominion of them; and ſo far even Paganiſm is preferable to Mahometiſm, that in Pagan countries we find the people more humane and obliging, their lands much better manured, induſtry encouraged, and arts and ſciences much more propagated than in thoſe which groan under the Turkiſh tyranny, particularly in China, where the Mahometans have gained but little ground. And had we no views beyond this world, it certainly concerns all nations, as they tender their temporal happineſs, to have a watchful eye upon falſe prophets, and falſe teachers; who, like MAHOMET, broach new doctrines, deſtructive of their peace and the welfare of mankind.

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Treats of the province or kingdom of Egypt.

Egypt, the name.

THE name of Egypt, according to the claſſicks, is derived from EGYPTUS, the brother of DANAUS, once Sovereign of this country. It is called Miſraim by the Hebrews and Arabs, which name, it is ſuppoſed, to have obtained from MISRAIM, the ſon of CHAM, and grandſon of NOAH: and it has alſo been known by the name of Coptus, the capital city of upper Egypt, from whence the natives were called Cophtis, as the Chriſtians of Egypt are at this day: and notwithſtanding they are not the moſt numerous, are looked upon to be the true deſcendants

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dants of the antient Egyptians. The Turks call this country El-kebit, or the over-flowed country: and a multitude of other names have been given to it; but by theſe it has been moſt generally known.

The bounds, extent and climate.

Egypt is ſituated on the north eaſt part of Africa, being bounded by the Mediterranean ſea on the north: by the Red ſea, and the Iſthmus of Suez, which divide it from Aſia, towards the eaſt: by the empire of Abyſſinia and Nubia towards the ſouth: and by the deſert of Barca towards the weſt. And extends from the twenty firſt degree of northern latitude, to the thirty firſt, and ſome odd minutes beyond; and conſequently muſt be about ſix hundred miles in length from ſouth to north; but the breadth in many places does not ſeem to be near two hundred miles.

The air and waters.

The air of this country is not healthful, the ſituation being very low; and the mud which covers the beſt part of it after the overflowing of the Nile, ſending up a noiſome vapour. The ſandy deſerts alſo, which encloſe Egypt on three ſides, render it exceſſive hot. Nor is there more than two ſprings in the whole country to refreſh the parched inhabitants; ſo that they ſeem to be under a neceſſity of building their towns on the banks of the Nile. Accordingly moſt of them ſtand near the river upon riſing ground, ſo made by art or nature: and when the river overflows, appear like ſo many iſlands, which have a communication with each other only by boats. It ſeldom rains here in the ſummer, but in the winter, modern travellers aſſure us, it rains plentifully ſometimes, eſpecially in lower Egypt; notwithſtanding it was univerſally believed formerly, that it never rained here at all. Which error, I preſume, was occaſioned by the relation of ſome travellers, who had reſided but part of the year in Egypt, and had not informed themſelves of the different ſeaſons.

Diviſion.

This country, as has been obſerved already, is uſually divided into lower, middle, and upper Egypt.

Lower Egypt.

Lower Egypt is moſt part of it contained in a triangular iſland, made by the Mediterranean ſea, and the two great branches of the Nile, which dividing it ſelf five or ſix miles below old Cairo, flows one part of it towards the north weſt, and falls into the ſea at Roſſetto, and the other branch towards the north eaſt, falling into the ſea at Damietta, the antient Peluſium: but there is a great extent of country both to the eaſtward and weſtward of this triangle, which is included under the name of lower Egypt.

Alexandria.

The chief towns of Lower Egypt are, 1. Alexandria, the only tolerable harbour belonging to Egypt. This city, called by the Turks, Scandria and Scanderick, was built or enlarged by ALEXANDER the Great, about three hundred years before our Saviour's incarnation. It is ſituate in the latitude of 30 degrees odd minutes, above an hundred miles to the northward of Cairo, and forty miles to the weſtward of the moſt weſterly branch of the river Nile, upon a promontory which runs into the Mediterranean ſea, and forms two harbours, but one of them is at preſent almoſt choaked up. The ground it ſtands upon is ſo extremely low that it can ſcarce be diſcerned by mariners, till they are juſt upon it, which was probably the occaſion of erecting that famous pharos, or high watch-tower, ſo frequently mentioned in hiſtory, for a ſea-mark. The country about Alexandria is a barren ſandy deſert, affording very little proviſion or fruits, and their water is brought them from the river Nile, near forty miles, by a noble canal, now in a great meaſure ruined, ſo that part of the year it is carried thither on the backs of camels. The old town of Alexandria ſtretched from eaſt to weſt, and was about ſeven miles in circumference, but excepting one long ſtreet, indifferently built, and the houſes which face the harbour, the reſt is nothing but a heap of ruins at this day; ſcarce any thing antient is left ſtanding, except part of the walls, which are very magnificent, having great ſquare towers at about two hundred paces diſtant from each other, and a little tower between them. In every one of the larger towers there is a ſpacious hall ſupported by an arch and great pillars of Thebaick ſtone. Over the hall are ſeveral other rooms, and on the top a platform of twenty paces ſquare. Every tower was capable of containing a garriſon of two hundred men, and had a ciſtern in it, to which the water of Nile was conveyed. The antient city of Alexandria was alſo built upon arches, ſupported by marble pillars, and under every houſe were ciſterns, to receive the waters of the Nile, which were conveyed thither by aqueducts, or the canal above-mentioned: and theſe ciſterns ſtill ſerve to receive the rain-water, and what is brought them from the Nile. Among the ruins are ſeveral fine pillars of porphyry and granate, with hieroglyphicks upon them. The gates of the town are ſtill compoſed of pieces of Thebaick ſtone, and granate; and they find ſuch plenty of marble and porphyry among the ruins, that it lyes neglected. But the fineſt piece of antiquity, which is left ſtanding, is POMPEY's pillar, about two hundred paces from the town, erected by JULIUS CÆSAR, in memory of his victory over that great man, who fled hither from the battle of Pharſalia, and was murdered on the Egyptian coaſt.

Pompey's pillar.

The body of the pillar is one entire piece of granate marble, or ſome compoſition as durable and beautiful as marble. The height of it ſeventy feet, and the circumference twenty five; with

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with a noble capital and baſe, on which are ſeveral hieroglyphicks. It is amazing, as travellers obſerve, how ſuch a prodigious ſtone could be brought thither; and as difficult to conceive with what kind of engines it was raiſed, Some imagine it was made or caſt upon the place: others are of opinion, that this and the other pillars and obelisks, were cut in Sayde, or Upper Egypt, and brought down the Nile to the ſea: but what kind of barks or carriages they muſt be which could carry ſo vaſt a bulk and weight, either by land or water, none at this day will pretend to deſcribe; and this has occaſioned it to be ſuggeſted, that the antients had an art of caſting ſtone, and of imitating, or rather excelling, the moſt beautiful pieces of natural marble, particularly the Egyptians. But this I find very much doubted by other learned gentlemen.

Among other curioſities which are ſhewn at Alexandria to travellers, is the ſtone on which, it is ſaid, St. CATHERINE was beheaded, which is no more than the piece of a round pillar about two foot high, which a good honeſt Catholick, otherwiſe a ſenſible man, aſſures us, is to this day ſtained with her blood and fat. They ſhew alſo in the church of St. MARK, now in the poſſeſſion of the Cophtis, the pulpit where St. MARK uſed to preach, and a picture of St. MICHAEL, which, according to tradition, was drawn by St. LUKE. St. MARK was the firſt Patriarch of Alexandria, and, as it is related, ſuffered martyrdom there in the year 64. and his body was repoſited in this church, it is ſaid, until the Venetian merchants tranſported it to Venice. The iſland of Pharos, on which the famous watch-tower or light-houſe ſtood, eſteemed one of the wonders of the world, was formerly ſeparated from Alexandria by a channel a mile broad, but is now joined to the continent, and in the room of the Pharos is built a caſtle called the Pharillon, which ſerves as a ſea-mark to mariners at this day.

The next conſiderable town to Alexandria, is Roſſetto, which ſtands fifty miles to the eaſtward of it; and was formerly the place of CLEOPATRA's principal reſidence, being ſeated upon the beſt branch of the river Nile, which falls into the ſea five miles below this town. There is a bar which prevents large veſſels entring the river, and is not a little hazardous for leſſer barks in ſtormy weather. The form of the city is almoſt round, being about ſix miles in circumference, and containing, as it is ſaid, near eighty thouſand inhabitants: whereas there are not above fifteen thouſand in Alexandria, according to GRELOT. Roſſetto is reckoned one of the pretticſt towns in Egypt: having a fine piazza, and ſeveral fair hans or caravanſeras; the private houſes alſo are well built for Turkey, and encompaſſed with pleaſant gardens, which makes it look more like a village than a city, eſpecially ſince it is without walls. There is a tolerable brisk trade, and plenty of all things, but they are put to very great inconveniencies for want of freſh water ſome months in the year, when the water of the river is brackiſh, being mixed with that of the ſea.

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About an hundred miles to the eaſtward of Roſſetto, and as much north-eaſt of Grand Cairo, ſtands the city of Damietta, or Peluſium, upon the moſt eaſterly branch of the river Nile, four miles diſtant from the ſea: it was antiently a conſiderable port, and the country about it affords plenty of fruits and proviſions; but the other branch of the Nile on which Roſſetto is ſituated is more frequented. Seventeen miles to the ſouthward of Damietta on the ſame branch of the Nile towards Grand Cairo, lyes the city of Manſoura, and on both branches of the Nile the villages and towns ſtand exceeding thick; ſome pretend to have counted no leſs than three hundred between Roſſetto and Grand Cairo, and aſſure us, there are not much fewer on the Damietta branch. This part of Egypt which is encloſed by the two branches of the Nile and the ſea, and antiently called Delta, from its triangular figure, is much the moſt fruitful part of Egypt, and the moſt conveniently ſituated for a foreign trade; and Alexandria, which lyes not far from the weſtern mouth of the river being the only harbour upon the coaſt, had the greateſt trade of any town in the world, when the rich merchandiſe of the eaſt was brought hither by the Red ſea, and from hence diſperſed to all the kingdoms of Europe: but upon the finding out the paſſage to India by the cape of Good Hope; this, and all the towns in lower Egypt, found a very ſenſible decay in their trade.

Damietta or Peluſium.

Middle Egypt lyes to the ſouthward of Lower Egypt; the capital city whereof is Grand Cairo, the ſeat of the Beglerbeg, or Viceroy of the whole kingdom. It is ſituated in twenty nine degrees odd minutes northern latitude, about a mile and a half diſtance from the eaſtern bank of the river Nile, being built upon a plain at the foot of a mountain of a triangular form, and about ten miles in compaſs. The private houſes are built of ill burnt bricks, or clay, and the ſtreets narrow: it muſt be very populous, there being frequently thirty or forty people in a very little houſe: but thoſe travellers, who talk of its containing five millions of inhabitants, are certainly very much miſtaken in their calculations, and ſhould they include Old Cairo, Bulack, and other towns which are at a diſtance from the city, as ſome of them do, the inhabitants muſt nevertheleſs fall very ſhort of five millions; eſpecially if we conſider the unhealthfulneſs of the place, and the numbers the plague ſweeps away once in

Middle Egypt.

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in ſeven years. The houſes have flat terraſſed roofs, and though they have no very grand appearance on the outſide, they are many of them beautiful enough within: thoſe of the quality are built about large courts or ſquares; their halls paved with marble, and covered with handſome domes, ſometimes open at the top to let the air in; the walls and roofs of the principal apartments ſhine with gold and azure, and the floors are laid with rich carpets.

Their moſques are ſome of them very magnificent, but many of them poor buildings ſcarce ten paces ſquare; however, their numbers ſeem to make amends for their dimenſions, for it is reported that there are no leſs than twenty five thouſand of them in Cairo; but I am apt to think there muſt be the miſtake of a figure in this account, for five and twenty hundred temples would be abundantly ſufficient for a city which is not more than ten miles in circumference, eſpecially where the women never enter them any more than the Jews and Chriſtians, who are no inconſiderable part of the inhabitants.

The caſtle ſtands on the top of the hill on the ſouth ſide of the city, of which it has a noble proſpect. It is two or three miles in circumference, and looks like another city: there are the remains of ſome ſtately buildings and marble pillars of a prodigious ſize in it; the walls are high and thick, and ſtrengthened with towers after the antient way of fortification; and there are ſeveral ſubterraneous vaults, or paſſages leading to diſtant towns, as is given out; but what our travellers ſeem to be moſt taken with here, is a deep well, which has obtained the name of JOSEPH's well, being in the higheſt part of the caſtle, two hundred and eighty two foot deep; this and one more being all the ſprings that are to be found in the kingdom of Egypt. They ſhew alſo the ruins of a noble building, which they pretend was JOSEPH's hall where he ſat in judgment; and here are ſtill remaining thirty fine pillars of Theban marble, with part of the roof overlaid with gold and azure. The caſtle is the reſidence of the Viceroy, and in it are a great many artificers, who work for the government, as well as a numerous garriſon.

There are ſcarce any wide ſtreets in Cairo, except thoſe of the great bazar, or market place, and the khalis or canal, a low ſtreet which runs through the middle of the city from one end of it to the other, in which the water ſtands one half of the year and is dry the other: it is into this canal, or ſtreet, they let the river Nile when it is at the height, and from thence diſtribute the waters to their gardens and the adjacent country.

Nile river.

The river Nile or Abanchi, which in the Abyſſine language ſignifies the father of rivers, hath its ſources, as is generally held, in eleven or twelve degrees of northern latitude in the empire of Abyſſinia: but whether the Portugueſe Jeſuits, as is pretended, or any other perſons have diſcovered the very fountains it iſſues from, is very much queſtioned I perceive, the country where it riſes, as ſome of the natives relate, being covered with vaſt impenetrable woods. This river runs a courſe of about fifteen hundred miles from ſouth to north for the moſt part, and a little below Cairo dividing itſelf into two branches, one inclining to the eaſt and the other to the weſt, falls into the Mediterranean, the mouths being about an hundred miles aſunder. As for any other branches of this river our modern travellers take no notice of them, and probably thoſe that have been mentioned by antient writers were only canals cut from one of theſe, particularly the canal which was made to convey the water from the river to Alexandria ſeems in our maps to be laid down for one: however, certain it is, there are no other branches navigable at this day than thoſe of Damietta and Roſſetto. While the river is contained within the bounds of the ordinary channel, I do not find it is broader at Old Cairo than the Thames at London, and in the drieſt ſeaſon of the year is fordable in many places. In the upper part of the ſtream there are ſeven cataracts where the water falls in ſheets from a very great height, cauſing a prodigious noiſe; but through Lower Egypt it ſlides along with a very gentle ſtream, and paſſengers are ſeldom ſurprized by tempeſts on it, it is obſerved. The water is very thick and muddy, eſpecially when it is ſwelled by thoſe heavy rains which conſtantly fall within the tropicks in the beginning of the ſummer, and theſe are the occaſion of its overflowing the low lands in Egypt annually. The antients, who were unacquainted with thoſe latitudes, were much perplexed to diſcover the true cauſe of the deluge; but at this day every traveller obſerves, that this is the caſe of all rivers which have their riſe or courſe within the tropicks, they break their ordinary bounds annually, and overflow the lands for many miles before they reach the ſea, particularly in Tonquin, Siam, Bengal, &c. And theſe alſo leave a prolifick mud which yields a vaſt increaſe, like that which the Nile leaves in Egypt; and tho' the waters of all theſe rivers be very thick, when they have ſtood ſome time they are not unwholeſom or unpalatable, and ſome eſteem them preferable to ſpring water, on account of the long courſe they run in latitudes where the ſun has ſo much influence.

There are great rejoicings annually in Egypt, when the river Nile riſes to a certain height, for upon this depends the fruitfulneſs of the country; and at the cutting of the banks to let it into their canals, from whence it is diſtributed into their reſpective fields, is ſolemnized one of their greateſt feſtivals.

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festivals. The river begins to swell usually in the month of May, and on the 28th of June they publish it in Cairo and other towns by a crier, how much the water is increased. The Viceroy has a palace upon an island opposite to Old Cairo, in which there stands a pillar divided into picks, a measure about the length of two feet; every day there are officers appointed to view this pillar, and observe how much the river is risen, who gives notice to the several criers to publish it in their respective quarters; and when the river is high enough, the banks are cut to let it into the khalis or canal which runs through Grand Cairo, and in the dry season forms one of the finest streets in that town, as has been intimated already. Mr. THEVENOT relates, that he attended twice at this ceremony of cutting the bank of the river to let it into the khalis: the first time was in the year 1657, when the Viceroy being absent from Cairo, the Sousbassa came with his guards to the end of the khalis, and alighting from his horse, gave the first stroke with a mattock towards breaking down the bank, and mounting again, rode along the khalis through Grand Cairo while the workmen were employed in demolishing it: he stooped before the doors of the Frank consuls which open into the khalis, who made him a present on this occasion; after the Bassa followed a mob singing and hollowing, and expressing their joy in such a manner as the vulgar usually do: some time after came the water pouring in, of which they had notice by a louder shout than ordinary; men and boys swam in the stream, and other merry fellows in boats attended with musick rowed through the city. In October the Nile ceasing to rise the water stagnates in the khalis, and has a very noisome smell occasioned by the filth which is thrown into it, as well as by the stagnation, insomuch, that the very money and plate is tarnished with the vapour.

Another year on the 15th day of August, our author went to Boulac, a town which stands upon the Nile about two miles from Grand Cairo, to see the preparations that were making for cutting the banks, and he observed several acabas or gallies lying in the river, in the sterns whereof were noble large rooms, like those in their houses, some of them twelve or fourteen paces square, and surrounded with rails and balluster gilded and painted, and the floors covered with rich carpets and cushions: about seven in the morning the Viceroy arrived in great state, as he passed a sheep was killed in several places, and three or four more on the bank of the river, when he entred into his galley. All the Beys, or Lords of Cairo went with the Viceroy in his barge, and having sailed as high as Old Cairo he was saluted by the guns of the other vessels, which followed him in order. The sails of the Viceroy's galley were of several colours, and worked with large red roses, and the flags and streamers in this and the other gallies made a very pretty appearance on the water; the trumpets and other musick also played as they passed, while the guns fired and the people shouted to express the general joy, and in this manner they moved gently along till they came to the place where the bank was to be opened to let the water into the khalis: here the mob were waiting in crowds, and there being two pastward towers filled full of squibs and fireworks, these were let off as the Bassa passed; the people in the mean time broke down the bank to give the water a passage into the khalis, and boat loads of sweetmeats were thrown into the river, for which they jumped in and scrambled. The Viceroy moved forwards to his palace in the island over against Old Cairo; and bonfires, illuminations and fireworks were continued for three nights successively. There were two vast machines, particularly representing a man and a woman of gigantick stature placed before the Viceroy's palace on the river, which took up no less than two thousand lamps to illuminate them; all the gallies, barges and other vessels also are hung full of lamps, where the musick plays, and fireworks with great and small shot are let off continually.

The letting the water of the Nile into the canals was anciently attended with great rejoicings, when they used also to sacrifice a boy and a girl, which our author thinks gave occasion to the present generation to represent human figures in their fireworks at this solemnity. When the khalis or canal is full, there are men who swim in it with heavy iron chains on, attended by boats full of people with drums and trumpets, and all kind of musick the country affords. One of these, Mr. THEVENOT assures us, he saw with his hands tied behind his back, and his feet bound with an iron chain of ten pounds weight, who sometimes stood upright on the water and did not seem to move; and in this manner he came from Old Cairo, where the canal begins, thro' Grand Cairo to the end of the canal, being at least a league; and for a reward the Viceroy gave him a fine vest and a thousand maidins *, besides what he collected of the spectators, which was very considerable. There was another of these fellows who swam in chains from one end of the canal to the other with a pipe in his mouth, and a dish of coffee in his hand without spilling it. The river usually continues to encrease from May to September two, three, or four fingers breadth a day, and about the middle of the time seven or eight fingers breadth a day, and decreases gradually in like manner.

* A coin about three half pence.

The fertility of Egypt, as has been long since observed, is to be ascribed chiefly to the overflowing of this river, which leaves a fattening slime

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slime behind it; for the soil is naturally a barren sand, but the fields the water has covered are some of them so very rich that the husbandman is forced to mix sand with the earth, or his grain would be too rank.

The pyramids.

Between three and four leagues to the westward of Grand Cairo, on the other side of the Nile, stand those three vast pyramids, so justly the admiration of all that view them: that which has suffered least by time and weather, and is the fairest of the three, is situated on the top of a rock in the sandy desert of Lybia, about a quarter of a mile to the westward of the plains of Egypt, above which the rock riseth an hundred feet or more with an easy ascent: upon so advantageous a rise, and so solid a foundation is this pyramid erected. Each side of this pyramid at the basis is six hundred ninety three feet, according to the English standard; its perpendicular height is four hundred ninety nine feet; but if we take it as the pyramid ascends inclining, then the height is equal to the breadth of the basis, namely, six hundred ninety three feet. But notwithstanding the height of this pyramid has been so much admired, Mr. GREAVES observes, that the spire of St. Paul's church in London before it was burnt exceeded the height of this pyramid, being, according to Mr. CAMDEN, five hundred and thirty four feet perpendicular from the ground. But to proceed, the whole area of the basis of this pyramid, we are describing, contains four hundred eighty thousand two hundred forty nine square feet, or eleven acres of ground, and 1089 of 43560 parts of an acre.

This pyramid is ascended on the outside by steps, the lowest step being four feet in height, and three in breadth, running about the pyramid in a level: the second step or degree is like the first, each stone being almost four feet in height and three in breadth, but retires inwards from the first near three feet; in the same manner is the third row of stones placed upon the second, and so in order the rest, like so many stairs rising one above another to the top, which does not end in a point, as mathematical pyramids do, but in a little flat or square, consisting of nine stones, besides two that are wanting at the angles. The steps or degrees by which we ascend, are not, as has been intimated, all of an equal depth, but the higher we ascend so much the more they diminish, and therefore a right line, extended from any part of the basis (on the out-side) to the top, would equally have touched the outward angle of every degree or step, before the stones were washed and impaired by the air and rains; but they are so worn and mouldered away at present, that they cannot conveniently be ascended, except on the south side, or at the east angle on the north. The breadth and depth of every step is one entire stone, many of them thirty feet in length, and the number of steps from the bottom to the top is two hundred and seven.

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It has been reported by many travellers, that a man standing on the top of this pyramid, could not shoot an arrow beyond the bottom, but the arrow must necessarily fall upon the steps: but it is very certain that a good bow and a strong arm will send an arrow much farther. The relation also, that these pyramids cast no shadows, is of equal credit with the former; for as Mr. GREAVES observes, if he had not seen them cast a shadow at noon-day, yet reason and the art of measuring altitudes by shadows, does necessarily infer as much. In summer time indeed, and for almost three quarters of the year, at noon-day, the pyramids cast no shadow; but in the winter time at noon-day, and every morning and evening in the year, they certainly cast a shadow proportionable to their bulk: and it is observable, that THALES MILESIUS, above two thousand years ago, took the height of these pyramids by their shadows, according to PLINY and LAERTIUS.

On the north side of this pyramid, ascending 38 feet up an artificial bank of earth, there is a narrow square passage, leading into the pyramid, about three foot and an half high, and three foot and a quarter broad, being a very steep passage, and running downward ninety two feet and an half: the structure of it having been the labour of some exquisite hand, as appears by the smoothness and evenness of the work, and the close knitting of the joints. Having passed with lighted torches through this narrow strait, (for at the farther end of it, it grows so very narrow, that they are forced to creep upon their bellies) they land in a place something larger; but travellers observe nothing worth description in it, except the monstrous bats which inhabit it, exceeding a foot in length. The length of this obscure broken place contains eighty nine feet, the breadth unequal, supposed to have been dug for the discovery of some hidden treasure. On the left hand of this, adjoining to the narrow entrance through which they first passed, they climbed up a stone eight or nine foot high, where they enter upon the lower end of the first gallery, the pavement whereof rises gently, and consists of smooth polished marble, of a white and alabaster colour, being about five foot in height, and as much in breadth. This gallery contains in length an hundred and ten feet. At the end of this begins a second gallery, a very stately piece of work, not inferior either in materials or workmanship to the most magnificent buildings. The length of this gallery is an hundred and twenty four feet, and here Mr. GREAVES observes, that if we consider

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ſider the narrow entrance at the mouth of the pyramid, by which they firſt deſcend, and the length of the firſt and ſecond galleries, by which they aſcend again in one continued line, and leading to the middle of the pyramid, we may eaſily apprehend the reaſon of that ſtrange echo of four or five voices, mentioned by PLUTARCH, or rather of a long continued ſound, which is heard on diſcharging a musket at the entrance: for the ſound being ſhut in, and carried in thoſe cloſe ſmooth paſſages, as in ſo many pipes or trunks, finding no iſſue out, reflects upon itſelf, and cauſes a confuſed noiſe and circulation of the air, which by degrees vaniſhes as the motion ceaſes. But to return. This ſecond gallery is paved and lined with white poliſhed marble, cut in vaſt ſquares or tables, and of the ſame materials is the roof; and the joining of ſtones are ſo cloſe that it is ſcarce diſcernible. The height of this gallery is twenty ſix feet, and the breadth ſix, having benches on each ſide of poliſhed ſtone. Paſſing from the ſecond gallery through a little ſquare hole into ſome cloſets, or little chambers, lined with Thebaick marble, they enter a very noble hall, or chamber, which ſtands in the center of the pyramid, equidiſtant from all the ſides, and almoſt in the midſt between the baſis and the top. The floor, ſides and roof of this room, are all made of vaſt and exquiſite tables of Thebaick marble. From the top to the bottom of it there are but ſix ranges of ſtone; and the ſtones which cover it, are of a ſtupendious length, like ſo many huge beams lying flat, and traverſing the room, and nine of theſe cover the roof. The length of this hall is ſomething more than thirty four Engliſh feet, the breadth ſeventeen feet, and the height nineteen feet and an half. Here ſtands a tomb, ſuppoſed to be that of CHEOPS, or CHEMMIS, King of Egypt, the founder of the pyramid, being one entire piece of marble hollowed, and uncovered at the top, and ſounds like a bell on being ſtruck. There are no ſigns of any corps having been laid in it. And DIODORUS, above ſixteen hundred years ago, writes, that CHEMMIS the builder of this pyramid, and CEPHREN the founder of the next, notwithſtanding they deſigned theſe ſtructures for their ſepulchres, it ſo happened that neither of them were buried in them, for the people being exaſperated on account of the hardſhips they had ſuffered in erecting them, and by their repeated cruelties and oppreſſions, threatned to tear their dead bodies in pieces, and throw them out of their ſepulchres. Whereupon they commanded their friends to bury them privately in ſome obſcure place. This tomb is made of the ſame ſtone, with which the room is lined, namely, of marble ſtreaked and ſpotted with red, white, and black ſpots, which ſome call Thebaick marble; but Mr. GREAVES ſuppoſes it to be porphyry.

The figure of this tomb is like an altar, hollowed within, the ſtone ſmooth and plain, without any relief or emboſſed work on it. The exterior ſuperficies contains ſeven feet three inches and an half in length, and is three feet three inches and three quarters deep, and as much in breadth. The hollow part within is little more than ſix feet in length, and two feet in depth and breadth. From which dimenſions Mr. GREAVES juſtly obſerves, as well as from the embalmed bodies he ſaw in Egypt, that there is no decay in nature, but that the men of this age are of the ſame ſtature they were three thouſand years ago. It is not eaſy to conceive how this tomb was brought into the room where it now ſtands, it being impoſſible it ſhould enter by the narrow paſſages, above deſcribed, which makes ſome conclude it was raiſed up hither from without before the room was finiſhed, and the roof cloſed up. But I am apt to think there is ſome way left to come at this place, which is not yet diſcovered; the entrance whereof may be ſo artificially cloſed up, as not to be diſcerned: for it can ſcarce be believed, that any Prince ſhould direct his dead corps to be dragged through ſuch a long narrow ſink, as has been already deſcribed, to be laid in his ſepulchre. The poſition of the tomb is exactly north and ſouth, but it is diſtant from the eaſt ſide of the chamber, as far again as it is from the weſt.

As we paſs from the firſt pyramid to the ſecond, we ſee the ruins of a pile of building all of ſquare poliſhed ſtone, ſuppoſed to be the habitation of the prieſts. The ſecond pyramid is ſuppoſed to be built by CEPHREN, the brother of CHEOPS. The ſtones thereof are white, and not near ſo large as thoſe of the former, nor do the ſides riſe by degrees, or ſteps, like the other, but are all plain and ſmooth; the whole fabrick, except on the ſouth, being very entire and free from any deformed ruptures or breaches; and the dimenſions, both as to height and breadth, are equal to the firſt; but there has been no entrance yet diſcovered into it, nor is it known whether there be any rooms or apartments within, though it is highly probable there are, this being deſigned for the ſepulchre of another Egyptian King. This pyramid has on the north and weſt ſides, two very ſtately buildings, thirty feet in depth, and fourteen hundred in length, hewn out of the ſolid rock. Theſe, it is ſuppoſed, were deſigned for lodgings of the prieſts, but have no other entrance into them than ſuch ſquare openings hewn out of the rock, of the ſame bigneſs with thoſe deſcribed in the firſt pyramid, and within are ſquare chambers arched and made out of the natural rock.

Second pyramid.

The third pyramid ſtands a furlong diſtant from the ſecond, upon an advantageous riſing of

Third pyramid.

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the rock, which makes it ſeem equal to the former at a diſtance. But Mr. GREAVES obſerves, that notwithſtanding DIODORUS SICULUS, STRABO, and PLINY, and ſome modern writers affirm it is built great part of it with black, or Ethiopick marble; the whole pyramid, however, ſeems to be of a clear white ſtone, ſomething better and brighter than that of either of the former pyramids. Each ſide of the baſis is three hundred feet and ſomething more, and the height the ſame. There are ſeveral other pyramids diſperſed about the Lybian deſert, Mr. GREAVES reckons up twenty, moſt of them much inferior in bulk to any of the former; but there is one which ſtands twenty miles ſouth and by weſt of thoſe above deſcribed, of the ſame dimenſions with the firſt, with ſteps or degrees on the outſide, but more decayed than the former: it has alſo an entrance on the north ſide, but blocked up ſo that there is no getting in to ſee the apartments.

By whom built.

Theſe pyramids are ſuppoſed by many, to have been built by the Iſraelites, which is confirmed by JOSEPHUS, who ſays, that when time had extinguiſhed the memory of the benefits of JOSEPH, and the kingdom was transferred to another family, they uſed the Iſraelites with great rigour, waſting them by ſeveral labours. They were ordered to cut canals for the river Nile, to raiſe walls and caſt up banks to hinder the inundation of that river, and that they oppreſſed them alſo with erecting thoſe fabricks of the pyramids, and compelling them to learn many mechanical arts. But Mr. GREAVES thinks it a ſufficient confutation of this account, that the pyramids are built of ſtone, and not of brick, in making whereof the Iſraelites were employed. But though the Iſraelites might, a little before their departure from Egypt, be employed in making bricks, methinks it does by no means follow, that they were never employed in any other works. And when is it more likely that the Egyptian Kings ſhould undertake theſe vaſt ſtructures, than when they had ſo many hundred thouſand ſlaves in their dominions, whom they ſeemed under a neceſſity of employing conſtantly in ſuch works as theſe, to prevent an inſurrection? Beſides, it has ſome weight with me, that this was the general opinion, ſo long ſince as JOSEPHUS wrote, for had it been much later, the time of their being erected would not, in that age, have been ſo difficult to diſcover. But the opinion of ſome other writers, that they were built by JOSEPH for granaries, is ſtill more abſurd, as Mr. GREAVES juſtly obſerves, not only becauſe the figure of a pyramid is the moſt improper of any for ſuch a purpoſe, but becauſe there are ſo few rooms or cavities in the inſide of them, and the reſt of the building being one ſolid entire fabrick of ſtone. Our author therefore inclines to credit the relations of HERODOTUS and DIODORUS SICULUS, who both travelled into Egypt, and converſed with their prieſts. HERODOTUS writes that King CHEOPS employed his ſubjects in erecting the largeſt pyramid, that it was built with ſtones dug out of the quarries in the Arabian mountain, from whence they were tranſported over the Nile, to the mountain called Lybicus. That ten miriads of men were employed in the work, three miriads each month, and that the people ſpent ten years in drawing the ſtones to the place. DIODORUS gives the builder of this pyramid the name of CHEMMIS; but agrees with HERODOTUS as to the time, and enlarges the number of the workmen to three hundred and ſixty thouſand; and both of them concur with PLINY, that twenty years were ſpent in the building of this pyramid. As to the ſecond pyramid, both HERODOTUS and DIODORUS make CEPHREN, the brother of the former King, the founder of it. The third pyramid, it is ſaid, was built by King MYCERINUS, another ſon of CHEMMIS, while others make it the work of RHODOPUS, a kept miſtreſs of King AMASIS; but theſe authors ingenuouſly confeſs that there is little agreement, either among the natives or antient writers, concerning the founders of any of theſe three pyramids. And indeed I look upon their relations to have little more certainty in them, than thoſe of the Arabians I am going to mention. The author of the book entitled Morat Alzeman, writes, that ſome hold, JOSEPH, others NIMROD, and others, Queen DALAKAH, to be the founders of theſe pyramids; while others ſay, they were built by the Egyptians before the flood, to preſerve their treaſures from the deluge, of which they had notice. In another place he writes, that the Cophtis, or antient Egyptians reported, that the two greater pyramids and the leſſer are ſepulchres. IBN ABD ALHOKM, another Arabian writer, ſays, that he could not find, among the learned men of Egypt, any certain relation concerning them, and thereupon concludes that the pyramids were built before the flood, for if they had been built after, (ſays he) there muſt have been ſome memory of it among men.

The time when theſe pyramids were built is not leſs uncertain than the founders names; for nothing can be more precarious than the Egyptian chronology, where we find a ſucceſſion of Kings for fifty thouſand years; and they pretend to enumerate no leſs than three hundred and thirty Kings, who reigned before King MÆRIS. Mr. GREAVES has taken an infinite deal of pains to aſcertain the time of their erection, and concludes at length, that they were built between the time of the Iſraelites going out of Egypt,

The time when the pyramids were built.

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Egypt, and the building of SOLOMON's temple, being a ſpace of four hundred and eighty years. But for my part, I cannot help inclining ſtill to believe that they were built by the Iſraelites, whom the Kings of Egypt employed in theſe ſtupendious works on a politick account, rather than for any oſtentation of their power and grandeur, as ſome writers imagine: not but that there might be ſome other inducements to the erecting them, beſides the keeping a mutinous people in action, who, upon the leaſt reſpite from their labours, ſeemed ready to break out into rebellion. That they were actually employed in laborious works, we have the beſt authority we can have, both from ſacred and profane writers. And as there were no leſs than ſix hundred thouſand of theſe labourers, beſides women and children, as it appears there were at their leaving Egypt, when can we aſſign a properer time for erecting theſe vaſt ſtructures, than when they dwelt in this kingdom? their being employed in general in preparing materials for building, by the Kings of Egypt, of which we have ſuch undoubted teſtimonies, carries a much ſtronger preſumption that they were employed in the erecting theſe fabricks, than the account of their making bricks does, that they were never concerned in any other work, but brick-making. Beſides a leſs body of men than the Iſraelites were would have made but a ſlow progreſs in ſuch mighty buildings: and the reaſon the dimenſions of the Egyptian pyramids exceed any other ſtructures that ever were in the world is, becauſe never any other Prince employed ſo prodigious a number of labourers, or had equal reaſon for doing it. Another reaſon why I am inclined to believe they are as antient as the time of the Iſraelites being in Egypt is, that no profane author is able to aſſign the time of their erection, but I leave every man to his own conjectures, for it can be but conjecture at laſt.

The next thing diſputed, is the occaſion of erecting theſe pyramids; the general opinion is, that they were erected for ſepulchral monuments; and for a confirmation of it, IBN ABD ALHOKM the Arabian relates, that ALMAMON the Calif of Babylon, when he cauſed the largeſt pyramid to be opened, between eight and nine hundred years ſince, 'found in it towards the top, a cham-
'ber with an hollow ſtone, in which there was
'a ſtatue like a man, and within it a man on
'whom was a breaſt-plate of gold ſet with Jew-
'els; upon the breaſt-plate lay a ſword of ineſ-
'timable price, and at his head a carbuncle of
'the bigneſs of an egg ſhining like the light, and
'upon him were written characters with a pen
'which no man underſtood.' PLINY conjectures, that the reaſon the Egyptian Kings put themſelves to this vaſt expence in erecting their tombs, was partly out of oſtentation, and partly out of ſtate policy, by keeping the people in employment, to divert them from mutiny and rebellion. But there is this farther reaſon given, which ſprung from the theology of the Egyptians, who believed that as long as the body endured, ſo long the ſoul continued with it. Which was alſo the opinion of the Stoicks. 'For this reaſon the Egyptians
'kept their dead embalmed, that the ſoul might
'continue with it a great while and not paſs ſud-
'denly into another Body; and for the ſame
'reaſon they incloſed them in the moſt durable
'buildings, endeavouring thereby, as much as in
'them lay, to render them eternal. The E-
'gyptians alone, ſays St. AUSTIN, believe the
'reſurrection, and for that reaſon carefully pre-
'ſerve their dead bodies by drying them up, and
'rendring them as durable as braſs.' And certain it is, many of theſe embalmed bodies or mummies, have remained entire three thouſand years and upwards. Of which embalming HERODOTUS and DIODORUS ſpeak very particularly: there are, ſays HERODOTUS, thoſe who profeſs the art of embalming: when the body is brought to them they ſhew certain patterns of dead bodies in wood of different prices, and the friends of the deceaſed having agreed in what manner they will have it done, the embalmers firſt draw out the brain with a crooked iron by the noſtrils, then they infuſe medicaments [Mr. GREAVES relates, 'that having cauſed the head
'of one of the richeſt ſort to be opened, in the
'hollow of the skull he found the quantity of
'two pounds of theſe medicaments, which had the
'conſiſtence, blackneſs, and ſmell of a kind of
'bitumen, or pitch, which became ſoft by the
'heat of the ſun.'] Afterwards with a ſharp Ethiopick ſtone they cut the belly, and having taken out all the guts, they purge and waſh them with palm wine, then they cleanſe them with ſweet odours beaten, and having filled up the belly with beaten myrrh, caſſia, and other odours, they ſew it up again: then they ſalt it with nitre, hiding it ſeventy days, for longer it is not lawful to ſalt it; after this they waſh the corps, binding it up in fillets, and wrapping it up in a ſhroud of ſilk or linen they beſmear it with gum. The relations then prepare a coffin in the ſimilitude of a man, into which they put the corps, and place it in a reconditory in the houſe, ſetting it upright againſt the wall, and then with great expences prepare for the funeral. DIODORUS SICULUS adds, that every member of the body by this embalming is kept entire: the hairs of the eyebrows and eyelids remain, the whole ſhape of the body continues unchanged, and the very countenance may be known; and many of the Egyptians keep the dead bodies of their anceſtors in magnificent houſes for ſeveral ages.

And of embalming their dead.

TULLY

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TULLY relates, that the Egyptians embalm their dead and keep them in their houſes above ground. LUCIAN adds, they bring the dead body (I ſpeak what I have ſeen) as a gueſt to their feaſts and entertainments; and neceſſitous perſons have ſometimes pawned their fathers and their brothers for money. They have a cuſtom, ſays DIODORUS SICULUS, of depoſiting the dead bodies of their parents as a pledge, and it is the greateſt reproach not to redeem them, and if they neglect to do it, they themſelves are deprived of burial.

Having thus by art found out ways to make the body durable (ſays Mr. GREAVES) that the ſoul might continue with it, which elſe would, according to their opinion, have paſſed into another body (of whom PYTHAGORAS, it is ſaid, borrowed his tranſmigration) the next care of the Egyptians was to provide conditories which might be as laſting as the body, and in which it might remain ſafe from the injuries of time and men. The Egyptians, ſays DIODORUS SICULUS, make ſmall account of the time of this life, being limited; but that which after death is joined with a glorious memory of virtue they highly value. They call the houſes of the living inns, becauſe they inhabit them but a ſhort ſpace; but the ſepulchres of the dead they term eternal manſions, becauſe they continue with the Gods for an infinite ſpace: wherefore in the ſtructure of their houſes they are not very ſolicitous, but in exquiſitely adorning their ſepulchres they think no coſt ſufficient. However, tho' the Egyptians were of opinion, that as long as the body endured, the ſoul continued with it; yet it did not quicken or animate the corps, but remained there only as an attendant, or guardian, unwilling to leave her former habitation.

The reaſon why the Egyptians built their ſepulchres in the form of pyramids, Mr. GREAVES conceives, was, becauſe this is the moſt permanent form of ſtructure, being neither over preſſed by its own weight, nor ſo ſubject to the ſinking in of rain as other buildings are. Or they might hereby intend to repreſent their Gods; for antiently the Gentiles expreſſed them either by columns faſhioned like cones, or elſe by quadrilateral obelisks; the Egyptian manner of which, our author ſays, he ſaw ſeveral ſtanding entire.

DIODORUS SICULUS relates, that the Egyptians worſhiped the ſun under the name of OSIRIS, as they did the moon by the name of the Goddeſs ISIS; and therefore as ISIS CORNIGERA (in which portraiture our author obſerved her ſtatue at Alexandria) did repreſent the horns of the moon, or luna falcata; ſo theſe quadrilateral pyramids, or obelisks, might not unfitly reſemble the rays of the ſun, or their God OSIRIS; for DIODORUS and PLUTARCH term OSIRIS, many eyes, or many rays; which being emitted as the opticks demonſtrate in pyramidal or conical forms, might not unaptly be repreſented in either figure. And hence the Phœnicians, neighbours to the Egyptians, it is thought, imitated their idolatry, worſhipping the ſun, whom they name HELIOGABALUS in the ſimilitude of a cone. PAUSANIAS conjectures, this manner of repreſenting the Gods to have been the firſt and moſt antient among the Grecians. And CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS imagines it to have been the firſt kind of idolatry in the world, and therefore well agreeing with the antiquity of the Egyptians. But the ſepulchres of the Egyptians were not always in the form of pyramids, as appears by thoſe mercuriales tumuli mentioned by STRABO, which were ſpherical; and by thoſe hypogæa, or caves ſtill extant in the rocks of the Lybian deſert. STRABO writes, that paſſing near Siene in the upper parts of Egypt over a very even plain about an hundred ſtadia in length, all the way almoſt on both ſides he ſaw thoſe mercurial tombs; a great ſtone, ſmooth and almoſt ſpherical, of that black and hard marble, of which mortars were made, placed upon a greater ſtone, and on the top of this another, ſome of them lying by themſelves: the largeſt of them were twelve feet diameter, and all of them more than half as much. As for the other kind of ſepulchres, I ſhall have occaſion to mention them in ſpeaking of the mummies.

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Mummies and the ſepulchres where they were buried called catacombs by ſome.

The mummy pits, as they are called by our modern travellers, are in the Lybian deſerts, three or four leagues diſtant from the three great pyramids, and a little to the weſtward of the place where the city of Memphis once ſtood. Theſe pits are ſquare, and built of good ſtone, according to ſome travellers; but others ſay they are hewn out of the ſolid rock. When the people, who have the care of the mummies, have removed the ſand from the ſurface, they take up a great ſtone which covers the mouth of the pit, and let down thoſe who would view them by ropes, or a man may go down by putting his feet into the holes on the ſides; but the ſhalloweſt of them are thirty two feet deep. At the bottom of the pit are ſquare openings and paſſages ten or fifteen foot long, which lead into ſquare arched rooms, in which the embalmed bodies lye, ſome of them in cheſts or coffins of wood, others in ſtone coffins ſhaped like a man, with his arms ſtretched out by his ſides. THEVENOT relates, that he ſaw a very large body in a very thick coffin of wood, which was not at all rotten; they obſerved it to be a ſycamore, which in Egypt is called PHARAOH's fig-tree, and not ſo ſubject to rot as other wood; and the ſhape of the face of the perſon within, was cut in emboſſed work, as thoſe of the ſtone coffins are. Some of theſe coffins are made only of pieces of linen cloth, gummed or glued together, which are as ſtrong as the wooden ones.

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THEVENOT says, he brought one of the heads of these mummies entire to Paris, it was covered with fillets or pieces of sear-cloth so neatly fitted, that one might see the shape of the eyes, nose, and mouth; the rest of the body was swathed with little bandages of cloth, wrapped about so often, that our author thinks there might be a thousand ells in it. But from this account it is very evident, that the naked face of the dead corps was never exposed at their festivals, as was intimated by the abovesaid historians, but only the bust or shape of it cut in the coffin in which it was inclosed. With these mummies are usually found little images of several sorts; some made of copper, others of stone, and others of several sorts of earth, the figures of birds and beasts, which the natives sell to the Franks at very easy rates; for the Turks have so little curiosity, that they will not give more than the value of the materials for any thing of this kind.

The danger of entering the pyramids and mummy pits is intimated by several travellers, on account of the thievish Arabs, who watch all opportunities of plundering those who come to view them: but no gentleman has given us so lively a description of the hazard people run, whose curiosity leads them to visit these places, as our countryman Mr. HILL: whether every circumstance be literally true, I will not take upon me to determine, possibly he may have indulged his poetical vein a little, as he is suspected to have done on some other occasions, but if we may believe him, he was not only an eye witness, but of the party, in the following adventure.

Having procured a guide at Cairo, Mr. HILL tells us, he with three other gentlemen set out in the evening to visit the catacombs, and having travelled all night over a sandy desert, they arrived at a place where they observed stones of a vast size, which covered the entrance of the mummy pits; whereupon they alighted, and having with a great deal of labour removed one of the largest stones, they were surprised to find a ladder of ropes already fixed in the pit; but imagining it might have been forgot by some travellers who had lately visited the place, they went down with their pistols in their hands, and lighted torches, but had not advanced many yards in the vault, before they found two men in European habits, lying dead cross the passage, and between the feet of one of them, there lay a pocket-book, in which was written, in Italian, to this effect,

LORENZO and FERDINANDO BONAVOGLIA, dear unhappy brothers, born at Pisa, a city of Italy, died here by grief and hunger, barbarously shut in, and lost for ever, June 18. 1701. Good Christian, if thy dear eyes shall read our misery, pray for our souls. O JESUS, O MARY, mother of GOD, hear and pity us.

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Mr. HILL and his company were in the utmost consternation at this accident, and began immediately to apprehend their own danger; their guide trembled, which encreased their fears, and made them return in haste to the place where they came down, but to their astonishment they found it shut, and the ladder taken away. The dread and horror that seized them at that instant, according to my friend AARON, are not to be conceived: our travellers, however, did not yet despair, but agreed to search every corner of these dismal mansions, in hopes of discovering some other passage out. They had not marched far before they saw six Arabs ready to attack them, which created no small terror in them; they had, however, the presence of mind to fire their pistols, whereupon the assassins fled out at another passage they had made into the catacombs, and being pursued swiftly by our countrymen, to their inexpressible joy, they found the chearful rays of day light once more break in upon them, and with incredible haste ascended after the assassins, giving them no time to stop their passage.

When they came up they saw the Arabs running away with their beasts, but a party of Turks being upon the patrol, obliged them to quit their prey, and remounted our travellers again. It was afterwards discovered that the two Italian gentlemen, above-mentioned, had been betrayed by their guide, to the Arabs, with whom he held correspondence, for which he was afterwards impaled alive.

The sphynx

In speaking of the pyramids, I should not have omitted mentioning the colossus, or at least the head of one, which stands near the largest pyramid. It is usually called a sphynx, the upper part whereof should resemble a woman, and the lower part a lion, by which the Egyptians in their hieroglyphicks represented a harlot; intimating the danger of being smitten with a beautiful faithless woman, whom the fond lover would probably in the end find as cruel and rapacious as a lion. This figure, at least what appears of it now, has nothing more of it discernible than from the shoulders upwards, and yet is near thirty foot in height, and seems to be hewn out of the solid rock. It is a question whether there ever was any more of the figure than is to be seen at present, though PLINY, and some of the antients, give it a belly, and much larger dimensions, making it to be an hundred and two feet in compass; and some of our modern writers pretend, that there is a subterranean passage from the first pyramid to the head, which is hollow, suggesting that the Heathen priests used to deliver their

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their oracles from thence; but it does not ſeem well proved to me that there is any ſuch paſſage under ground from the pyramid to the ſphynx; or that any oracles were ever delivered from hence.

Another curioſity in Egypt, mentioned by antient and modern writers, is a labyrinth near the banks of the river Nile, towards the Upper Egypt, built by King PSAMNITICUS I. the greateſt part of it under ground, and containing within the compaſs of one wall twelve palaces, and a thouſand houſes, the walls, pillars and roofs of marble, to which there was only one entrance, and ſo many intricate turnings and windings, that it was impoſſible for a ſtranger to find his way through, or get back again, if he had entered it without a guide. The marble, it is ſaid, was laid with that art, that there was neither wood nor cement uſed in the whole fabrick.

The ruſh or weed, which grows by the banks of the river Nile, called papyri, deſerves alſo to be remembred here. This being divided into thin flakes, and moiſtned with the glutinous water of the river, they preſſed or beat in much the ſame manner we do our rags, till they made it fit to write on; and of this kind of paper, that vaſt library of books was chiefly compoſed, which PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS collected and placed in Alexandria.

I proceed now to deſcribe the ſituation of ſome other towns in Middle Egypt, and firſt Bulac is ſituated on the eaſt ſide of the river Nile, about five or ſix miles above the place where the Nile divides, and forms the Delta, and two miles to the weſtward of Grand Cairo, and is the port town to that city, and by ſome reckoned a ſuburb of it. The town contains about four thouſand families, and has a pretty good trade, all veſſels going up the Nile making ſome ſtay, and paying their duties here. 2. Old Cairo ſtands about two or three miles higher up the ſame river, over-againſt the place where the famous city of Memphis once ſtood, and is about half a league diſtant from Grand Cairo. This town makes no great figure at preſent, being for the moſt part in ruins; though the ſituation of it on the bank of the river renders it much cooler and more commodious than the New Cairo, in the opinion of moſt travellers. As for Memphis, which is ſuppoſed to have ſtood over-againſt it on the weſt ſide of the river, and was once the metropolis of the kingdom, there are ſcarce any ruins left to diſcover where it was, though it is thought to extend a pretty way to the weſtward of the Nile, on account of the burying places or repoſitories of the mummies above-mentioned, which reach ſeveral leagues into the country, and are ſuppoſed to be the tombs of the antient inhabitants of Memphis. 3. Matarea, ſituate about five miles north-eaſt of Grand Cairo. Here it is reported that the virgin MARY and her husband JOSEPH reſted, when they fled with our Saviour from HEROD, and that being very thirſty, a ſpring iſſued ſuddenly out of the earth for their relief: but however that be, it is certain that there is a well in this town, and that there is not above one well more of good water in the whole country. 4. Suez, which ſtands upon the Red ſea, about eighty miles to the eaſtward of Cairo, it is the port where the Grand Seignior's galleys, in the Red ſea, rendezvous; and whither they bring coffee, drugs, and other merchandize, from Arabia and India, which makes it crowded with people at ſome ſeaſons of the year, while at others it is almoſt deſerted, on account of the heats and the ſcarcity of freſh water; and I don't find that the town contains above two hundred houſes at preſent, though it was heretofore a conſiderable city, and ſuppoſed to be the antient Arſinoe.

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In the Upper Egypt, antiently called Thebais, or Thebaida, and at preſent Sayd, the chief towns are, 1. Sayd, antiently Thebes, the capital of the kingdom: by Strabo called Dioſpolis, or the city of Jove; and by other writers, Hecatompylos, or the city with an hundred gates. 2. Aſna, or Sienna, in the ſouth of Egypt, ſituate on the weſt ſide of the Nile. The river is navigable to this place, but a little beyond we meet with the cataracts, and all merchandize is put on ſhore, and carried by land, till the veſſels are paſt them. 3. Girge, or Grege, on the weſt ſide of the Nile, ſituate in 25 degrees odd minutes north latitude. 4. Coptus, once a great city, and the capital of Egypt, from whence the natives obtained the name of Cophti, lyes upon the Nile in the lat. of 26 deg. odd minutes: but moſt of the towns of Upper Egypt are now in ruins, or reduced to inconſiderable villages, and poſſeſſed by Arabs, or Cophti Chriſtians, the trade being diverted another way, eſpecially from thoſe which lye upon the Red ſea, where I do not find one conſiderable town mentioned by travellers on the Egyptian ſide, except Suez, above deſcribed, and that ſeems to be very much upon the decline. The Latin Fathers at Cairo, who have ſome of them gone up the Nile into Upper Egypt, entertain us chiefly with an account of the noble ruins they meet with there. Vaſt columns of marble and porphyry, which lye half buried in the ground, and ſtatues, and obelisks of a prodigious ſize, with hieroglyphicks upon them: but their accounts are ſo confuſed, that I can only learn there were once in this part of Egypt very conſiderable towns and magnificent buildings, which the Claſſicks alſo acquaint us with. There are alſo remaining in Upper Egypt great numbers of Cophti Chriſtians, who have their Biſhops to preſide over them, and own the Patriarch of Alexandria for their head;

Upper Egypt.

Balac.

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head; but ſo ignorant in the principal articles of their faith, if we may believe the Latins, that they ſcarce deſerve the name of Chriſtians; and it ſeems they ſtill preſerve the Jewiſh rite of circumciſion, which the Fathers boaſt they have convinced many of thoſe, about Cairo and Alexandria, of the abſurdity of.

As to the antient hiſtory of Egypt, it will not be expected I ſhould dwell long upon it, my buſineſs being chiefly with the modern; a ſhort view of it, however, it is preſumed, may be acceptable to moſt of my readers.

The Egyptians are certainly a very antient nation, though far from being ſo antient as they make themſelves, when they give us a catalogue of their Princes, ſome of whom, according to them, muſt have lived ſeveral thouſands of years before the creation. But as it is obſerved by ſome writers, that the Egyptians by years did not intend the periodical revolution of the ſun, but of the moon, it may not be difficult to account for this miſtake: beſides, as it has been long ſince obſerved of the Chineſe and other people, who run up their original ſo very high, that they give us no tolerable account or hiſtory of thoſe pretended times; but on the contrary, relate that all arts and ſciences, even agriculture and huſbandry, were introduced among them about the time our hiſtories relate; if the world had been ſo old as they ſuggeſt, it muſt be very ſtrange that theſe arts ſhould not have been introduced before, without which it would be very difficult for mankind to ſubſiſt.

That Egypt was planted by MISRAIM, the grand-ſon of NOAH, I ſhall not affirm, becauſe I think it very difficult to ſhew who were the firſt planters of almoſt any nation in the univerſe: It is ſufficient that it appears, that this and ſeveral of the neighbouring nations, were planted ſoon after the diſperſion of the people at the tower of Babel. But it is obſervable, that all writers, antient and modern, republicans as well as the advocates of monarchy, all agree, that the firſt plantations or ſettlements, were made and conducted by ſome great captain or ſovereign, who had the ſupreme command of his followers, by virtue of his birthright, and that a republican form of government was not known in the firſt ages of the world. But to return from this digreſſion. CHAM the ſon of NOAH, is generally held to be the ſame with JUPITER HAMMOND; and MISRAIM, his grand-ſon, the ſame with OSIRIS, the great Deity of the Egyptians, and from him, it is ſaid, deſcended that race of Monarchs who had the general denomination of Pharaohs; but from whom or how the word Pharaoh came to be the ſtyle of their Kings, I find no ſatisfactory reaſon given.

There are reckoned above ſixty Princes of the line of theſe Pharaohs, and they reigned, as it is ſaid, in an uninterrupted ſucceſſion to the year of the world 3435, when PHARAOH PSAMNICUS, the ſecond Monarch of that name, was conquered by CAMBYSES II. King of Perſia, who united Egypt to that empire, under which it remained till the reign of DARIUS, being upwards of an hundred years; when it revolted from that crown, and became an independent kingdom again (AMYRTEUS being their firſt King after that revolt) in which ſtate it continued about fifty years, when OCHUS King of Perſia recovered the dominion of it again; and it remained ſubject to the Perſian Monarchs till ALEXANDER the Great defeated DARIUS, when it fell under the power of that Prince, with the reſt of the provinces of the Perſian empire.

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A.M. 3600.

After the death of ALEXANDER, PTOLEMY the ſon of LAGUS, or, as others inſinuate, the ſon of PHILIP of Macedon, and conſequently half-brother of ALEXANDER, found means to mount the throne of Egypt, and render it an independent kingdom once again, whoſe ſucceſſors, Kings of Egypt ever after retained the name of PTOLEMIES; in which line it continued between two and three hundred years, the laſt Sovereign being the famous CLEOPATRA, wife and ſiſter to PTOLEMY DIONYSIUS the laſt King, and miſtreſs to JULIUS CÆSAR, and MARC ANTHONY ſucceſſively.

A.M. 3641. The race of the PTOLOMIES.

A.M. 3925.

It was PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS, ſon of the firſt PTOLEMY, who collected the Alexandrian library, ſaid to conſiſt of ſeven hundred thouſand volumes, and the ſame Prince cauſed the ſcriptures to be tranſlated into Greek; but whether by ſeventy two interpreters, and in the manner as is commonly related, is juſtly queſtioned. The PTOLEMIES ſometimes extended their dominion over great part of Syria, and were frequently at wars with the Kings of Syria, in which they met with various ſucceſs. After the death of CLEOPATRA this kingdom fell under the power of the Romans, and was uſually governed by a gentleman of Rome, it being thought too hazardous truſting ſo conſiderable a command with a ſenator. When it was made a province of the empire it was looked upon as the Emperor's peculiar, and afterwards made an entire dioceſe of itſelf, ſubordinate to the Præfectus Prætorio orientis, and while it was under the dominion of the Romans, the nation in general embraced Chriſtianity: it remained a Roman province till the reign of HERACLIUS the Emperor of Conſtantinople, when the people being diſguſted with their Governors, called in OMAR the third Caliph of the Saracens, and ſubmitted themſelves to the Mahometan power, being about the year of our Lord 640. But ſure the adminiſtration of the Greek Emperors muſt be very grievous, which could induce a Chriſtian nation to make choice of a Saracen for their Sovereign.

Egypt a Roman province.

Embraces Chriſtianity.

Invites in the Saracens, A. D. 640.

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The Caliphs of Babylon were Sovereigns here till about the year 870, when the Egyptians ſet up a Caliph of their own, called the Caliph of Cairo, to whom the Saracens of Africk and Spain were ſubject; but the Governors of the provinces, or Sultans under the Caliphs of Babylon and Cairo, ſoon wreſted the civil power out of the hands of their Caliphs, or High Prieſts, leaving them only a ſhadow of ſovereignty.

870. Caliph of Cairo.

ASSAREDDIN. 1160. Conquers Egypt, ſucceeded by SALADIN.

About the year 1160, ASSAREDDIN, or SARACON General of Norradin, the Saracen Sultan of Damaſcus, ſubdued the Kingdom of Egypt, and uſurped the dominion of it, being ſucceeded in this kingdom by his ſon SALADIN, who reduced alſo the kingdoms of Damaſcus, Meſopotamia and Paleſtine under his power, and about the year 1190 took Jeruſalem from the Chriſtians. It was this Prince who eſtabliſhed a body of troops in Egypt like the preſent Janizaries, compoſed of the ſons of Chriſtians taken in war, or purchaſed of the Tartars, to whom he gave the name of Mamalukes, which, it is ſaid, ſignifies no more than ſlave; which among the forces of the Mahometan Princes is looked upon as a title of great honour, as it expreſſes their being devoted in a peculiar manner to the ſervice of their Sovereign, and conſequently they are entitled to greater privileges than other ſubjects. The poſterity of ASSAREDDIN enjoyed the crown till the year 1242, when the Mamalukes depoſed ELMUTAN, as they had done his father MELECH ASSALACH ſome years before, and ſet one of their own officers upon the throne. The firſt King of the race of the Mamalukes being TURQUEMENIUS, theſe Mamaluke Sultans were engaged in continual wars with the Chriſtians in Syria and Paleſtine, till ARAPHUS the ſixth Sultan entirely diſpoſſeſſed the Chriſtians of the Holy Land; the ninth Sultan MELECHINASSOR ſubdued the iſland of Cyprus and made it tributary to Egypt.

1242. Mamalukes uſurp the crown.

1255.

1291.

1423.

About the year 1501, CAMPSON GAURUS the fifteenth Sultan of the Mamalukes, entring into an alliance with ISMAEL the Sophi of Perſia, againſt SELIMUS the third Emperor, and tenth King of the Ottoman family, the confederates received ſeveral memorable defeats: and TONOMBEIUS II. who ſucceeded CAMPSON GAURUS, was depoſed and murdered by SELIMUS, and according to ſome accounts, hanged up at one of the gates of Grand Cairo. GAZELLE, one of the grandees of the Mamalukes maintained a war for ſome time againſt SELIMUS, but was at length defeated, and Egypt made a province of the Ottoman empire.

1501.

1517. SELIMUS ſubdues Egypt and annexes it to the Ottoman empire.

The Mamaluke Sultans were always choſen by a majority of Mamalukes out of their own body, who were ſo jealous of the kingdom's being made hereditary, that they ſcarce ever elected the ſon of the preceding Sultan; and if the choice ever happened to fall upon ſuch a one, they were ſo apprehenſive of its being made an ill precedent, that they never reſted till they depoſed him.

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Since the Ottoman Emperors have had the dominion of this kingdom, they have always governed it by a Viceroy, ſtyled the Baſſa of Grand Cairo: but as Egypt is ſubdivided into ſeveral inferior governments, theſe Governors I perceive are not ſent from Conſtantinople, or appointed by the Viceroy, but are natives of Egypt, and ſeem to be veſted with ſovereign power in their reſpective diſtricts, and to have the command of the militia of the ſeveral provinces; and are many of them of the race of the Mamalukes. It is true, the Viceroy has a conſiderable body of ſpahis and janizaries about Cairo to keep them in awe; and every one of theſe petty Princes, it is ſaid, is obliged to mount the Viceroy's guard in his turn, with a body of the national troops.

There is a perpetual jealouſy between the Turkiſh Baſſa and theſe Egyptian Royalets; ſometimes the Baſſa will take upon him to depoſe one of them, and perhaps take his head; and there are inſtances on the other hand, where they have depoſed the Baſſa, and compelled the Porte to ſend them another more acceptable to them: and the Grand Seignior has thought fit to humour them in it, rather than hazard the revolt of ſo rich a province, which is now eſteemed the granary of Conſtantinople, as it was antiently of Rome; for this is a ſoil ſo fertilized by the Nile, that it is not in the power of the Turks, it ſeems, to render it barren. But one great reaſon of its continuing to be manured is, that they are yet governed by their own Princes, and have an inheritance in their lands, which are privileges very few of the ſubjects of Turkey enjoy beſides: neither dare the Turkiſh government overload this people with taxes, for fear of a general revolt: inſomuch, that except what the Viceroy and his creatures illegally extort from them, the whole revenue raiſed by the government, does not amount to a million of our money, of which two thirds are ſpent within the kingdom, and not more than one third comes into the Grand Seignior's treaſury.

The ſtate and condition of the Egyptian Royalets and their ſubjects may be gathered from the account Mr. THEVENOT gives of one of them called MAHOMET Bey, who came to Grand Cairo when he was there. This Prince, or Bey, as Mr. THEVENOT ſtyles him, was then Bey of Girge, and had been miniſter to HALEY Bey the former Bey of Girge, a city about fifteen days journey from Cairo up the Nile. HALEY Bey was in his life time one of the richeſt and moſt potent of all the Egyptian Princes, and had conſtituted by his ſole authority three others of

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of his officers Beys of as many diſtricts, beſides the preſent Bey of Girge; and left behind him when he died (if we may credit the relation the people of Cairo gave Mr. THEVENOT) fourſcore thouſand camels, as many aſſes, and a vaſt treaſure in money and jewels; among which there was one cup made of a Turkeis, worth an hundred thouſand crowns. In his palace at Grand Cairo there was never ſpent leſs than a thouſand crowns a day in his abſence, and much more when he was preſent. His ſucceſſor MAHOMET Bey, whoſe publick entry into Grand Cairo our author ſaw, w s exceeding magnificent. The Baſſa, it ſeems, had twice ſent for him to account for what he was in arrear to the government; deſigning when he had him in his power to depoſe him, and procure another to be appointed Bey in his room; which MAHOMET ſuſpecting, did not obey the ſummons till he had aſſembled a force ſufficient to defend him againſt any violent meaſures the Baſſa might take; who hearing he was come within three days journey of Cairo, attended with great forces, ſent him orders not to advance: and it ſeems, the other Beys and the Cadeliſquier were at this time ſo much in MAHOMET's intereſt, that they had determined to depoſe the Baſſa, if any thing were attempted againſt their friend the Bey of Girge. This Prince therefore depending on his forces, and the friends he had in the capital, ſlighted the Baſſa's orders, and continued his march, and when he came near the city, all the Beys and perſons of diſtinction went out to compliment him on his arrival.

Theſe congratulations, or rather cabals, having continued ſome time, a day was appointed for the Bey's entry, and the Baſſa went to a palace in the great meidan, or ſquare, in order to receive him: the Bey not thinking it ſafe to come within the walls of the caſtle. The Arab troops, armed with lances and ſabres, marched before their Prince, and drew up in the great ſquare, where the Baſſa alſo had ordered the janizaries and other troops of his houſhold to attend. The Arabs were all well mounted and tolera' ly clothed, and were in number about three thouſand, having ſixteen Caſcheffs, or Governors of ſo many petty diſtricts which belonged to the Bey, at the head of them: after theſe were carried the Bey's horſe tail, or ſtandard, followed by two thouſand muſketeers on horſeback, and after them five hundred foot in the Bey's own pay; then came ſix led horſes, as if the Baſſa himſelf had been there, with ſeveral chiauxs and janizaries belonging to the Baſſa in their caps of ceremony; two pages of the Bey's and ſix of the Baſſa's with their ſilver gilt caps and plumes of feathers; and after them the Bey in perſon, followed by his houſhold, conſiſting of three hundred men. The ten firſt of theſe were clothed in green velvet, armed with bows and arrows and ſabres; and the next ten in yellow ſattin, armed with a lance, ſhield and ſabre: the reſt were armed with carbines and ſabres, and after them came the country muſick. When the Bey came to the palace in the meidan, he alighted, where the Baſſa waited to receive him; and treated him with coffee, ſherbet and perfumes, after the manner of the country: he alſo ordered an hundred caftans, or rich veſts to be given to his principal attendants; after which the Bey took his leave, and was attended by the Kiaca, or Steward of the Baſſa to his palace, which was an honour ſeldom done to a Bey. The Prince ſaluted all the people as he paſſed, who ſhouted and wiſhed him a thouſand bleſſings; being much better affected to their Beys than to the Turks: and when the Beys are at their governments, they do not much dread the Turkiſh power, it ſeems. MAHOMET kept two thouſand men about his palace for his guard all the while he was at Cairo; and the reſt of his forces encamped at a little diſtance from the town. He never went abroad but he was attended by three thouſand horſe: and while he ſtay'd at Cairo preſented the Baſſa with fourſcore purſes (every purſe is of the value of 500 dollars.)

Notwithſtanding the mutual civilities which paſſed between the Baſſa and Bey at this interview, the next year the Baſſa entered into a formal war againſt him; and having corrupted ſome of the Arab troops, in whom he moſt confided, cauſed him to be ſtrangled, looking upon his own government to be very precarious while ſo potent and popular a Prince as MAHOMET Bey was living.

Some things Egypt is remarkable for. Hatching chickens in ovens.

There ſtill remain ſome remarkable things to be related of this country, which every traveller who paſſes through it takes notice of; as firſt, their way of hatching chickens in ovens. They put their eggs in ovens, ſays THEVENOT, which are heated with ſo temperate a warmth, and imitates ſo well the natural heat, that chickens are formed and hatched in them: theſe ovens are under ground, and the hearth of them covered with cotton or flax to lay the eggs upon. There are twelve of theſe ovens together, ſix on a ſide, two ſtories on each ſide the paſſage, that is three ovens above and three below on each hand: they begin to heat the ovens about the middle of February, and continue to heat them about four months: they heat their ovens only with the hot aſhes of oxen, or camel's dung, which affords a ſmothering heat without any viſible fire; this they lay at the mouth and the farther end of the oven, changing it and putting in freſh dung every day: this they continue to do for ten days, and then lay in the eggs, ſometimes eight thouſand in an oven; after eight or ten days they pick out the good from the bad, which are diſcovered by holding

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them to a lamp, then they put out the fire, and having laid one half of the eggs in the upper ovens, they ſhut up all cloſe and let them lye about ten days longer, when the chickens are hatched; but there are few of them which have not ſome defect, it is obſerved, and nice people think they can diſtinguiſh one of theſe pullets from another by their palates. It has been diſputed, I perceive, whether this can be effected in any other country beſides Egypt, where the natural heat of the climate is thought to contribute much towards theſe productions: but Mr. THEVENOT tells us, that the Duke of Florence ſent for ſome of the Cophtis (who only follow this buſineſs) and hatched chickens in Italy in the ſame manner.

The annual reſurrection of bones.

Another thing which creates admiration in the credulous traveller, as well as the ſuperſtitious natives, both Chriſtian and Mahometan, is the pretended annual reſurrection of bones, in a certain burying-place, near Old Cairo, on Good Friday, and the two preceding days, according to the old ſtyle, by which both the Greeks and Cophtis reckon. Mr. THEVENOT relates, that he went to the place on Good Friday, to ſee what grounds they had for this belief, where he found a multitude of people aſſembled, and the Turks going in proceſſion with their banners or colours flying, on account of a ſheik, or holy man, who was interred here, whoſe bones annually appear, and take the air with the reſt; and the Turks offered up their prayers there, with great devotion.

There were a great many ſculls and bones, Mr. THEVENOT obſerved, upon the place, and every one aſſured him they were juſt riſen out of the earth; nor is it poſſible, he ſays, to make them think otherwiſe; for he enquired of ſome, who ſeemed to have more ſenſe than the reſt, and they averred it to be true, and that while a perſon was looking one way, the bones came out of the earth frequently on the other ſide, within two foot of him. THEVENOT laughed at them, and ſaid they had probably been ſcattered there by ſome of their ſaints; but he was ſuſpected to be an atheiſt for his pains, and in danger of being mobbed, and therefore thought it prudence to conceal his thoughts, and not be too officious in undeceiving them, this being an error of which the Cophtis and Greeks are as tenacious as the Mahometans. And Dr. HEYLIN, a gentleman of good ſenſe, ſeems to give ſome credit to the thing, as poſſibly many of us might have done, if we had lived in thoſe times, when the wiſeſt men were not entirely free from ſuperſtition. Witneſs the great Lord CLARENDON, and his Woodſtock demon. Dr. HEYLIN relates the fact out of an author, who aſſures us, that STEPHEN DUPLEIS, a ſober diſcerning man, was an eye-witneſs of the miracle, and touched ſeveral of the riſing members, (for the firſt accounts we had of this matter was, that entire limbs appeared, clothed with fleſh and blood, and afterwards retired to their tombs) and that as he was about to touch the head of a child, a native of Cairo cried out to him, 'Hold, hold, you 'know not what you do!' A ſtrange forerunner, ſays Dr. HEYLIN, of the reſurrection of the whole body, if it be of undoubted credit, as he adds; for the Doctor could not give entire credit to the ſtory, it ſeems, though it came from an eye-witneſs, even in thoſe credulous times. But ſurely we do not want any ſuch inſtances as theſe, to ſupport the principal articles of our faith: and it is but too juſt an obſervation, that the introducing ſuch ridiculous ſtories, as a confirmation of our religion, when the falſity of them comes to be diſcovered, are no ſmall prejudice to it, and induce weak minds to imagine there is as little foundation for thoſe real miracles, by which the world was at firſt convinced of the truth of Chriſtianity, as for theſe pretended ones.

Crocodiles.

The animals which Egypt is remarkable for, are, firſt the crocodile, formerly thought to be peculiar to this country; but I do not find any material difference between theſe creatures and the allegators at the mouth of the Ganges, and in other rivers of India. They are both of them known to be amphibious animals, accuſtomed both to land and water. They grow to a prodigious length, twenty feet and upwards: in ſhape are like a lizard, with four ſhort feet, or rather claws; and ſome of them ſo large as to ſwallow a man. They have a flat head; their eyes indifferently large, and their back covered with broad ſcales, like ſome antiquated pieces of armour. They ſeem to move with greateſt ſtrength and agility in the water; and though they run a great pace by land, yet their bodies are ſo long and unweildy that they cannot eaſily turn, whereby their prey eſcapes them on ſhore: they watch therefore in the ſedge, and other cover, by the ſides of rivers, and ſo much reſemble the trunk of a tree, that, it is ſaid, travellers have miſtaken them for ſuch, and unwarily been ſurpriſed. As for his tears and alluring voice, which the antients aſcribe to him, I need not intimate that theſe are pure poetical fictions. They take them by digging deep pits near the river, which are covered over; eſpecially when the water riſes to a conſiderable height, for then they moſt uſually get out upon the ſhore. When they are taken in a pit they let them faſt ſeveral days, and then hamper them with ropes with running knots, and muzzle their ſnouts, and the Franks moſt commonly purchaſe them to ſend to Europe. Some of their skins ſtuffed may be ſeen in London. Notwithſtanding they grow to ſuch a prodigious

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gious bulk, it ſeems they proceed from an egg no bigger than a turkey's, hatched in the warm ſand.

The hippopotamus, or ſea-horſe, is another amphibious animal which frequents this river. Mr. THEVENOT ſays he ſaw one of them which was taken at Girge, on the Nile, in the year 1658, which was immediately afterwards brought to Cairo. It was about the bigneſs of a camel, of a tawny colour, the hinder part made much like an ox, and the head like an horſe; its eyes and ears ſmall, but it had great open noſtrils; thick large feet, almoſt round, and four claws; the tail like an elephant's, and not more hair than there is upon an elephant. In the lower jaw it had four great teeth, half a foot long, two of them crooked, and as big as the horns of an ox, and the other two ſtraight, but ſtanding out in length. Some janizaries ſhot it as it was grazing on the land. It received ſeveral ſhot before it fell, the bullets hardly piercing the skin, but one that happened to hit the jaw brought it down. Theſe monſters are very rare, even in Africk, for there had been no ſuch animal ſeen there for many years before.

As to the little bird trochileus, which is ſaid to live on the meat ſhe gets out of the crocodile's teeth: and the rat ichneumon, of whom there is a tradition, that he jumps into the crocodile's mouth, and eats his way out again through his belly, I preſume there have been but few witneſſes of theſe feats of activity, and therefore muſt beg leave to ſuſpend my faith in theſe things, till we receive better evidence of the facts than we have hitherto done.

The camelion is reckoned among the remarkable animals of Egypt; but he is not peculiar to this country. In ſize and ſhape it ſomething reſembles a lizard, and is, in a true light, of a greeniſh colour, but aſſumes the colour of moſt things it ſtands near. It was thought formerly to have lived only upon air, but has been obſerved to take flies, by darting out his tongue, which is of an extraordinary length: however, thoſe that have kept them in boxes obſerve, that they will live ſeveral months without any nouriſhment but what they draw in with their breath.

The oſtridge is another animal very common in the deſerts of Egypt and Arabia: they are the talleſt fowls we meet with any where, and will ſtrike a blow like a horſe, with their huge feet: their backs are ſhaped almoſt like a camel's, and they run a prodigious pace, aſſiſted by their wings, which are of little uſe to them in flying; for they can ſcarce raiſe themſelves from the ground, and the Arabians frequently ride them down. Their eggs, which are of the bigneſs of a foot-ball, they hide in the ſand till they are hatched, and never ſit upon them. But both the bird and its eggs being frequently brought to England, needs no farther deſcription here.

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The baſilisk, or cockatrice

The ſerpent called the baſilisk, or cockatrice, whoſe very eyes dart certain death, if we may credit the antients, is ſaid to be found alſo in Egypt, and I have heard ſome modern travellers averr, that there are ſerpents in ſome parts of the world, which by fixing their eyes upon little birds, will bring them down from the tops of trees; which fact, though it be unmannerly flatly to deny, when a grave gentleman ſays he has ſeen it; yet, if there have been ſuch an inſtance, poſſibly it did not proceed from any poiſon the animal emits, either from its eyes or the effluviums of his noxious body; but probably the brightneſs of his eye, like thoſe glaſſes the fowler uſes, may tempt the unwary bird to approach him, till he comes within his reach. But upon ſecond thoughts, as there are poiſons which will operate very ſtrongly on ſmelling them, I ſhould not entirely reject that opinion which ſuppoſes a bird may be brought from the top of a tree, by the poiſonous ſmell which attends ſome animals, were I but entirely ſatisfied that the fact was true; but as I would be very cautious of relating any thing as a piece of hiſtory which carries an air of improbability with it, ſo I would not reject every thing that appears ſtrange to us, provided it was well ſupported. We are not ſufficiently acquainted with the nature of things to pronounce poſitively, that by one means or other a bird cannot have been drawn into the jaws of a ſerpent ſtanding at ſome diſtance: but I muſt confeſs I am more inclined to believe it only a ſimile of the antient poets, to illuſtrate how fatally young fellows are frequently drawn in and taken captive by the eyes of ſome fair charmer, to their eternal deſtruction.

The aſp.

The aſp is another little ſerpent found in this country, by whoſe bite the celebrated CLEOPATRA and her Ladies choſe to die, the poiſon operating ſuddenly, and throwing the party into a deep ſleep, though its effects are ſaid to be various, ſome who are wounded by it dying in a laughing fit, and others weeping. But to proceed.

Other animals.

Egypt is as famous for camels, dromedaries, and fine horſes, as the neighbouring country of Arabia. Oxen, buffaloes, goats, and ſheep are to be met with alſo in great plenty here; eſpecially the ſheep with fat tails, which weigh ſeveral pounds. They abound alſo with poultry, geeſe, ducks, &c. and a great variety of ſmall birds; but fiſh is not very good or plentiful, unleſs it be in thoſe countries which lye on the ſea, and near the mouth of the Nile. Upon the retiring of the waters of that river to the uſual channel, a multitude of frogs and other inſects are produced; and was there not a large fowl like a ſtork, which conſtantly devours them, they would, according

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to a late writer, be annually afflicted with the plague of frogs.

The Christians of the country are all condemned to ride upon asses here, as well as in some other parts of Turkey; but it happens they have a pretty good breed, which will keep to a dog trot, especially if you hire a servant with the ass, as the Franks usually do, to prick him forward with a goad. The governing part of the nation reserve the riding on horses as a peculiar privilege to themselves: but on long journeys, when they cross the deserts with the caravans, most people make use of camels and dromedaries.

Husbandry. As to the husbandry of the Egyptians, we are told, that they have no more to do than to harrow their grain into the mud, on the retiring of the waters of the Nile into its proper channel, and in March following they seldom fail of a plentiful harvest; but they reserve water to let into their rice-fields, from time to time, as they do in other countries; for this is a grain that grows in water till the harvest in all countries. As to pease and beans, and other kinds of pulse, travellers relate they have them almost all the year round. And those lands which are not sown yield good crops of grass for their cattle. But as I do not find they make any of their grass into hay here, any more than in the eastern countries, I presume their camels and horses live chiefly on barley, or barley meal made up into paste as they do there. Our countryman, Mr. SANDYS, says of the country about Rossetto, the antient Canopus, that there is not a place under heaven better furnished with grain, flesh, fish, sugar, fruits, roots, &c. than that country is. Both within and without Cairo, the same author acquaints us, are great numbers of fine orchards, watered by little channels, as they do their fields, in which grow variety of excellent fruits, such as oranges, lemons, apples of paradise, sycamore figs, dates, almonds, cassia, galls growing on tamerisk, apples of the size of berries, plantains, a fruit of the shape and bigness of a cucumber, without stones or kernels, the pulp exceeding luscious, which we meet with also in India, and other places, where they have the same notion with the people of Egypt, that this was the fruit which tempted our first parents, adding, that of the leaves of this tree they also made themselves aprons, the leaves being two or three foot long. Some of the fruit trees about Cairo bear all the year, and most of them keep their leaves. The corn fields beyond are planted with palm trees, which are not at all prejudicial to the grain, but both together afford a most delightful prospect. They have some vines also in Egypt, which bear a black grape, but not proper for wine; however, this is in some measure supplied by the liquor drawn from the palm. There are a great variety of melons also, and cucumbers, in their kitchen gardens, the last of which the people eat raw, without any ill effects; nor do they want any garden stuff almost that we have in this part of the world. Garlick and onions, which once were deified here, they have still in great plenty, though they have not that extravagant veneration for them as their ancestors had.

The principal inconveniencies and distempers people are subject to in this country, Mr. THEVENOT tells us, are, first, excessive heat, so intolerable that a man knows not how to set about any business; and in the summer nights there is no sleeping quietly for musketoes, or gnats; there are always swarms of them buzzing about; the best remedy against them is to have a fine cloth tacked close round the bed, but some of them will get in and torment a person notwithstanding. Another inconvenience is the sand, which insinuates itself every where, insomuch that you will find the bed-clothes full of it, and as hot as if they had been warmed with a pan of coals.

A pain in the stomach foreigners especially are very subject to, which proceeds from their going open breasted, which chills their bowels, and causes dangerous fevers and fluxes, especially in autumn, when the river overflows the country.

Another distemper which reigns here is the swelling of the scrotum, and sore eyes are almost universal in summer time, occasioned by the scorching heat reflected from the sand, and the dust itself, which is very subtile and salt, is pernicious to the sight. Mr. THEVENOT relates that a French merchant of his acquaintance lost his sight by it, as many of the country people do; and others were so afflicted with it that they were in the extremest torture, crying out night and day, for a fortnight or three weeks together, and could get no sleep. You will hardly see any body abroad, in summer time, that is perfectly free from this distemper, and most of them with little slips of blue stuff hanging over their eyes. Mr. THEVENOT says he escaped sore eyes himself, which he imputes to his washing them frequently with cold water.

The swelling of the legs, attended with sharp pains, is another inconvenience many people suffer at Cairo, and when the water of the Nile begins to rise, there are few people but are troubled with an inflammation, which runs over the whole body, and when they drink they feel sharp pricking pains all over them, as if a hundred needles run into them at once.

The plague generally visits them once in seven years, during which time it is observed to take a tour round the Ottoman empire; but is sometimes at Cairo two years together. All diseases are more fatal in Egypt, during the hamchin,

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hamchin, or hot winds, than at any other time, and they generally begin about the ſeventh of April, and laſt fifty days. They bring abundance of ſand into the town which gets into the chambers, trunks, and boxes, let them be never ſo cloſe; and many people who travel with the caravans at this time of the year periſh by theſe winds; as ſoon as the hot winds ceaſe, and the dews begin to fall, ſay ſome, or as others, when the Nile begins to riſe, all diſtempers, even the plague itſelf ceaſes to be mortal; ſo that this noble river conſtantly brings health and plenty with it when it overflows the country, and may well be the occaſion of that annual joy they expreſs on its riſing to a certain height.

As for phyſicians, or remedies, the Mahometans in Egypt ſcarce uſe any, adhering immovably to their doctrine of fate; and therefore when the plague is in a family, viſit their neighbours as at other times, and do not ſcruple to wear the clothes of a man that died of it.

The ſtreets of Cairo, like other populous cities, are infeſted by jugglers, ballad-ſingers, and fortune-tellers; and among other amuſements to wheedle the common people out of their money, they lead about dancing camels: theſe animals are taught to dance when they are young, by being ſet upon a heated floor, which gives them a great deal of pain, and makes them lift up their legs as if they were dancing; at the ſame time they beat upon a drum, and thus they deal with the creature for about half a year; after which whenever he hears the noiſe of a drum he ſtrikes into a dance. Their fortune-tellers breed up little birds, which when any perſon comes to enquire concerning the ſucceſs of his affairs, carry him a little ſcroul of paper ready prepared, in which he finds his good or bad fortune written: and this I find ſome people give as much attention to as an oracle; which brings me to enquire into the firſt riſe of that raſcally people called gyplies. Thoſe pretended fortune-tellers that infeſt moſt countries in Europe and Aſia, and who are generally held to be of Egyptian extraction, at leaſt the firſt of them were ſuch. They are called in Turkey Zinganees from their captain ZINGANEUS, who when Sultan SELIMUS made a conqueſt of Egypt about the year 1517, with ſeveral other Mamalukes, and as many native Egyptians as refuſed to ſubmit to the Turkiſh yoke, retired into the deſerts, where they lived by rapine and plunder, and frequently came down into the plains of Egypt, committing great outrages in the towns upon the Nile under the dominion of the Turks; and idle people frequently reſorting to them in hopes of participating in their plunder; they encreaſed at length to ſo formidable a body, that the Turks were glad to come to a treaty with them, wherein it was agreed they ſhould lay down their arms, and be permitted to exerciſe any other callings with the ſame privileges other ſubjects enjoyed: but the Zinganees having been long uſed to a vagabond rapacious way of living, and compoſed of a mixture of nations, who, during their depredations upon all mankind in the deſerts, had loſt all ſenſe of religion, and became averſe to the following any art or ſcience, began to have recourſe to their former ways of rapine and robbery; and though they were often forgiven by the Turks for fear of another inſurrection, yet it being found at length that they were not to be reclaimed, the government were compelled to baniſh the Zinganees their country, and a power was given to any man to kill a Zinganee, or make him his ſlave, if he was found in Egypt after a limited time; and this edict was ſo well executed, that a Zinganee was not to be ſeen in Egypt for ſeveral years after; at leaſt, any that dare profeſs themſelves ſuch, for it ſeems they agreed to diſperſe themſelves in ſmall parties into every country in the known world; and as they were natives of Egypt, a country where the occult ſciences, or the black art, as it was called, was ſuppoſed to have arrived to great perfection; and which in that credulous age was in great vogue with people of all religions and perſuaſions: they thought that they could not pitch upon a more effectual way to gain a ſubſiſtence, and yet indulge that lazy wandring life they had been uſed to, than by ſetting up for a more than ordinary skill in foretelling future events; and as they had by a profligate life quite eradicated all principles of honour and conſcience, no doubt they had a view of ſupplying their neceſſities by other means when fortune-telling ſhould fail them. They needed no teſtimonials that they were of Egyptian extraction, the ſwarthineſs of their complexions demonſtrating as much wherever they came. And what makes me give the greater credit to this account of the original of our gypſies, is an act of parliament which I find made in the 22 of Henry VIII. being about fourteen years after the conqueſt of Egypt by SELIMUS the Turkiſh Emperor, wherein it is recited, 'That, 'whereas, certain outlandiſh people uſing no craft 'or merchandize to live by, but going from place 'to place in great companies, uſing ſubtle and 'crafty means to deceive the King's ſubjects, 'bearing them in hand, that they by palmeſtry 'can tell men and women's fortunes; and ſo many times ſubtlely deceive the people of their money, and commit diverſe felonies and robberies. 'It is enacted, that all ſuch offenders, commonly 'called Egyptians, who ſhall remain in this realm 'for the ſpace of one month, ſhould be adjudged 'felons; and that every perſon who ſhould import ſuch Egyptians ſhould forfeit for every offence 40 l.'

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But in the 5th year of Queen ELIZABETH, it being found that ſeveral natives of our own country were ſo much in love with this idle profligate way of living, that they frequently liſted themſelves among theſe Egyptians; and diſfigured their faces that they might appear ſuch, uſing an unintelligible cant, which other people were as much ſtrangers to as to the language of Egypt. It was enacted by the 5 ELIZ. cap. 20. 'That 'every perſon who ſhould be ſeen or found with-'in this realm in the company and fellowſhip of 'thoſe vagabonds commonly called Egyptians; or 'counterfeiting, or diſguiſing themſelves by their 'apparel, ſpeech, or otherwiſe like to ſuch va-'gabonds, and ſhould continue ſo to do either 'at one or ſeveral times, by the ſpace of a month, 'ſhould be adjudged felons, and loſe the benefit 'of ſanctuary and clergy, provided that this act 'did not extend to children under fourteen years 'of age:' for they travelled with children, which were their greateſt protection it ſeems, as they are to the vagabonds of this age; few people caring to apprehend or puniſh the parents, or reputed parents, for fear of bringing a charge of children on themſelves, or the places where they reſided; and this might be one reaſon that theſe people encouraged propagation, and laid no reſtraints on thoſe of their tribe, but ſuffered the neareſt relations to couple together like the common herd; which might alſo be one inducement for ſo many looſe profligate people to join them, as occaſioned the above-mentioned ſtatutes to be made in England. But notwithſtanding theſe laws had that good effect as to rid the country of all foreign gypſies, we find there are too many of their diſciples remaining amongſt us to this day. But in Turkey, and other countries where they have not been thus reſtrained by laws, their parties are larger and more formidable than with us, and many of this kind of vagabond people are to be found at this day, even in Egypt it ſelf.

The reaſon theſe people are ſtill tolerated in Turkey, may be that they do there, at leaſt of late years, apply themſelves to ſome handicraft buſineſs, particularly the making of edge tools, which they are very excellent at; carrying their tents and utenſils upon aſſes, and uſually pitch their black camp near ſome great town, where by working, thieving or fortune-telling they make a pr tty good proviſion for their bellies, but do not much trouble themſelves about clothing or furniture: and when the people begin to grow weary of their pilfering tricks, they move off to ſome other part of the country. They have a prophecy, it ſeems, amongſt them, that they ſhall recover the dominion of Egypt again, and the Turkiſh empire after a certain period ſhall be deſtroyed, which Mr. HILL has given us in Engliſh verſe as follows:

Years over years ſhall roll,
Ages o'er ages ſlide,
Before the world's controul,
Shall check the Creſcent's pride.
Baniſh'd from place to place,
Wide as the ocean's roar,
The mighty gypſy race
Shall viſit every ſhore.
But when the hundredth year
Shall three times doubled be,
Then ſhall an end appear
To all their ſlavery.
Then ſhall the warlike powers
From diſtant climes return;
Egypt again be ours,
And Turkiſh turrets burn.

It is now about two hundred years ſince the firſt inſtitution of the gypſy tribes, and poſſibly the Turkiſh empire may be deſtroyed in a hundred more, if the Chriſtian Princes themſelves do not ſupport it as they have long done by their ſcandalous diviſions: but that ever that abandoned race ſhould obtain the dominion of Egypt again, this part of the prophecy I believe very few people will have any faith in.

As to the religion of the Mahometans of Egypt, it differs but little from that of the Turks, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter, only it is obſerved, that the Moors, or Arabians, who at preſent make up the bulk of the people here, are much more ſuperſtitious and zealous in their way than the Mahometans of Turkey; and have their ſantos, or puritans among them, for whom they expreſs an extraordinary veneration, but the Turks deſpiſe theſe hypocrites.

Many of theſe ſantos, Mr. THEVENOT relates, go perfectly naked about the ſtreets without the leaſt rag to cover them, ſuffering their hair to grow to an unreaſonable length. In this condition they viſit the houſes of perſons of diſtinction, and ſit down to dinner with them without any invitation, and leave their tables with as little ceremony as they entered; and it is looked upon as no ſmall bleſſing to a houſe to receive a viſit from theſe people. It is no fiction, this author aſſures us, that many women who have no children will kiſs their priapus with great veneration, in order to obtain a great belly. There are many other ſorts of ſantos in Egypt, for whom the vulgar expreſs a mighty reſpect: but a certain Turkiſh Baſſa, it ſeems, had ſo little regard to their pious pretences, that he ſent as many of them as he could apprehend to the galleys.

The religion of the antient Egyptians I ſhall not take upon me to deſcribe, any farther than to obſerve that they paid divine honours not only to the planets, but to ſeveral ſorts of birds and beaſts, and even to leeks and onions, if they are rightly repreſented

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represented to us; but the beast they most adored was a black ox under the name of Apis. But whether their veneration for these creatures proceeded from an opinion that they were animated by some noble soul (for the doctrine of transmigration seems to have its original here) or whether they only adored the divine power manifested in these creatures, I do not find decided; but as the Egyptians are universally acknowledged to be a learned ingenious people, we may depend upon it they had some specious reason at least for their devotion towards these things.

Of the Copti.

The posterity of the antient Egyptians are held to be the present Cophti race, among whom, it is generally held, St. MARK first planted Christianity, and was the first Bishop of Alexandria, then the metropolis of Egypt. His successors, according to Dr. HEYLIN, were continually chosen out of the presbytery, or cathedral clergy, till the time of HERACLIUS and DIONYSIUS, and afterwards out of the clergy at large. Their jurisdiction was settled by the council of Nice, over all the churches of the diocese of Egypt, which included Lybia, Pentapolis, and Egypt, properly so called; and afterwards the Ethiopian, or Abassine churches became subject to this Patriarch, and have ever since acknowledged a relation to him. Upon their revolting from the Greek Emperors, and putting themselves under the dominion of the Saracens, the Christian religion sensibly decayed, but much more since the conquest of that kingdom by the Turks, which happened about two hundred years ago, and there are not now thought to be fifty thousand of them in the country. They are deemed hereticks, on account of their holding but one nature in Christ. They also retain the rite of circumcision, as well as baptism; and hold that no baptism is valid, unless administred by the priest in the open church. They give infants the sacrament of the eucharist also as soon as christned, and admit marriages in the second degree of consanguinity, without a dispensation; and in their liturgies read a Gospel written by NICODEMUS. They differ from the church of Rome in administering the sacrament of the Lord's supper, in both kinds; and allow neither extreme unction, nor the eucharist to be administred to the sick. Neither do they agree with that church in the points of purgatory or praying for the dead; but the Roman Missionaries boast that they have made good Catholicks of great numbers of them of late; however the Patriarch of Alexandria still retains his authority, and has not submitted to the infallibility of the Pope, as I can learn.

They say mass in the Cophtick and Arabick languages, and when they sing the passion, and come to the place where, it is said, JUDAS betrayed our Saviour, the congregation cry arfat, that is to say horned beast, or cuckold. And when they read that PETER cut off the ear of the high priest's servant, they all answer asia boutros, or well done PETER. And if we credit the accounts the Roman Missionaries give both of clergy and people, they are intolerably ignorant; but something in this case must be imputed to prejudice. Mr. THEVENOT relates, that they have a legend of our Saviour's life during his minority, which says, that an angel every day brought him food from heaven; and that our Lord spent his infancy in making birds of clay, which he afterwards breathed upon, and they flew away. It relates also that a roasted cock being served up at the last supper, and JUDAS being gone out to betray our Lord, he commanded the roasted cock to go after him, who brought intelligence that JUDAS had sold him, and for this service the cock was admitted into paradise: and it is observable that MAHOMET has inserted this fable of the cock's being admitted into heaven, with some alteration, in his alcoran. I shall here add the observations of Father BROTHAIS on Upper Egypt, as I find them inserted in our philosophical transactions, which are as follow:

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Observations on Upper Egypt.

'I have spent three months of 1669 in a voyage to the Upper Egypt, accompanied with my brothers, the Fathers CHARLES and FRANCIS, always ascending up the Nile as high as three hundred leagues above Cairo, being two days journey on this side of the Cascata's of the Nile. I there admired store of idol temples, yet entire together, with very antient palaces filled with statues and idols. I counted in one place alone seven obelisks, like those at Rome, and above an hundred and twenty columns in one hall, of the bigness of five brasses, filled within and without from the top to the bottom, with hieroglyphick letters, and with figures of false deities. I found statues of white marble, and some of black, of the bigness of three persons, with swords on their sides, and of an hard stone; particularly there was a man and a woman of the height of eight fathoms at least, though seated in chairs, and well proportioned; there were also two other statues of black marble, representing women with globes on their heads.

'We met but with two places where antiquities are to be seen, one whereof is called Lazon, and the other Candion, which is a very antient castle, and according to the tradition of the country, formerly the residence of a King. Nor indeed is this hard to believe, even before one enters into it, considering in the avenues to the said castle are a great number of sphynxes standing on a row, and turning their heads towards the alley. This idol, with the head of a woman and the body of a lion, was once adored

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'as a Deity by the Egyptians. They are diſtant 'from each other about two paces, and are twen-'ty foot long. I walked in four alleys, ending 'at four gates of the caſtle, and for ought I know 'there may be more of them, ſince I went but 'half the round of the caſtle, which is very ſpa-'cious. I reckoned ſixty of them on the ſide of 'one alley, and as many over againſt it; and 'fifty one in another alley; the alleys being a-'bout as broad as the mall. The gates of the 'caſtle are of an extraordinary height, covered 'with excellent ſtones; meaſuring one, which 'makes the height of it, I found it twenty ſix 'foot long, and proportionably thick. I believe 'there are above a million of figures in profile, 'none in front: I ſpeak of thoſe which are gra-'ven on the walls and pillars. That which moſt 'pleaſed me, was the ground, where the azure 'and other colours, which are like enamel, ap-'pear as freſh, as if they had been laid on but 'a month before. There are temples ſo ſpacious, 'that three thouſand people may ſtand on the roof 'with eaſe. In the ſame caſtle there is a pond, 'the water whereof is bitter, ſet about with fine 'ſtones.

'There are a great number of Chriſtian Coph-'tis in this country, who have many monaſteries 'and antient churches, but poor. We have paſ-'ſed many places where was neither prieſt nor 'church, but only the poor people, like ſheep 'without a ſhepherd.

An account of the porphyry pillars in Egypt, by Dr. ROBERT HUNTINGTON.

Porphyry, an account of it.

'IT may be, I think, taken for granted, that 'there is no quarry, or rather, rock of por-'phyry, in all the lower parts of Egypt. For 'ſo far as the Nile overflows, is perfect ſoil; and 'the boundaries of this overflow (which are ne-'ver ten miles from the channel that I ſaw, ge-'nerally ſcarce half of it; and in ſome places but 'a mile or two, the Delta excepted, which is 'univerſally covered all but the north ſide to the 'ſea, and a little to the eaſt for ſome miles above 'Damietta) are riſing hills of ſand, beyond which 'is perfect deſert, upon the Africk ſide. [Higher 'ſouth, I have been told, there are rocks nearer 'the river, and in ſome places ſtraiten it.] Un-'der theſe ſands there is a yielding ſtone, not 'much harder than chalk, but not ſo white, and 'very eaſily managed, as at the mummies deep 'ſpacious vaults, which were the old repoſito-'ries for the dead. And the like may alſo be 'ſaid of thoſe cells or ſepulchres, which are hewn 'purely out of the rocky earth, three quarters 'of a mile to the ſouth of Alexandria. Albeit 'nearer to the ſea there are ſtones of a harder 'kind, and with which they build, but by their 'mouldring away, as appears by the remains of 'houſes, within the walls of the city, it is plain 'they cannot endure the weather, which is ſuffi-'ciently corroding there. The iron, which once 'plated their thick wooden gates, being moſtly 'eaten away, and the deep characters upon the 'ſides of theſe very porphyry pillars exceedingly 'defaced. Indeed about Memphis, that is, near 'the pyramids, they have a milder air, and the 'hieroglyphicks cut in theſe ſtones will laſt well 'enough, but if they are removed into a rougher, 'they will crumble and ſcale, as I found by expe-'rience: for having procured four ſtones the beſt 'marked with thoſe figures of antiquity I could 'meet with, and ſent them down to Alexandria, 'in order to their tranſportation for England, I 'found them upon my ſecond voyage into Egypt 'very much injured, being put into the cuſtom-'houſe-yard, (where they lye ſtill embargoed by 'the Aga.) But yet farther into the country, there 'are mountains of harder ſtone. In the Nitri-'an, now the deſert of St. Macarius, and not 'far from the lake where the true nitre incruſ-'tates on the top of the water, there are many, 'and ſome of them not utterly unlike porphy-'ry. That which neareſt reſembles its colour, 'but not its conſiſtence, is the vein that pro-'duces the eagle ſtone, of which there are many 'in the Bahr Batama, a great ſand valley.

'However I cannot pronounce there is no 'porphyry hereabouts, for in the chief monaſtery 'of the four now remaining, of three hundred 'ſixty ſix, dedicated to the Bleſſed Virgin, the 'two ſtones which ſecure their entrance are of 'the like, if not the very ſame ſubſtance, which 'I more particularly obſerved, upon the account 'of their ingenious contrivance: for the people, 'lying otherwiſe at the mercy of the roving Arabs, 'with theſe two mill-ſtones, for that's their make, 'thus make good the gate, or paſſage, into which 'they run them, and then drive a great wooden 'wedge between them on the inſide, which ſo 'faſtens them that they cannot be moved but on 'the inſide: and of ſuch a ſort of porphyry is the 'noted ſphynx, that mighty head and ſhoulders 'yet ſtanding by the northern pyramids. I have 'indeed been told of a place upon mount Sinai, 'whence this porphyry came: and they pretend 'to ſhew the very rock, where the two excellent 'double rows of pillars in the church of Beth-'lehem were hewn: though I went away ſatiſ-'fied it was quite a different ſort of ſtone. Ano-'ther tells of a pillar of the ſame make, yet ly-'ing there, and if this be certain you need ſeek 'no farther. Albeit I muſt tell you, that the 'ſtones brought from thence with the repreſentati-'on of a buck (as it is termed) upon them, tho' 'reddiſh, are of a much finer, and more even 'texture. Father CARLO FRANCISCO D'OR-

'LEANS,

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'LEANS, now ſuperior of the Capuchins at Cairo, who went three hundred leagues up the Nile, told me of many temples, ſtatues and pillars at that diſtance, though I cannot be ſure he ſaid there were any of porphyry; but ſince it was in Thebais, why may we not ſuppoſe them of that black, white, and red, ſpeckled Thebaick marble, famous in the world, and wherewith the leſſer pyramid perhaps was cruſted, yet to be ſeen upon the ground about it, which when poliſhed looks finely.

'Thoſe which I have my ſelf ſeen, are one of them at Matarea, three or four miles eaſt of Grand Cairo, and two at Alexandria juſt within the wall upon the north ſide of the city, (for POMPEY's pillar, as they call it, half a mile without the gate to the ſouth, is quite of another make and matter.) One of theſe is thrown down and broken in pieces, but was of the ſame dimenſions for length and thickneſs, as the other. The Franks call them AGULIA's, the Engliſh particularly CLEOPATRA's needles, but the inhabitants content themſelves with the general name of pillars. They have no baſis or pedeſtal above ground, and if they ever had they muſt needs be very deep in the earth. The ſtone itſelf is ſomething more lively than the porphyry of St. JOHN's font at Epheſus, much more vivid than thoſe four tall ſquare pillars at Tadmor, or Palmyra, which are each of them, I think, but of one piece; whilſt all the reſt exceeding many of another ſort of ſtone, are of ſeveral pieces, and round. The clearneſs of its complexion may perhaps be attributed in part to the air which corrodes them, eſpecially upon the north and eaſt. The hieroglyphick character, with which they are engraven, is perhaps the aboriginal Egyptian letter, long ſince worn out of common uſe in the country, as the Samaritan, ſo it is now generally called, was amongſt the Jews, and bears proportion with the China, now in uſe, where each character repreſents a word, or perhaps a ſentence; and moreover it ſeems to be written in the ſame way from top to bottom, as may be ſeen by the board I brought from a door in the village Succara, next to the mummies, the largeſt piece of Egyptian writing perhaps at this day in Europe. I confeſs that in the vaults, or prieſts chambers, cut out of the rock cloſe by the ſecond pyramid, the whole walls are inſcribed therewith, but I ſpeak of an original. And if all that is there written were but exactly copied, it might be then lawful to hope that the language ſo long ſince dead and buried in the houſe of bondage, might have its reſurrection in the land of liberty.

'That ſuch vaſt monuments might be removed from place to place is difficult indeed, but not impoſſible; for ſome of theſe mountains, from whence they are ſuppoſed to be dug are near the Red ſea; and Suez, which ſtands upon it, from Cairo is but two or three days journey, and the Nile leſs. How poſſible it is to convey mighty weights by water let the obelisks of Rome declare, which were all of them brought from this very country: and that ſuch things may be done by land too, though not by every one, is plain enough, becauſe we ſee they have been done.

'At Balbeck, which is fourteen hours from Damaſcus (others ſay but ſeven) whither I went accompanied by Mr. ANTHONY BALAM, and Mr. JOSEPH VERNEY, there is a ſtone about ſixty foot long, on the north ſide of the caſtle wall, and two more of ſixty each; and I believe we ſaw the way they travelled, having left one of their company, though not quite ſo big in the road, as a monument there to this very day.'

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The obſervation that Dr. HUNTINGTON makes, that the primitive way of writing among the Egyptians ſeems to have been the ſame as among the Chineſe at this day, has a great deal of probability in it; and he might have carried it farther, perhaps, and added that all nations expreſſed themſelves the ſame way originally; for as words were in uſe long before letters were known, ſo there is no doubt every people fixed upon ſome certain characters to expreſs their words, and to record ſuch actions as they thought deſerved it; and theſe were as generally underſtood as their reſpective languages. It was a kind of ſhort hand, where every character expreſſed a word, and ſometimes a ſentence; and theſe characters obtained the name of hieroglyphicks. But when that more certain way of compoſing words by letters came in uſe, it is no wonder that hieroglyphicks were laid aſide, nor can it be expected we ſhould interpret thoſe myſterious characters any farther than the antients were pleaſed to interpret them to us, as they have done in ſome few inſtances, unleſs ſome of the learned in the primitive ages ſhould riſe again to inſtruct us. From entire characters the antients proceeded to write the conſonants of every word, and left the reader to ſupply the defect of vowels; and thus, it ſeems, were the ſcriptures of the old teſtament penned, which people beginning to read variouſly, ſome of the learned added accents, or marks to ſupply the place of vowels, and thus the Hebrew is written at this day; but every other nation almoſt has introduced vowels, which is found much the moſt eaſy and intelligible way of writing, and there ſeems to be little room left for farther improvements on this article at preſent.

Remarks on the antient hieroglyphicks.

From Dr. HUNTINGTON's obſervations, and ſome other learned gentlemen upon marble and porphyry, it ſeems pretty evident that the antients

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had not the art of caſting ſtones in imitation of them, as has been ſuggeſted by ſome writers; and that the true porphyry is very ſcarce, though there are ſome kinds of ſpotted marble which reſemble it ſo nearly, that an unwary eye may be deceived, particularly that which has paſſed for porphyry among the ruins of Tadmor or Palmyra is another kind of ſtone, according to the Doctor, though ſeveral gentlemen who viewed thoſe ruins, it ſeems, took it for ſuch. But whether the porphyry uſed at Alexandria, and in other noble buildings in Egypt, was dug in the Arabian mountains to the eaſtward of the Red ſea, or in Thebais called Upper Egypt, I find is very uncertain, though the general opinion has been that Thebais afforded the fineſt ſtone in the world, and the moſt curious marble has obtained the name of Thebaick marble. How thoſe vaſt columns and obelisks were brought either from Thebais, or the Arabian mountains, the Doctor does not pretend to inform us; but having concluded there is no ſuch thing as caſt marble, he ſays, we may be aſſured the antients had carriages which would tranſport ſuch a vaſt bulk from one place to another, becauſe we find thoſe pillars in places far diſtant from any ſuch rocks or quarries, from whence they were hewed: and there is no doubt they had ſuch carriages, if there was never any ſuch thing as caſt marble, but it were to be wiſhed the antients had left us ſome hints upon what kind of carriages, or with what draught cattle they were able to carry ſuch a prodigious bulk and weight by land as POMPEY's pillar is ſaid to be.

I ſhall conclude the ſtate of Egypt with the account Mr. THEVENOT gives us of the annual preſent the Grand Seignior ſends from Grand Cairo to Mecca with the pilgrims, which amounts to one third of the value of the revenues of this kingdom. All the particulars contained in this preſent are by the Franks called MAHOMET's veſt, and are wrought in the caſtle of Cairo.

The pilgrimage from Cairo to Mecca, with the Grand Seignior's preſent.

At the time appointed for the caravan to prepare for Mecca, the preſents are brought with great ſolemnity from the caſtle, through the city to the palace of the Emir Adge, who is captain of the caravan of pilgrims, which our author had the opportunity of ſeeing performed. In the beginning of the proceſſion came the ſervants of the Beys or Lords of Cairo, followed by the chiaux, azapes, and janizaries; and after them the Beys in perſon, of whom the Emir Adge, and ſeveral other officers had rich coſtans or coats on, preſented them by the Baſſa on this occaſion: then came the Janizaries of the divan followed by men carrying four very long pieces of crimſon velvet, embroidered with Arabick letters of gold as large as one's finger, and others carried a large door-piece of velvet embroidered in the ſame manner; after theſe came a camel well harneſſed, carrying a great pavilion or tent of crimſon ſattin embroidered with gold, and ſhaped like a bell, with a great gilt ball on the top of it; then a little ſquare pavilion, carried by a man, and ſome other utenſils, which were all to be employed in hanging and adorning the Caaba, or little temple of Mecca: after theſe great numbers of banners and colours were carried in proceſſion, all the ſanto's with drums and muſick attending them; the people in the mean time preſſing and crowding to touch the ſacred utenſils, and thoſe that could not get near enough threw a piece of linen to touch them, holding one end in their hands that they might draw it back again; and it is not to be conceived with what devotion they would kiſs the thing that had touched but a rope employed in the ſacred preſent, which was to adorn the place they eſteem moſt holy.

Theſe ornaments being lodged at the palace of the Emir Adge, two days after he went out of town encamping near the city. The cavalcade on this occaſion was not very different from the former, only there were ſix field pieces, which the Emir always carries with him on theſe expeditions: there were alſo a great many little children mounted on camels and horſes, who were the ſons of the Emir's officers, and ſeveral camels loaden with proviſions for the journey. A multitude of ſantos in ſtrange antick habits alſo followed dancing and ſcruing themſelves into a thouſand ridiculous ſhapes and poſtures, like maſquers at a carnaval, as our author expreſſes himſelf. At length came the bleſſed camel which carried the pavilion above-mentioned, richly dreſſed out, with another to relieve him when he was weary.

Five caravans of pilgrims annually.

It is wonderful, our author obſerves, to ſee the multitudes which come from all places to perform this pilgrimage, there being no leſs than five caravans of them, viz. That of Cairo, which conſiſts of Egyptians, and of all thoſe that come from Conſtantinople and the neighbourhood of it. That of Damaſcus, in which are all the pilgrims of Syria. That of the Magrebius, or thoſe who come from the weſtward, conſiſting of the natives of Barbary, Fez, and Morocco, who meet at Cairo, and thoſe of Perſia and India. Thoſe who come from Fez and Morocco undergo the greateſt fatigue, travelling by land over large deſerts, in which they employ a whole year, and one half of them uſually die in the journey. The caravan of Cairo, our author ſays, was very numerous when he was there; there being in it four Beys or Princes, and ſeveral other great Lords, beſides an hundred thouſand other pilgrims, as was given out; but he underſtood afterwards they did not amount to a fifth part of that number. The Emir Adge, or captain of the caravan has uſually fifteen hundred camels to carry his baggage,

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gage, and ſell to thoſe who loſe their own, for many of them die in the way, and he has five hundred camels alſo to carry water only.

The Emir Adge having encamped ſome time cloſe to the city, removed twelve miles farther to the Birque, being a great baſon or reſervatory of water, about twelve miles to the eaſtward of Cairo, and is the rendezvous of all the caravans. The Emir Adge decamped from thence on the eighth of Auguſt, it being the cuſtom for the caravan of Cairo to ſet out ſeven and fifty days after the beginning of the Ramadan, that they may be at Mecca at the time preſcribed: the next day, being the ninth of Auguſt, the caravan of Magrebius, who come from the weſtern part of Africk, ſet forward; theſe do not depend on the Emir Adge of Cairo, but have a chief of their own. They travel chiefly in the night to avoid the heat, which is inſupportable, and when there is no moon they have men who carry torches, and either in their camps, or on the march, that infinite number of lights which are ſpread over the deſerts make a noble illumination.

There are other reaſons for going this pilgrimage to Mecca beſides pure devotion: many go upon the account of trade, merchandize being brought thither from almoſt every part of the known world; and ſome go, it is ſaid, to eſcape the puniſhment of their crimes: for let a man have been guilty of the moſt notorious facts, he is never called in queſtion if he makes this journey afterwards, but obtains a general indemnity, and the character of a ſaint, on account of the fatigue and hazard he has undergone to ſee the holy place. But whatever may be the true inducement to the undertaking this journey, all perform it with abundance of ſeeming devotion, repeating or ſinging ſome verſes of the alcoran all the way they go; and beſtowing their charity according to their reſpective circumſtances: as to their behaviour when they arrive at the holy place I have given an account of it already in treating of the Perſian pilgrims.

About ſix weeks after the ſetting out of the caravan from Cairo, it being computed that they are ready to return, an Aga marches from Cairo to guard the freſh proviſions which people ſend to their relations in the caravan; all which are ſealed up to be delivered to thoſe they are directed. The Aga has a great number of camels aſſigned him for this ſervice; and uſually meets the pilgrims half way, being very well paid for his trouble. The year our author was in Egypt, the caravan returned and encamped at the Birque twelve miles from the city on the thirteenth of November, and the caravan of Magrebius arrived there the day before; ſeveral people came from Cairo to the Birque to meet their friends, and welcome them home; and upon theſe occaſions they ſalute and kiſs all they know five or ſix times; and indeed, there is nothing to be ſeen in the city but kiſſing and congratulations for five or ſix days ſucceſſively, or elſe people lamenting the death of their relations who died in the journey.

The pilgrims are forty five days in their journey from Cairo to Mecca, and as many in returning, beſides the time they ſpend there; but they make very eaſy journeys, often ſtopping to unload and load their camels, of which many die as well as of the people. They find but little water in the way, and that exceeding bad, and freſh proviſions they meet with none but what they carry with them. What incommodes them moſt are the hot winds, which frequently ſuffocates, or otherwiſe deſtroys them: in one day, it ſeems, their died ſeveral hundred of pilgrims by the hot winds in this journey; and not leſs than ſix thouſand belonging to the caravan of Cairo died by one misfortune or other. It is no uncommon thing, as our author relates, to hear a man ſinging ſome verſes of the alcoran, and in a moment ſee him drop down dead from his camel: and thoſe who return alive are ſo altered and extenuated that they can hardly be known by their friends; notwithſtanding which there is not a year but many women and children perform this pilgrimage.

Thoſe who have made this journey are called adgi or pilgrims, and are in great eſteem in the countries where they live ever after. The Emir Adge amaſſes vaſt ſums in this command; for beſides his other profits he is entitled to the effects of all that die in the journey, of which perquiſite alone he made three hundred thouſand piaſtres this year, there were ſo many of the pilgrims that died: he is alſo ſupreme judge of all the people under his charge during the expedition.

CHAP.

THE PRESENT STATE OF TURKEY in EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Treats of Crim and Little Tartary, and of Oczakow, or Budziack Tartary.

CHAP. I.

SINCE moſt of the principal towns in Crim and Little Tartary are garriſoned by the Turks, and the Cham, or Han of Tartary is a vaſſal of the Grand Seignior's, and as ſubject to be depoſed by him as any other of his Viceroys: This country upon ſecond thoughts, may very properly be ſtyled a part of the Turkiſh empire, and as it is the moſt eaſterly part of it in Europe, falls firſt in my way as I travel from Aſia to the weſtward.

Oczakow and Budziack Tartary.

A late traveller who went from Bender a city upon the Nieſter in Beſſarabia through Oczakow, or Budziack Tartary, and from thence through Little Tartary and Crim into Koban and Nogaian Tartary, gives us as good an account of theſe countries as I have met with. He relates, that he ſet out from Bender the fourteenth of November 1711. paſſing through ſeveral villages of Moldavians and Walachians, who choſe rather to live under the dominion of the Han than of their own Princes impoſed on them by the Grand Seignior. The next day he arrived at Palanka, a little town with a ruinous caſtle, ſituate on an eminence near the Nieſter; from hence he travelled over a deſert about thirty leagues broad, being a part of Akerman Tartary, where he met with no inhabitants, but ſome droves of horſes kept by the Tartars; who lead the ſame wandring life the Nomades did of old, having neither houſes nor ſettled habitations; but dwell like their anceſtors, in travelling portable villages with their waggons and tents, in which they keep their wives and children, while ſome of them are always employed in making incurſions into the neighbouring countries. Their uſual food is the fleſh of their oxen and horſes, cheeſe and milk, eſpecially that of mares.

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On the twentieth of November our traveller reached the town of Oczakow, ſituate near the mouth of the Boriſthenes, in the latitude of 4[illegible] degrees odd minutes. The town is commanded by a Baſſa, and ſtands on the ſide of a hill ſurrounded with a thick wall, but is not very large, and on the top of the hill there is a caſtle. From hence he travelled over a deſert of fifty leagues to the town of Precop, which ſtands on the Iſthmus of the Taurica Cherſoneſe, now Crim Tartary, but by the natives this town is called Hor, or Hor Capi. It conſiſts of ſome miſerable houſes made of ſtakes and branches of trees, covered over with mud or cow-dung, as moſt of the reſt of the houſes of the country are. Here is a line or intrenchment caſt up quite croſs the Iſthmus, in the middle whereof is a ſquare tower, through which there is an opening that ſerves as a paſſage in and out of the town, and is ſecured by a great gate, and the line above-mentioned ſerves as a ditch to it on the north weſt, and is defended by ſeveral little towers built at equal diſtances. The caſtle is but weak and in ill repair, having about eighteen pieces of iron canon upon the works, and a company of janizaries for the garriſon.

The ſecond ſon of the Cham is ſtyled by the Tartars, Hor Bey, or Lord of Hor (Precop), his revenues ariſe from ſome ſalt-pits in the neighbourhood of the city, and by the duties of a certain liquor called boza, made of millet, flower and water, which ferments together, and is ſtrong enough to fuddle a man. The Hor Bey has no authority

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EUROPE.

By

H. Moll *Geographer*.

30 40 50 60 Degrees East from London

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40

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Cross I.
Nova Zembla
Loomis Bay
Str. of Waygats
Str. of Nassow
Mon. Trois Kogo
Arctick Circle
Part of Great Tartary
the EMPIRE of
RUSSIA
SIBERIA
MOSCOVY
DOMINIONS of
SWEDEN
DENMARK
POLAND
TURKY in EUROPE
TURKY in ASIA
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
INDEPENDENT TARTARY
A Salt Lake
A Sandy Desart
GULF of BASSORA
PERSIA
ARABIA
ASIA
EUROPE
North Cape
Wardhus Fort
Varanger
Lapland
Tornea
Archangel
White Sea
Dwina R.
Lake Onega
Ladoga L.
Abo
Finland
Revel
Dorpat
Riga
Petersburg
Narva
Wyburg
Kexholm
Nyenschantz
Nottenburg
Duna R.
Wilna
Mirsky
Grodno
Smolensko
Moscow
Twer
Yaroslaf
Wologda
Beloozero
Totma
Kargorod
Pezerskoi
Solikamskoi
Yeniseia
Tobol
Tara
Tomskoi
Irtish R.
Obdorskoi
Samaroskoi
Demian
Obi R.
Narim
Makuskoi
Samara
Kasan
Nieseta
Utko
Kama
Tumen
Tobol R.
Ufa
Woronetz
Don R.
Camishinca
Wolga
Astracan
Circassi Tar.
Circassi
Kief
Poltowsk
Isdem
Lasla
Lembirg
Kamieniec
Lazy
Bender
Belgorod
Bukhi
Danube R.
Dniester R.
Niper R.
Little Tartary
Perecop
Crim Tartary
Dniepr R.
Boryst. R.
Sophia
Adrinople
Constantinople
Salonichi
Smirna
Scanderoon
Alepo
Tripoli
Cyprus I.
Rhodes
Candia
Sidon
Damascus
Jerusalem
Cairo
Lucko
Amasia
Bursia
Erzerum
Kara R.
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Bassora
Erivan
Derbent
Diarbeck
Ispahan
Bagdad
Taurus
Botlis
Amyraea
Tigris
Euphrates
Aras R.
Volga R.
Ural R.
Ob R.
Irtish R.
Tobol R.
Yenisei R.
Lena R.

CHAP. I.

authority in the caſtle: this, and all the other fortified towns which ſurround Crim Tartary being garriſoned by the Turks, and neither the Cham nor his ſon have any authority in them, nor are ever permitted to lodge in the caſtles. The palace of the Hor Bey at Precop is an ordinary wooden houſe, and nothing about it which deſerves a particular deſcription.

Bread is very ſcarce here, the Tartars ſeldom eating any, but live upon milk, cheeſe, and ſhorba, the laſt is a ſavoury diſh mentioned already, compoſed of little pieces of meat boiled with wheat and barley, high ſeaſoned with ſpice, and buttered; and you are ſure to find a kettle of milk over the fire in every houſe. From Precop our traveller went in three days to Kuſlowe, a pretty large port town, inhabitted by Turks, Tartars, Armenians and Jews, and ſurrounded by a ruinous wall. Here are ſeveral Turkiſh moſques built of white ſtone: the Greeks and Armenians have each of them a church alſo, and the Jews a ſynagogue. The Turkiſh Saiques import hither rice, coffee, dried figs, raiſins, dates, cloth and ſtuffs, and return back loaden with ſlaves and corn.

On the firſt of December he arrived at Bachiſerai, the capital of Crim Tartary. It is an open town, ſituate between two mountains which ſerve inſtead of walls: it is well peopled with Tartars, Armenians, Greeks and Jews. The three laſt pay to the Cham a crown a quarter, but the Tartars are excuſed from all taxes, except ten out of every hundred ſlaves they take in their excurſions. The houſes in this town are the beſt in the country, and their moſques of white ſtone ſome of them covered with lead. Their hans or caravanſeras are convenient enough, and their water excellently good.

The Han's palace here, is a large irregular building, but commodious enough, at the entrance into the great court are two fine tombs of the Chams who have been buried there, which it ſeems, does not happen often, for they are generally depoſed and baniſhed to the iſle of Rhodes, where they lay their bones. This Prince coins ſmall money of five aſpers value. His guards are about twelve hundred, and paid by the Grand Seignior: when the Porte enters into a war, the Cham and his ſubjects are obliged to march againſt the enemy; Crim Tartary furniſhes thirty thouſand men: thoſe of Akerman and the deſerts between Oczakow and Aſoph twenty thouſand men; and the Nogaians uſually find more than both of them, tho' theſe are voluntiers, and can ſcarce be called ſubjects to the Han: all of them go into the field more on account of the plunder, than out of any ſenſe of duty to their Prince. They receive no pay, and take no other proviſion with them than ſome talcan, being flower made of cummin; and of this they carry twenty or thirty pounds in a leathern ſack faſtened behind their ſaddles: when they can get any mares milk they dilute the flower in a wooden diſh, and when they cannot meet with milk, water ſerves their turn: and this is all the proviſion they have ſometimes for a month together, unleſs they plunder ſome village in their way where they find meat and bread; for though they are not much uſed to bread, any thing goes down with them on their incurſions, when their appetites are ſo keen, it is ſaid, that they will eat in one day as much as would ſerve them ſeveral days.

The Cham, our traveller relates, had but a ſmall number of women, guarded by four black eunuchs; and the Tartars in general, he obſerved contented themſelves with one wife, tho' allowed four, and ſeldom touched their female ſlaves, as their law permits; but choſe to ſell them to the Turks, who give a very good price for them: one reaſon whereof may be, that they have not the ſame notions of beauty as the Turks and other nations have, for beauty with them conſiſts in little eyes ſunk deep in their heads, black thick eyebrows, a large flat noſe and face, and a ſhort punch ſhape; which is the general make of theſe Tartars: and it is obſerved, that, tho' their eyes are not beautiful, yet they are very ſharp and piercing, and a kind of natural perſpective, being able to diſtinguiſh objects at a ſurpriſing diſtance. Perſons of the Crim-Tartars.

The Cham does not confine his children as the Grand Seignior does; but each of them has a diſtinct court, and ſome military employment aſſigned him. The eldeſt ſon is ſtyled Sultan GALGA, which is equivalent to the title of Dauphin in France. The ſecond ſon is called Hor Bey, Lord of Hor, as has been obſerved already; and the third Noradin Bey: the reſt have their titles from ſome places in Akerman Tartary. There are beſides four ſorts of nobility among the Tartars. The firſt are ſtyled Ghereim Myrſa. The ſecond Zidgirt Myrſa. The third Manſir Myrſa: and the fourth Kaiha Myrſa. The heads of theſe four are called Chirim Beys; and our author compares them to Dukes, without whom he ſays, the Cham cannot undertake any thing. Theſe Chirim Beys and principal Myrſas are the Generals and officers of the Tartars; and their people voluntarily march under their command, without receiving either pay, horſes, clothing, or ſubſiſtence, from the Grand Seignior, or the Cham: their ſhare of plunder is the only pay they expect. Upon the leaſt intelligence of a war, or an intended incurſion, they immediately aſſemble, and do not fail to ſhew their approbation of it, by treating the meſſenger who brings them the news: then, according to our traveller, they ſay a domeſtick prayer, deſiring GOD would proſper the expedition, and grant them abundance of ſlaves, fine boys, Nobility.

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boys, and handſome virgins from the infidels, and a good ſhare of other booty: to which petition the wives and children and all the family ſay, amen. After which, taking their horſes and arms, and the bag of meal above mentioned, they march to the general rendezvous.

Tartars treated on joining the Turkiſh army.

When the Cham joins the Turkiſh army, he has immediately audience of the Grand Seignior, or of the Vizier, if he be not in the field: by whom he is magnificently entertained, and according to an antient cuſtom ſeveral hundreds of oxen, and ſome thouſands of ſheep are roaſted whole; and being impaled on ſtakes ſet obliquely in the ground at equal diſtances, and regularly intermixed with pyramids of thin large round loaves, and diſpoſed in right lines forming ſeveral alleys; the Tartars at a certain ſignal made, run and ſeize all the fleſh and bread, which is carried off clear in leſs than half an hour, as a ſpecimen of their dexterity in plundring, before the Grand Seignior, or the Vizier. After this they have no other proviſion given them, but ſubſiſt on the booty they take. The Nogaians beſides their talcan, or flower, carry cheeſe made of mares milk, and horſe fleſh dried in the ſun.

They all wear a ſhort cloak made of hard felt, which reaches no lower than their waiſts, and has a ſtiff collar which ſtands up about their necks; and this little cloak is called circaſs yapungi: it turns eaſily about the neck, and they always oppoſe that part of it which is cloſe to the wind and weather. They take two or three horſes with them to carry their ſlaves and plunder off, or remount themſelves if the horſe they ride happens to fail; and whenever they loſe a horſe, they immediately make a feaſt of him, inviting all their comrades to the delicious morſel. Their horſes have no other proviſion than what they find in the field, and are no leſs uſed to hardſhips than their maſters: they will ſcratch up the ſnow with their feet to come at the graſs, and will feed on the bark of trees, and the ends of the branches, where they can meet with nothing elſe.

Thus the Tartars live upon the march through their own deſerts, but ſoon change for better diet when they come into a Chriſtian country; and where they meet with any Tartarian villages in their excurſions or return, ſuch is their hoſpitality, that all is in common: there is no houſe but they may enter as freely as their own, and are as well received and ſerved as if they were at home. A brother Tartar no ſooner appears at the gate but the maſter or his ſlaves come and take his horſes, giving them hay, of which every family provides a good ſtock againſt winter; and the conach, or ſtranger, is treated with ſhorba and boiled milk. In the army the Tartars aſſociate themſelves by tens and twenties, dividing their plunder equally among them, as they do the tobacco and food they meet with, let the quantity be never ſo ſmall, and their juſtice and fidelity in this particular are very remarkable; but the tribute of ten ſlaves in every hundred they take, which they are obliged to give the Cham, is not ſo religiouſly paid. Thoſe ſlaves which are taken by the ſons, or ſervants of a Myrſa belong to him. When the Tartars meet with any conſiderable booty, they make no ſcruple of leaving their Captain and carrying the plunder to ſome place of ſecurity, and as ſoon as they have lodged it ſafely return again to their colours.

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Our traveller went from Bachiſerai to Almagick Serai, being about five leagues. This is the uſual reſidence of Sultan GALGA the Cham's eldeſt ſon: here he met with wine of the growth of the country not inferior to burgundy, or champaign, and ſo plentiful that it was ſold for leſs than two pence a bottle. From hence he travelled to Chiflick, the ſeat of CEPHENZA Myrſa, to whom he was recommended. He found the Myrſa ſitting by a good fire, and making our traveller ſit down by him, he called for pipes, tobacco and coffee: in the mean time a dinner was prepared in the haram, or women's apartment; for the female ſlaves generally dreſs the proviſion here, and putting the diſhes into a turning box, like thoſe in nunneries, they are taken from thence by the male ſlaves. The entertainment conſiſted of three diſhes, namely pilo, a broiled pike, and a ragout, which our traveller took for veal, but it proved to be a piece of a young colt, which was ſo well dreſſed and diſguiſed that he eat heartily of it: the Myrſa alſo called for wine for the ſtranger, tho' he drank none himſelf: it is not uſual, he obſerves, among the Mahometans to commend any diſh, or preſs the gueſts to eat of this or that, but every perſon is left to his liberty to eat what he pleaſes. However horſe fleſh is in ſuch eſteem among the Tartars, that whenever they make a preſent to a man of quality, it does not conſiſt in game or wild fowl, but part of a young colt; and at all feſtivals, ſuch as are made at a marriage or circumciſion, this is one diſh if it can be procured.

The Myrſa having entertained our traveller at dinner and ſupper, retired into his haram, and our author being ſhewn his lodging, one of the Myrſa's ſons brought him a bottle of water, a pipe and tobacco upon a Turkiſh table, and a couple of candles, and then left him to go to reſt. The ſtranger acquainting the Myrſa with it the next morning, and declaring his ſurprize, that a man of his quality ſhould employ his ſon in ſuch offices when he had ſo many ſlaves about him: the Myrſa replied, that he thought young men, let their quality be never ſo great, ought to accuſtom themſelves to mean employments and laborious works, becauſe it might be their fortune one day to be

Education of the Tartars.

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made ſlaves themſelves, either by poverty, or the chance of war, and if they were effeminately bred their fortune would then be inſupportable. That the Cham's eldeſt ſon Sultan GALGA was himſelf inured to the greateſt labours and fatigues, and did not live better in the field than the meaneſt Tartar: that he himſelf was the ſon of a Myrſa, who left him but a very ſlender fortune, but he and his brothers got what they had by their ſabres and their bows in the incurſions they made: that ſome of his ſons muſt do the like; and that his eldeſt was in a little time to march towards Circaſſia, with which country they were at war, on account of their having refuſed to give the annual tribute of ſlaves and horſes which they uſed to pay; and that the preſent Tartar Cham had been depoſed for ſome time, on account of miſconduct in a late expedition againſt the Circaſſians, in which he loſt forty thouſand men.

The Myrſa alſo acquainted our traveller, that he was about ſending one of his ſlaves, who was a native of Circaſſia, and to whom he had given his liberty, to buy ſlaves in that country: and it being demanded how he could trade thither in time of war, and if he was not apprehenſive the Circaſſian would keep his money and never return: the Myrſa replied, that the commerce for ſlaves and horſes was never interrupted by a war; for that nation had a particular regard to merchants. And as to the Circaſſian, he had a wife and children in their territories, and lived at his eaſe, ſo that he was not at all apprehenſive of his running away and defrauding him: and that this trade for ſlaves was wholly managed by ſuch Circaſſians as were ſettled in Crim Tartary, and about Taman and Temrock, or by the Armenian Merchants: for the Turks themſelves dare go no farther than the ſea ports of the Black ſea, or Palus Mæotis, and there received the ſlaves from their factors. And here it appears that the Chriſtians themſelves are frequently the brokers for Chriſtian ſlaves, and ſell them to Mahometans, though they are morally ſure that nine in ten of them, eſpecially the women and children, will renounce their faith, and embrace Mahometiſm. And no doubt many Chriſtians who are engaged in this traffick apprehend it to be as innocent as our people do to buy the ſons and daughters of the natives of Africk, ſtoln from their parents, or taken in war, and ſelling them again to the Catholick Spaniard to work in the mines. Such an influence has almighty gain over the conſciences of men, that the moſt unjuſt and inhumane practices ſhall appear innocent and laudable. Whole ſocieties and nations engage in the moſt ſcandalous and barbarous practices without reflecting on the flagrant villany, or once condemning themſelves for it, when blinded by a trifling intereſt. But to proceed, our traveller went next to Karaſon, a great town about two leagues from the ſeat of CEPHERSA Myrſa. The houſes are low and built of wood; but there are ſome handſome hans and caravanſeras, and four moſques pretty well built of ſtone: the inhabitants conſiſt chiefly of Armenians, Greeks and Jews; and the place is conſiderable on account of its being the greateſt horſe-market in Crim Tartary. From hence our traveller went thro' Crim, or rather the ruins of it; for there are not houſes enough ſtanding in that antient town to make it a tolerable village. The next town he came to was Caffa, antiently called Theodoſia, which is the largeſt city, and has the greateſt trade of any place in Crim Tartary. It is ſituate in 44 degrees odd minutes of north latitude, on the eaſt ſide of the peninſula, and gives name to the ſtreights near which it lyes: it is covered on the north-weſt by high mountains, at the foot of which it is very agreeably and advantageouſly ſituated, extending itſelf to the ſouth-eaſt along the ſea ſhore. It retains a great deal of its antient beauty, having the ſame walls that were built by the Genoeſe, and there are ſtill Latin inſcriptions to be ſeen on ſome part of them. The fineſt Chriſtian churches here have been converted into moſques, or deſtroyed to build moſques with their materials: the reſt have been either given or ſold by the Turks to the Greeks, or Armenians; of which the Greeks have ſeven, and the Armenians twenty, but one half of them are ruinous: moſt of them were built by the Genoeſe, as appears by their arms, which are ſtill remaining in ſeveral places, as well as the paintings of their ſaints: but all their ſtatues and emboſſed images have been deſtroyed by the Greeks and Armenians, as well as the ſupernumerary altars which were placed there by the Roman Catholicks, according to their cuſtom.

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Crim city in ruins.

Caffa city.

The harbour of Caffa is not ſo ſafe at preſent as it is generally repreſented, being almoſt choaked up for want of cleaning, it ſtands in need of a mole alſo to defend it from the ſouth eaſt wind, which often forces veſſels on ſhore here. From hence our author went to Jegnicale, another ſea port, but not capable of entertaining large veſſels. This, as well as all other fortified places, is commanded by a Turkiſh Baſſa: it is ſurrounded by a wall of hard ſtone, but is not very large, and the fortifications are irregular. The caſtle is ſeated on an eminence to the ſouth-weſt of the town, and terminated by a platform, on which are planted ſeveral braſs cannon: this caſtle commands all ſhips of any burthen which paſs through the ſtreight of Caffa. From hence our author paſſed over the ſtreight to Taman, which ſtands in Koban, or as ſome call it, Nogaian Tartary. Taman is a little but well peopled town;

Taman.

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the inhabitants conſiſting for the moſt part of Armenians, Georgians, Mingrelians and Circaſſians. The caſtle is thought to have been built by the Genoeſe, there being the arms of ſome of their conſuls found there. It is but of ſmall ſtrength, and garriſoned only by a company of janizaries commanded by their Tchorbadgi, or Captain.

Temrock.

From Taman our author travelled northward to Temrock, between which towns he obſerved ſome conſiderable ruins; but the houſes in the villages are like thoſe mentioned above, being made only with ſtakes and the branches of trees daubed over with clay, or cow-dung, and along the road there were ſeveral tumuli, or little hills, like thoſe we meet with in ſeveral parts of England. Temrock, is about ten leagues to the north of Taman, and inhabited by the ſame kind of people, and on the north there ſtands an old caſtle garriſoned by a company of janizaries. Temrock is only conſiderable for its trade in hides, caviar, honey and Circaſſian ſlaves and horſes, which pay two and an half per cent. duty to the Grand Seignior, and one and an half to the Cham. The duties which theſe two laſt towns pay, together with the capitation tax required of the Chriſtian inhabitants, amount one year with another to five and twenty thouſand crowns. This province is called Ada, and extends a great way north, ſouth and eaſt, being inhabited by the ſame kind of people as live in the above ſaid towns, who have fixed villages adjoining to the moveable hords of the Nogaians.

Nogaian Tartars ſubject to the Han.

Theſe Nogaians extend themſelves between the Palus Mæotis and the Caſpian Sea, keeping at about the diſtance of thirty hours, or leagues, one hord from another, ſometimes they approach nearer. From ſouth to north they are reckoned to extend from the river Trimelys to Cara Koeban, though it is obſerved they have very little regard to limits, but range wherever they are diſpoſed. They ſeldom apply themſelves to tillage, or make any bread, though they eat it heartily when they come at it; but, like the Crim Tartars, prefer horſe fleſh to all other food. They are governed by Beys or Myrſas of their own nation, or by ſuch as the Cham of Crim Tartary deputes from thence: the Turks look upon the Tartars in general to be almoſt as impure as the Chriſtians, though they profeſs the ſame religion, becauſe of their naſtineſs, and their negligence to perform their ablutions as the law requires; but if we can diſpenſe with a little uncleanlineſs, our author obſerves, that we cannot travel ſo cheap in any country as in this; for he did not pay more than two ſhillings a day for the horſes he hired and the man that went with him to bring them back; and their hoſpitality is ſo great, that they will not ſuffer a traveller to pay any thing either for man's meat, or horſe meat: however, they will accept a little preſent of tobacco, or the like, very gratefully, and frequently return ſomething in lieu of it.

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A Tartar village deſcribed.

The firſt keddi, or hord our traveller arrived at, he compares to a large ſheep-fold defended by a thick felt, ſupported by long ſtakes on that ſide the wind blew, and there was an awning like thoſe the ſailors make on board their ſhips to defend them from the weather; under which their calves, lambs and colts, the tendereſt of their cattle, were ſheltered. It was then very cold, the rivers being frozen over, and the earth covered with ſnow: in the middle and on the outſide of this fold ſtood their tents, ſhaped like bee-hives, and a hole at the top to let out the ſmoke, the fire being made in the middle of the tent, round which they lye. They have alſo waggons in their keddies to tranſport their tents and baggage, with their families, from place to place, which are drawn by that ſort of camels called dromedaries, with two bunches on their backs, according to our traveller, which, he ſays, are very common in this country. They keep their horſes purely for the ſaddle, which are as ugly in their kind as their maſters, but indefatigable; our author relates, that he travelled according to their cuſtom night and day, reſting but five hours in forty eight, without changing horſes. When he came to the end of his ſtage he found the people aſleep, except one tent without the fold, where they kept guard, for as they make frequent incurſions on the Coſſacks and Circaſſians, carrying off whole villages men, women and children, with every thing that's portable; theſe people ſometimes return the viſit, ſurprizing them in the night and carrying off all their cattle. But to proceed, our traveller's guide being known to the people of the keddi, he met with a very kind reception, and being deſired to ſit down on a piece of felt in one of the tents, the maſter of it directed ſupper to be got ready, whereupon his ſon, a little monſter (worthy of ſuch a father, ſays our author) brought in ſome cheeſe, or dried mare's milk, which he diluted in a little porringer for them to drink, and a piece of cold horſe fleſh which had been ſlightly broiled to eat, which he laid upon the coals again: the conak or landlord was ſo civil, it ſeems, to offer to call up his wife to dreſs their meat, but her attendance was diſpenſed with; however, there was nothing but a poor curtain which parted the room, on the other ſide of which the good woman lay; ſo that the Tartars do not ſeem ſo very careful of the chaſtity of their females as the Turks, having no bars, or partitions to keep the men at a diſtance from them. Our author relates, that he went with his guide to another keddi, where his guide's habitation was. At the door there

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Habits of the Nogaian Tartars.

there met them a young Tartar as deformed as himſelf, who called him father: he was packed up, as our author expreſſes himſelf, in a furred garment made of lamb-skins ſewed together, and girt about the middle with a leathern ſtrap, with a cap made of a skin: he kiſſed his father's hand, and took their horſes, and immediately after the wife and daughters appeared, who ſeemed very eager to pay their duty to him as the ſon had done. Their furrs were not at all richer than the young fellow's, but ſomething larger in the ſleeves and body, and not ſo long, which gave our traveller an opportunity of ſeeing their under petticoats of coarſe callico; under theſe they had drawers down to their heels, after the Turkiſh faſhion, with ſhifts which hung down over them abominably dirty; inſomuch that our author thinks they very well deſerve the appellation of naſty, given them by the Turks: their heads were covered with handkerchiefs, which they could juſt diſcern had been white, but were as foul as their drawers, or ſhifts, they were ſo tied upon their heads that the ends formed a kind of tuft: their hair hung down in two treſſes over their ſhoulders, and their eyes were larger than the men's; nor were their noſes ſo ſhort, but their faces were flat and ſquare, which is generally the make of the Tartarian women's faces: in ſhort, their countenances are not altogether ſo ſhocking as the men's.

The reader has obſerved, that the Palus Mæotis, and a line drawn from thence, or from the mouth of the river Don to the river Oby, are generally held to be the boundaries between Europe and Aſia, and conſequently that the city of Aſoph which ſtands on the eaſtern bank of the river Don, ought to have been taken notice of in Aſia; but as it was omitted there, and borders on Little Tartary, and the Nogaians I am now ſpeaking of, who are ſubject to the Han, I ſhall take an opportunity of deſcribing the ſituation of that important town in this place.

Aſoph is ſituate in 42 degrees odd minutes north latitude, at the mouth of the river Don, or Tanais, which there diſcharges itſelf into the Palus Mæotis. This town the Muſcovites took from the Turks and fortified it, whereby they opened a communication with the Palus Mæotis and the Black ſea, and conſequently with Conſtantinople itſelf, whither the Czar ſometimes ſent his ſhips of war, to the great terror of the Turks, who had long been in the peaceable poſſeſſion of thoſe ſeas. The Turks therefore having gained an advantage of the Muſcovites in the year 1711, and hemmed in their forces near Felizin on the river Pruth, not far from the place where that river diſcharges itſelf into the Danube, the Czar with his whole army was reduced to great diſtreſs, and in danger of being famiſhed: the Czar therefore to extricate himſelf out of theſe difficulties conſented to deliver up Aſoph again to the Turks, and to demoliſh all the forts he had erected at the mouth of the river Don, or Tanais; ſo that the Muſcovite is now excluded the navigation of the Palus Mæotis and the Black ſea, and the Grand Seignior is again ſole maſter of thoſe ſeas.

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Treats of the province of Beſſarabia, and the action at Bender.

Beſſarabia.

THE next province to the weſtward of Crim and Budziack Tartary, or Oczakow, is Beſſarabia, bounded by the river Nieſter, which divides it from Podolia on the north, by Budziack Tartary and the Black ſea on the eaſt, by the river Danube on the ſouth, and by Moldavia on the weſt. The chief towns of this province have been mentioned already in this volume, except Bender, which ſome reckon the moſt conſiderable, eſpecially ſince that famous defence the King of Sweden made there againſt the Turks with a handful of men.

Bender city.

Bender is ſituate on the river Nieſter, about an hundred miles to the north weſt of the Black ſea, and upwards of three hundred north of Conſtantinople; and is governed by a Turkiſh Baſſa. Hither the King of Sweden made his retreat after his defeat at Pultoway in Ukrania: which is a piece of hiſtory ſo modern and ſo very remarkable, that I ſhould be inexcuſable if I paſſed it by without taking notice of it now I am ſpeaking of Bender.

King of SWEDEN's retreat to Bender, and the tranſactions there.

The King of Sweden had for nine years ſucceſſively been bleſſed with a continual ſeries of ſucceſs; and as our author expreſſes it, to fight and to conquer had been always one and the ſame thing to CHARLES XII. inſomuch that he looked upon himſelf as both invincible and invulnerable, at leaſt his people apprehended ſo from his intrepidity in braving and deſpiſing the greateſt dangers, and remaining unhurt in the hotteſt fire amidſt ſhowers of bullets, while his troops fell in heaps about him, and his horſes under him, without the leaſt alteration in his countenance.

This hero having dethroned the King of Poland, and obtained mighty advantages againſt the Czar, ſeemed by his haughty anſwers to all applications which were made to him on the head of peace, to threaten the Ruſſian with the ſame fate; as, I will treat with him at Moſcow, and the like; and thoſe who were moſt intimate with him relate, that he propoſed ALEXANDER the Great for his pattern. Thoſe words in Quintus Curtius, know that you not only write to a King, but to your own proper King, which are part of the

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answer ALEXANDER wrote to DARIUS when he propoſed a treaty, were marked with his Majeſty's own hand in the Latin page: his views alſo were thought to be very extenſive from a reply he made to an old officer in Ukrania, who remonſtrated that it was againſt all rules of war to leave fortified towns behind him, and hazard the deſtruction of his army, by advancing ſo far in an enemy's country without magazines, proviſions, or forage for his horſe: to which repreſentation he anſwered, 'What, you are afraid of loſing ſight 'of your wife: if you are a true ſoldier and a 'lover of glory, I will lead you ſo far, that you 'ſhall ſcarce have news from Sweden once in three 'years.'

But the King of Sweden having loſt the battle of Pultoway the 18th of June 1709, the tables were turned, his army, it ſeems, being deſtitute of all proviſion, and the country deſtroyed before him by the Muſcovites; he was reduced to a neceſſity of fighting to great diſadvantage, and in the end to fly before an enemy he had contemned to the laſt degree. What contributed to this misfortune, was the wound he received in his foot the day before the battle: he made himſelf however be carried to the head of his army in a litter, which was ſhattered to pieces by a cannon ſhot: whereupon he mounted his horſe, which happening to be killed under him; his Generals in a manner forced him out of the field, or he had infallibly fallen into the enemies hands: the next day he croſſed the Boriſthenes with about eighteen hundred horſe, conſiſting of Swedes, Poles and Coſſacks, throwing into the river every thing that might retard their flight, even large cheſts of ſilver, for it is ſaid the King of Sweden had not leſs than five millions ſterling of treaſure with him, which he had raiſed in Saxony and Poland, when this misfortune happened. The river was very broad and the ſtream rapid, and there being but few boats to be had, many troopers who ventured to ſwim their horſes over periſhed.

They had however taken care to tranſport a coach for his Majeſty on account of his wound, and ſome little light waggons for thoſe that were diſabled: the reſt, ſome on horſeback and others on foot, followed as well as they could. They met with no proviſions in the deſerts, not ſo much as water for ſome time; and had they not had the Coſſacks for their guides, they had all infallibly periſhed. Theſe hardſhips dejected the people to a great degree, as might be obſerved by their countenances; only the King, it is ſaid, appeared always the ſame, nor did they ever hear any complaints from him on account of this ſudden turn of fortune, or the hazards he was yet expoſed to. In the mean time ſome Coſſacks were detached in ſearch of water towards Oczakow, a little fortified town near the mouth of the Boriſthenes and Bog, which diſcharge themſelves ſome miles below into the Black ſea. CHAP. II.

Having marched ſix days, they arrived within three miles of Oczakow, and the King ſent to compliment the Baſſa of the place, and to demand a paſſage through the Turkiſh territories under his government; but was prevented by a meſſage from the Baſſa, offering what he asked, and at the ſame time he ſent a conſiderable refreſhment to his Majeſty; but there wanting boats the King did not paſs the river Bog, near which Oczakow ſtands, till the 28th of June, and eſcaped the Ruſſian General WALKONISKY very narrowly, who was ſent by the Czar in purſuit of him; and had the mortification to ſee five hundred of the poor men that followed him taken priſoners by the Muſcovites within a little time after he paſſed the river, there being no veſſels to tranſport them.

The King having written a letter to the Grand Seignior to deſire his protection and a paſſage through his dominions, and the Baſſa of Bender ſending an invitation to his Majeſty to come thither, the King accepted of it, and arrived there the twelfth of July, being ſaluted with a ſalvo of the artillery and the acclamations of the janizaries, who were drawn up in two lines to receive him. His Majeſty had a tent pitched for him by the Baſſa's order on the ſide of the Nieſter, and the Baſſa ordered another to be erected for himſelf about an hundred paces from it: he made his Majeſty all the proteſtations of his friendſhip, and offers of ſervice imaginable, inviting him to take up his quarters in the city; but his Majeſty choſe to remain in his tent, and ſome days after made choice of a place on the other ſide of the Nieſter, where he encamped with all his followers, tents being provided for that purpoſe. The officers ſoon after began to build them houſes, and the ſoldiers huts, every one working for himſelf, and the number of the inhabitants daily increaſed, ſeveral Poles and Swedes finding means to eſcape from the Muſcovites and rejoin the King.

The King's wound was by this time become dangerous by his neglecting it, but he was at length prevailed on by his chief ſurgeon to ſuffer the proper remedies to be taken, and by the middle of Auguſt his Majeſty found himſelf able to walk. But ſurely, ſays our author, there never was a Prince endued with more patience, or better able to bear pain, as appeared by his behaviour under the ſurgeon's hands. His Majeſty about the beginning of this month ſent a detachment of eight or nine hundred men towards the frontiers of Poland, on pretence of obſerving what paſſed there, and promiſed to follow them in a ſhort time in order to join the Swediſh army, which it was believed was ſtill near Cracow; but the Muſcovites having ſeized all the paſſes leading to Poland, and having parties out as far as Walachia, intercepted

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intercepted the Swedes, and made them all prisoners. This was resented by the Turks as an act of hostility, and the Muscovite Ambassador at the Porte was obliged in his master's name to promise satisfaction should be given for the affront, and swear that it was done without the Czar's orders. Some affirm that the King of Sweden exposed this handful of men on purpose as a bait for the Muscovites, that the Turks might have a pretence of breaking with the Czar: but however that be, the Porte seemed at first heartily to espouse the King of Sweden's interest; made him considerable presents, and ordered a body of seven or eight thousand men to assemble near Bender, in order to convoy him towards his own dominions.

The King of Sweden was at first in great esteem among the Turks, who admired his temperance, and understanding that he drank nothing but water, and would not so much as taste any strong drink, they said he wanted but little of being a good Mussulman. The soldiery were extremely pleased to see him exercise the few troops he had left, and seemed to wish for nothing more than a war with Muscovy on his behalf: but the King of Sweden insisting on fifty thousand Men for a convoy, put the Turkish ministry out of temper with him, or rather the presents made by the Muscovites, soon altered the resolutions of the Porte, and instead of declaring war against the Czar, the Turks renewed their treaties with him.

The King of Sweden looking upon the Grand Vizier as his enemy, and the occasion of this conduct, caused a memorial to be drawn up and transmitted to the Grand Seignior by general PONIATOWSKI on the 13th of April 1710. It seems, when any person would deliver a petition, or memorial to the Grand Seignior, they have no more to do than to lift the paper high enough for him to see it as he passes along, and he orders it to be received and examined when he returns to the seraglio. Those who do not care to present the petition themselves, need only give a few pence to the first Turk, Greek, or Jew they meet, and they will not scruple the doing it for them. This method PONIATOWSKI took, not appearing in the matter himself, nor did the Grand Seignior enquire who presented it; but being satisfied it came from the King of Sweden, his Highness soon after sent his Majesty a present of twenty five fine horses with rich furniture, and an assurance that he would protect him against all his enemies. The Vizier at the same time sent a present to his Majesty, but he refused to receive it, telling those that brought it, he never received presents from his enemies; and he was too sincere, our author observes, to receive any thing of a man he was endeavouring to destroy; and in fact, the Vizier was not long after deposed; and as the Swedes flattered themselves, by their management. The new Vizier professed himself a friend to the King of Sweden; and perswaded the Grand Seignior to send him a present of four hundred purses, but advised his Majesty to accept the offer the court of Vienna made him, of giving him a free passage through the Emperor's Dominions: But the Cham of Tartary being in the King of Sweden's interest, prevailed at length with the Grand Seignior to declare war against Muscovy; and both the Grand Vizier and Mufti were deposed for opposing it. A new Vizier being made as well as a new Mufti, the Mufti's fetfa, or declaration of the lawfulness of the war was published. The Czar's Ambassador was imprisoned in the seven towers at Constantinople; and circular orders dispatched to all the Bassas and Generals of the Ottoman forces to be in a readiness to march the next spring under the command of the new Vizier. The Tartar Cham in the mean time held frequent conferences with the King of Sweden at Bender, upon the best means of prosecuting this war; and the Cham's troops were already making their winter campaign: the hard season when the rivers are frozen over being the most favourable time for their incursions.

The horse-tails, or standards, having been for some time exposed before the gate of the seraglio, the new Vizier received a rich sabre set with Jewels from the Grand Seignior; and having assembled the army, said to consist of two hundred thousand men, begun his march towards the frontiers. The Czar on the other side had formed an army of seventy thousand men, most of them well disciplined, and was joined by the Vaivod of Moldavia, whom the Grand Seignior had constituted Prince of that country, with six thousand more. The Vaivod, it seems, had represented that people as well affected to the Czar, and ready to rise unanimously in his favour whenever he should appear in that country, which induced that Prince to march too far into the Turkish territories without establishing magazines, and making such provisions as are usual on marching into an enemy's country: And the Moldavians continuing faithful to the Porte, as well as the Walachians, from whom the Czar also had great expectations, he was reduced to very great hardships, and lost almost one half of his army: the rest being ready to perish for want of food, and being closely pursued by the Turks, intrenched themselves on a spot of ground almost surrounded by the river Pruth. Their misery, our author says, is hardly to be expressed; for most part of the officers had eat nothing in two days, and the condition of the common soldiers was still worse, and their horses having no forage died in heaps. In this situation they were three several

Battle on the banks of the Pruth.

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veral times attacked by the janizaries ſabre in hand, and as often repulſed them, which a little abated the courage of the Turks, and made them wait for their artillery, before they would venture to charge again. The next day the Turks fired upon the Muſcovite intrenchments from two hundred pieces of their artillery (having no leſs then ſix hundred braſs guns in their train) and the Muſcovites anſwered with theirs, which did not conſiſt of more than a hundred pieces in all; but did more execution with them, having better engineers. However, after about an hour's firing the Muſcovites hung out a white flag, and deſired to capitulate, which the Turks not being averſe to, a truce was ſigned that very day, wherein the Czar obliged himſelf to ſurrender *Aſoph*, and demoliſh his forts towards the mouth of the *Don*, or *Tanais*, and to evacuate Poland.

In the mean time the King of Sweden having received advice that the Czar was ſurrounded by the Turks, and his forces in ſuch a miſerable condition that they would in all probability be obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion; mounted his horſe and came to the Vizier's quarters at the very time the Czar was marching off: here he upbraided the Vizier with his ill conduct, telling him he had let his enemies eſcape when they were at his mercy, and that with twenty thouſand of the Vizier's troops he did not doubt to recover the opportunity, and deliver the Czar a priſoner to the Grand Seignior; but the Vizier would by no means admit of any violation of the treaty he had concluded: on the contrary, he ſuffered all manner of proviſions to be carried into the Czar's army, and the ſoldiery on both ſides converſed together with abundance of friendſhip, as if they had entirely forgot their former animoſities.

The Vizier now propoſed the King of Sweden's returning home through Germany, or Poland; but he ſtill refuſed to ſtir without fifty thouſand men for a convoy; whereupon the Vizier took away the thaim, or penſion allowed his Majeſty by the Porte: and the King on the other hand preſented a memorial againſt him, and had the good fortune to ſee the Vizier ſoon after depoſed, becauſe the Czar did not deliver up *Aſoph* ſo ſoon as he had agreed to do it. The ſucceeding Vizier reſtored the penſion to his Majeſty, who built him a little ſtone palace at Bender, as if he intended to remain there ſome years. The troops ſtill waiting at Bender for the King's departure, deſired to know what his Majeſty intended to do, that they might take their meaſures accordingly. His Majeſty returned them no anſwer; but ordered his Miniſter at the Porte to ſolicite for a thouſand purſes, or five hundred thouſand dollars, to defray the expence of his journey.

In the mean time, the Muſcovites not having evacuated Poland, or delivered up *Aſoph* at the time agreed on, the Turks again declared war againſt the Czar, and confined his Miniſter at Conſtantinople to the ſeven towers, which occaſioned great joy in the Swediſh court at Bender: but the Porte ſtill preſſed the departure of the King of Sweden; and ſent down twelve hundred purſes to the Baſſa of Bender to defray the charges of his journey. The Swediſh court being very neceſſitous, were importunate with the Baſſa to deliver his Majeſty the money forthwith; but the Baſſa anſwered, he had poſitive orders not to deliver it till the moment of his Majeſty's departure, and that he could not diſpoſe of it without the conſent of the Cham of Tartary: but the King promiſing to ſet forward on the day the Grand Seignior ſhould appoint, and both the Baſſa and the Cham of Tartary having a particular friendſhip for this Prince, they ventured to pay his Majeſty the money, which was ſoon ſquandered away, and the King ſent to his reſident at Conſtantinople to ſolicite for a thouſand more. It beginning to freeze hard, the Cham of Tartary gave notice to the King to be ready to march on the fifteenth inſtant; and his Majeſty ſeeming not to regard that notice. the Cham gave him to underſtand if he did not leave Bender as was expected, force would be uſed. To which the King only replied, he was reſolved to repel force by force. The Baſſa being informed of the King's reſolution, was in the utmoſt conſternation, and waited on him and begged in the moſt paſſionate terms, that he would begin his march at the time appointed; telling his Majeſty, that it would coſt him his head for having delivered the twelve hundred purſes, contrary to the Sultan's orders, and he feared ſome violence would be offered to his Majeſty. But the King bid him be under no apprehenſion upon his account, nor his own, for he would take care to juſtify his conduct to the Grand Seignior. To which the Baſſa replied, that the Sultan ſeldom waited for a juſtification, but puniſhed even thoſe that were ſuſpected: and deſired his Majeſty therefore to ſet forward, as the only means to ſave his head. But the King perſiſted in his reſolution, and ſaid he could not ſet out without a thouſand purſes more, with which the Baſſa having acquainted the Cham; he began to apprehend himſelf in great danger for his being ſo eaſily perſuaded to part with the money contrary to the Grand Seignior's order; but ſince it could not now be undone, they agreed to ſend an expreſs to the Porte, to acquaint the Grand Seignior firſt with the affair themſelves, and that they had not parted with the money but upon the moſt ſolemn aſſurances from the King of Sweden that he would immediately begin his march. In the mean time the Swediſh Miniſter was arreſted at Adrianople

The King of Sweden refuſes to leave Bender.

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nople, whither he followed the court on his soliciting for a thousand purses more; and a divan being assembled, it is said, the Grand Seignior spoke to this effect.

Porte gives to the Swedes.

I had scarce any knowledge of the King of Sweden till his defeat at Pultoway threw him upon my dominions, I cannot believe I stand in need of him, or have any reason to love or fear him; but without consulting any thing but the rules of hospitality and my own generosity, I have received and maintained him almost three years and an half, with near six thousand persons, as well Poles and Cossacks as Swedes, who followed his fortunes: I have loaded him with favours; granting him four hundred purses for his particular occasions soon after his arrival, besides a purse a day for his table; allowing his Ministers and interpreters pensions proportionable to their quality, with provisions of all kinds for themselves and their horses. Some weeks since he demanded a thousand purses to enable him to defray the expences of returning to his own dominions, and I granted him twelve hundred, with a numerous convoy, which is ready at Bender with all things necessary for such a journey, as horses, waggons, &c. And now all things are ready, he declares he is not ready to set out, and will not stir without another thousand purses. If therefore, after I shall have again notified to this Prince that he depart instantly, he should refuse to go, can any Christian Potentate think it strange, or unjust, if I compel him to it by force? To which the whole divan unanimously answered, no. But should he persist in his refusal, and oppose force to force, added the Sultan, can I be accused of violating the laws of hospitality, if this ungrateful Prince happen to be killed in the contest? To which the whole divan also answered in the negative: and the Mufti gave his fetsa, allowing the justice of such a proceeding. Whereupon orders were sent to the Cham and the Bassa of Bender, to notify once again in the Sultan's name, that the King should depart his dominions, and to let him know that if he persisted in his refusal they would proceed to force: to take away his thaim, or pension, discharge his guard of janizaries, which were given him for his protection, and surround his quarters so as no provision could be brought him. The Bassa accordingly on the second of January, 1712. represented to his Majesty that the season was proper for marching; and it was the Grand Seignior's intention that he should not let it slip, and entreated him that he would not reduce the sublime Porte to the necessity of using open violence; but at the word violence the King turned his back upon the Bassa, telling him he was not ready yet, and did not fear their threats; but if he was attacked should defend himself. Whereupon the Bassa retired in some confusion.

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The guard of janizaries being taken away about an hour after, his Majesty ordered his people to arm and barricade his palace, at which he worked himself: and because the ground was so hard that they could not throw up a regular entrenchment, they made a breast-work with waggons, tables, chairs, dung and the ruins of stables which they demolished for this purpose. And his Majesty understanding that the thaim (allowance) was withdrawn, the King took nineteen of the finest horses which had been presented him, and commanded them to be shot a little without the camp, telling them he would neither have their provisions nor their horses; however the horses afforded a noble entertainment for the Tartars. The day after the King rode through Bender, as it were in defiance of them, though he had scarce ever entered the town before.

He fortifies his camp.

In the mean time several detachments of Tartars blocked up the Swedish camp, and the inhabitants of Bender and the country about it were prohibited furnishing them with any provisions; and such Swedes as were found straggling from the camp were clapped up and imprisoned. The Turks making preparations to attack the Swedish camp, his Majesty's chaplains threw themselves at his feet, conjuring him not to expose the shattered remains of Pultoway to the violence of Turks and Tartars. They represented that every Prince was master of his own dominions, and it was no injustice in the Turks to require strangers whom they had harboured and relieved to return home, and even compel them to it, if they refused to depart. On the other hand it was a great piece of injustice and ingratitude in them to fight against their benefactors, in order to remain in their country whether they would or no. But the King interrupting them, said 'If you have a 'mind to preach, choose another place and other 'auditors, our business here is to fight,' and at the same time turned his back upon them.

Soon after the janizaries marched out of Bender to the number of three thousand, with a small train of artillery, crying, alla! alla! (the name of GOD) as they always do at an attack. The Han and Bassa marched after them with a good body of horse, and invested the little camp of the Swedes on every side: and all things being ready for an attack, they sent once more to the King to know if he would depart as a friend; but the King would not see the messenger, who was a colonel of the janizaries, only bid them tell him he was ready to defend himself whenever he should be assaulted. His Generals and officers however begged his Majesty that he would have

The Turks march to attack the Swedes.

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have more regard to the glory of Sweden, than to expoſe it in ſuch a manner. They were ready they ſaid to obey him, but could neither promiſe themſelves honour nor ſucceſs: that however long and vigorous their reſiſtance might be, they muſt at length be overpowered, or yield to time, and the want of neceſſaries. That if, contrary to all appearance, they ſhould beat the Turks, they could not long enjoy their victory, but would bring the whole empire on their backs: that it would alſo bring an indelible blot on the Swediſh name, to fight thoſe who were their friends and benefactors. A Swediſh General uncovering his breaſt, and ſhewing the ſcars he had received in his Majeſty's ſervice, ſaid, 'If your Majeſty doubts 'our loyalty, here are proofs of it.' To which his Majeſty only anſwered, 'You have acted for-'merly like brave men, but now you talk like 'cowards, obey me, as you know it is your duty, 'and ſhew yourſelves ſtill ſuch as you uſed to be.' Whereupon Mr. GROTHUSEN acquainted the Aga, that his Majeſty could not depart unleſs they granted him ſome longer time.

The Aga no ſooner returned with this anſwer, but the drums beat and the trumpets ſounded; which the King anſwered with the like warlike muſick, and the Turkiſh artillery beginning to fire, Mr. GROTHUSEN went over to the Baſſa, deſiring a little reſpite: but the Baſſa anſwered that the Sultan's orders would admit of none, and ordered the Aga of the janizaries to begin the attack, offering eight ducats a man to thoſe who ſhould have any ſhare in taking the King alive. Whereupon Mr. GROTHUSEN applied himſelf to the janizaries, calling them brethren, and flattering them on their glorious name, and the power they had in the Ottoman empire. You have given quarter to your enemies the Muſcovites, ſays he, and will you deal worſe with us whom you have ſtyled brethren. We only deſire time, and are denied. Upon which many of them who had received favours from the Swedes cried out, 'Ye ſhall have time, we will 'do nothing againſt you; and ſome of the moſt mutinous turned back and threatned to fire on the Baſſa; others ſaid his orders were forged; inſomuch that the Baſſa thought fit to command the Aga to lead them back to the town again. The Baſſa followed them, but the Cham with his Tartars remained in the field all night: and ſent to acquaint the Baſſa, that if the janizaries refuſed to obey his orders, he would attack the Swedes with his guards. Whereupon the Baſſa having ſummoned the Tchorbadgis, or Captains of the janizaries, propoſed that they ſhould go themſelves the next day to the Swediſh camp in an amicable way, and deſire the King to truſt himſelf in their hands, who were his friends, and only march with them a mile from his preſent camp, that they might write word to the Grand Seignior, his orders were executed, and the Swedes were upon their march. This was approved of by all the janizaries, and they declared, if the King would not agree to it, they would march to the attack the next minute.

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The Tchorbadgis, or Captains of the janizaries, therefore went to the King's quarters on the firſt of February, taking with them his Majeſty's favourite interpreter, and SELLAM AGASI, a great friend of the Swedes, and addreſſing themſelves to Mr. GROTHUSEN and Mr. MULLERN, his Majeſty's chief Miniſters, conjured them to implore his Majeſty not to reduce them to the neeeſſity of uſing violence, as they were obliged to do by their Emperor's orders, if he refuſed to move. That they were his Majeſty's friends, and if he would truſt himſelf in their hands they would convoy him wherever he pleaſed, and protect him from his enemies. About the ſame time a letter was delivered to his Majeſty from the Swediſh Envoy at Adrianople, aſſuring him that it had been reſolved in three divans, at which the Grand Seignior aſſiſted in perſon, to drive the King of Sweden from Bender, as an ungrateful gueſt, unworthy of good uſage, and that they had obtained the Mufti's fetfa to put him and his people to the ſword if they made any reſiſtance. But neither the intreaties of the officers of the janizaries, the envoy's letter, or the repreſentations of his own officers or chaplains could in the leaſt alter his Majeſty's reſolution: on the contrary, he ſent word to the janizar officers to retire, or he would order his men to fire on them, and burn their beards, the greateſt indignity that can be offered to a Turk, and commanded his officers to their poſts, telling them, it was their buſineſs to fight and not to preach.

The janizaries ſufficiently piqued at this uſage, returned immediately to Bender, calling the King Demirbaſh, or Iron-head, and informed the Baſſa of the ungrateful return they met with for their intended kindneſs, telling him they were ready to march, and put the Emperor's orders in execution that moment. Accordingly they went to the attack as the day before, crying alla! alla! advancing with little order, but a great deal of precipitation; and there being but a feint reſiſtance made, they ſoon forced the Swediſh intrenchments, not above ſixty out of five or ſix hundred making any defence, but ſuffered themſelves to be made priſoners in leſs than half an hour. The King ſeeing himſelf thus deſerted by moſt of his men, ſaid, let thoſe who have any courage left follow me, and I will prefer them; whereupon he diſmounted, and being joined by about thirty common ſervants, as cooks, footmen, &c. he made his retreat ſword in hand to his palace, which the Turks were plundering, after having made themſelves maſters of all the apartments except one,

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ose, which the principal miniſters with two and twenty other Swedes ſtill defended: the King having gained the weſtern door charged the enemy with great fury, and endeavouring to break through the crowd, fell down, when a janizary diſcharged a piſtol ſo near him, that it ſinged his left eye brow, and the bullet grazed upon his noſe, and afterwards wounded General HORDTH in the arm, whom the janizaries made priſoner. The King recovering himſelf, and being well ſupported by his followers, joined thoſe gentlemen who were defending themſelves in the palace, and having reviewed his whole garriſon, found that they amounted to one or two and forty men, and encouraging them by his promiſes and example, attacked the Turks who ſurrounded him, endeavouring to make him priſoner; but his Majeſty having killed two of them with his own hand, a third, whom he had wounded, cleft the King's cap, and was lifting up his hand to ſtrike again, when his Majeſty prevented him by graſping the blade of his ſcymetar, by which his hand was ſlightly hurt. In the mean time another janizary, who intended only to make the King a priſoner, to entitle himſelf to the promiſed reward, ruſhed upon the King, and puſhing him violently againſt the wall, ſeized him by the collar, and called on his comrades to aſſiſt him; but Baron SPAR's cook at that inſtant ſhot the grenadier dead with a piſtol, for which the King afterwards made him a Captain. The King having diſengaged himſelf by killing another janizary, once more put himſelf at the head of his people, and renewing the fight, made himſelf maſter of the great hall in leſs than an hour. From the hall he paſſed on to his own chamber, which he found full of Turks and Tartars, who were plundering it. Moſt of them, at his approach jumped out of the windows; but his Majeſty obſerving two ſquatting in a corner, with their piſtols cocked, run them both through at once with his long ſword, and was going to thruſt at another, who lay under a field bedſtead, when the fellow threw down his arms, and embracing his Majeſty's boots, begged for quarter, which was given him, on condition he would go and give the Baſſa an account of this rencounter.

His Majeſty, with the loſs of eight or nine of his followers cleared the reſt of the apartments of Turks and Tartars, who made their eſcape through the windows or doors, after which the King ordered all the doors and caſements to be faſtened, diſtributing his people every one to their poſts, and commanding them to fire through the windows on the beſiegers, who encreaſed continually. The Turks having loſt near two hundred of their men, and finding their cannon did but little execution, through the unskilfulneſs of their gunners, they reſolved to ſet the houſe on fire: whereupon the Tartars were ordered to faſten lighted matches, and other combuſtible matter, to their arrows, and ſhoot them at the wooden roof. The janizaries at the ſame time heaping ſtraw and wood againſt the doors, and ſetting them on fire, the houſe ſeemed all in flames in an inſtant; notwithſtanding which the beſieged did not ceaſe firing. The King, and ſeven or eight of his people, got upon the roof, and with ſabres and hatchets endeavoured to break it down, and extinguiſh the fire: but after ſome fruitleſs attempts, finding it had got too great a head, they went down to look for water, where finding only wine and brandy, they, without conſidering what they did, filled their hats with it, and handing them from one to another, as if they had been buckets, threw the ſtrong liquors on the fire, which made it rage ſtill more.

There being now no hopes of extinguiſhing the flames, the King took a musket, and with his people continued ſhooting through the windows, till the roof of the houſe was dropping in; when one of his officers cried out let us be gone, Sir, the place is not tenable, ſhall we be ſo cruel and unjuſt to ourſelves to ſtay and be burnt alive? To which the King anſwered, it is better to die here like brave men, defending ourſelves to the laſt gaſp, and ſo immortalize our courage, than to ſurrender to our enemies, for the ſake of a ſhort life. Others flattered the King's humour, and deceived him into his own preſervation: they told him that Mr. MULLERN's new houſe being all of ſtone, the fire could not hurt it; and therefore propoſed making a ſally with their arms in their hands, and recovering that houſe, where they might ſignalize their valour by a vigorous defence. This project was approved by the King, who making them ſwear they would all fight it out to the laſt man; they ſallied out with his Majeſty at the head of them, but were immediately ſurrounded by multitudes, who waited at all the avenues, not doubting but the fire would drive them out. The King fell down in the crowd, and no leſs than one and twenty janizaries claimed a ſhare in the ſeizing of him; for whoever could get a piece of his clothes was entitled to the reward. They immediately led the King to the Baſſa's tent, who deſired his Majeſty to ſit and reſt himſelf upon the ſofa; but the King remained ſtanding, not ſeeming to give any attention to what was ſaid to him; the Baſſa therefore continuing ſtanding out of reſpect to his Majeſty, ſaid, 'GOD be thanked your Majeſty 'is living: I am ſorry you reduced us to a neceſ-'ſity of uſing you in this manner.' To which the King, looking on the Baſſa ſomething haughtily, anſwered, 'I never yet feared death; and 'if all my people had done their duty, you 'ſhould

The King of Sweden taken after an obſtinate defence.

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'ſhould not have had us in your power theſe ten 'days.' The Baſſa replied, 'We ſhould have 'had you in twenty, or more: your courage has 'been very ill employed: would to GOD it had 'never happened!'

The Baſſa perceiving his Majeſty would not ſit, nor cared to enter into converſation, he ordered a horſe to be brought, richly accoutred, and entreated his Majeſty to mount, which he did immediately, without ſpeaking a word, and was carried to the Baſſa's palace in Bender, where his principal miniſters and officers were permitted to attend him. On the fifth inſtant the King was put into a waggon covered with red cloth, with one of his Generals. Another waggon was provided for two other Generals, and horſes for about ſixty other Swedes, who were allowed to attend his Majeſty; and they were ſent under a guard of two hundred Turkiſh horſe, by eaſy journeys, to Demirtaſh, a mile from Adrianople. It was reported, at firſt, that the Porte deſigned to confine the King to the caſtle of Candia, or to that of Nicomedia; but upon the application of ſome Chriſtian powers, that reſolution was altered, and the Porte let the King of Sweden know he was welcome to Demirtaſh, and, if he pleaſed, he might remain there as long as he lived; they would ſupply him with all manner of neceſſaries for his ſubſiſtence. But they preſumed, before the year was at an end, he would deſire permiſſion to be gone: and that he might not be too much in love with his reſidence in Turkey, they ordered that very little ready money ſhould be given him: however the thaim, or allowance of proviſion, was ſo plentiful, that ſeveral of the Swedes ſold part of it to the Greeks, and by that means furniſhed themſelves with a little money. The Vizier alſo allowed the King twenty-five crowns per diem, to find wine for his table: for as the Turkiſh religion prohibits its diſciples the drinking of wine, it is not lawful, it ſeems, to give it in kind to thoſe of another perſuaſion. A Turk, as has been obſerved already, is polluted by having wine in his cuſtody, or being in a cellar or warehouſe where it is repoſited, according to the ſtrict rules of their law, though few of them make any ſcruple of being familiar with the juice of the grape in private; inſomuch that one who regarded only their practice, would be tempted to think there was nothing criminal in the matter but the drinking it publickly.

But to return to our hiſtory. The favour the Cham of Tartary, and the Baſſa of Bender, had ſhewn the King of Sweden, proved their ruin, as was expected. The Cham was depoſed, and ſucceeded by his brother: and the Baſſa was baniſhed to a little iſland in the Mediterranean, having all his effects ſeized to the uſe of the government. The Mufti alſo was depoſed much about the ſame time, but for what offence is not known. So very precarious are the higheſt employments in the Turkiſh court.

CHAP. III.

The King of Sweden having waited a year longer in Turkey, without being able to procure the Porte to declare war againſt the Muſcovite, intimated to the Grand Seignior his deſire to return to his own dominions: accordingly three hundred horſes and ſixty waggons were provided for his Majeſty's ſervice, and a handſome preſent made him by the Grand Seignior. Whereupon the King ſent his thanks to his Highneſs for all the civilities he had received ſince he came into his dominions; and began his journey the firſt of October, being convoyed to the frontiers by a body of the Ottoman troops, after which his Majeſty paſſed incognito through Germany, with a ſmall retinue of ſervants; though his Imperial Majeſty would have ſhewn him all the honours due to a crowned head, if the King had not declined receiving them.

The King of Sweden leaves Turkey.

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Treats of the province of Bulgaria.

Bulgaria.

FROM the province of Beſſarabia I paſs on to that of Bulgaria, bounded by the river Danube, which ſeparates it from Beſſarabia, Moldavia, and Walachia on the north; by the Black ſea on the eaſt; by mount Hæmus, which divides it from Romania, or Romelia, on the ſouth; and by Servia on the weſt: and was antiently part of Myſia Inferior. It ſtretches in length from the ſouth-weſt to the north-eaſt upwards of four hundred miles, but is not more than forty or fifty miles over in the middle, though it ſwells to three times that breadth towards either end. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Sophia, ſituate on the river Iſchar, about an hundred miles to the ſouthward of the Danube, and two hundred miles ſouth-eaſt of Belgrade, lying on the road from thence to Conſtantinople. It was antiently called Sardica, and had the honour of a general council being held there. It is ſuppoſed to be called Sophia from the Empreſs SOPHIA, the wife of JUSTINIAN, in whoſe reign it was rebuilt. It ſtands in a pleaſant plain, between two high mountains, one of which is covered with ſnow in the heat of ſummer. The town is well ſupplied with excellent water, which falls in abundance from the neighbouring mountains. They have alſo ſeveral baths naturally hot, whither infirm people reſort with ſucceſs. There are no walls or fortifications about the place, though it is very capable of being made a ſtrong town. 2. Siliſtria, a large city, and the ſeat of a Baſſa, ſituate on the river Iſchar, about ſeventy miles north

Sophia city.

Siliſtria city.

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north of Sophia. 3. Nicopolis ſtands at the mouth of the Iſchar, where it falls into the Danube. Near this place SIGISMUND, King of Hungary, was defeated by BAJAZET. The other towns mentioned by geographers in Bulgaria, are now no more than villages, or ruins of antient cities. The country is generally mountainous, with ſome fruitful valleys interſperſed amongſt them, which yield good corn and paſturage for cattle. The people are for the moſt part Chriſtians, who follow husbandry, and are very hoſpitable, according to ſome travellers; but the country is pretty much infeſted by robbers, who lurk in the moſt inacceſſible parts of the mountain Hæmus, and are able to diſpute the paſſages with the troops that are ſent againſt them. There are many narrow difficult paſſes on the road from Conſtantinople to Belgrade, in the mountains which run through this country. The Turks call them capi dervant, or the gates of the narrow way, which a ſmall body of men may defend againſt an army. Sir PAUL RICAUT relates, that three hundred merchants travelling this way, were ſet upon and deſtroyed by eighteen robbers only, who did more execution by rolling large ſtones down the mountains than by their arms. It was in theſe ſtreights, thus fortified by nature, the natives ſo long reſiſted the forces of the Grecian Emperors.

Servia.

To the weſtward of Bulgaria lyes the province of Servia, antiently called Myſia Superior, becauſe it lyes higher up the Danube than the province we came from. Servia is bounded by the rivers Save and the Danube towards the north; by Bulgaria on the eaſt; by Albania and Macedon on the ſouth; and by Boſnia on the weſt; from whence it is divided by the river Save. It is reckoned to be about two hundred fifty miles in length from eaſt to weſt, and one hundred thirty in breadth. Belgrade, the principal city, ſituate at the conflux of the Save and the Danube, was recovered from the Turks by the Imperialiſts, with ſeveral other towns, in the year 1718. I ſhall therefore defer a farther deſcription of them till I come to treat of the Emperor of Germany's dominions; and only obſerve in general, that the country is well watered, and enjoys a pleaſant variety of mountains and plains, woods and champain; that it produces good corn and wine, where it is cultivated, and is well ſtored with minerals, and the air is temperate; this country lying between the forty-third and forty-fifth degrees of northern latitude.

Boſnia.

As to Boſnia, the moſt weſtern part of Turkey, I have nothing more to add here than what I have already ſaid, in deſcribing the ſituation of the ſeveral provinces of Turkey in Europe, only that great part of it is now reduced to the obedience of the Emperor again, ſince the defeat of the Turks, and the taking of Belgrade, in the year 1718.

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Moldavia and Walachia.

Moldavia and Walachia, which lye to the northward of the Danube, and were part of the antient Dacia, I have treated of already, and ſhall only obſerve farther, that the Poles having over-run the country of Moldavia, in the year 1686, and taken ſeveral great towns, compelled the inhabitants to acknowledge the Emperor of Germany for their Sovereign: but by the peace of Carlowitz, the Emperor relinquiſhed his ſovereignty over that people, and agreed they ſhould again become tributary to the Turks, as they were before.

Mount Hæmus.

I ſhall now proceed to the deſcription of Romania, the antient Thrace; but ſhall firſt take a view of that mountain, or chain of mountains, which generally go under the name of mount Hæmus, called by the Greeks Balcan, and by the Italians monte Argentaro, which ſeparates Bulgaria and Servia (the antient Myſia) from Romania and Macedon, ſtretching from the Black ſea to the Adriatick, or gulph of Venice, from the higheſt part of which mountains, it has been ſaid, both ſeas may be diſcerned at once: but later travellers are of opinion that this is impoſſible, though all agree they are exceeding high. In that part of it which borders on Romania there are but two paſſages, one of which, it is ſaid, was made by the Emperor TRAJAN, and capable of being defended by a ſmall force againſt the greateſt armies. The other is near a little river, by the Bulgarians called Saltiza, not altogether ſo ſtreight and narrow as the other; but being full of rocks and dangerous precipices, may likewiſe be defended by a ſmall force. Nor are thoſe parts which lye next Macedon much eaſier penetrated; for when PERSEUS, the laſt King of Macedon, had fortified thoſe ſtreights againſt the Romans, it was conceived, ſays FLORUS, there was no paſſage left for troops, unleſs they fell immediately from the heavens. And what renders the paſſage of theſe mountains more difficult, is their barrenneſs, and the exceſſive cold which is felt towards the tops of them, which has been the deſtruction of thouſands; few conſtitutions being able to paſs ſuddenly from extreme heat to extreme cold without being diſordered.

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Treats of the province of Romania, or Thrace.

Romania, or Thrace.

HAVING paſſed this mountain from Bulgaria, we deſcend to the ſouthward into Romania, or Thrace, now the moſt conſiderable province of Turkey in Europe; bounded, as has been obſerved already, by the aboveſaid mountains towards

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wards the north, by the Black ſea, the Boſphorus, and Propontis, towards the eaſt; by the Archipelago on the ſouth, and by Macedon on the weſt, and is computed to extend three hundred miles in length, and about an hundred and fifty in breadth. It was antiently divided into twenty ſeveral nations, according to PLINY, who were afterwards made tributary to the Macedonians. It was conquered by the Romans under CAIUS STRIBONIUS CURIO, the Proconſul, and poſſeſſed by the eaſtern Emperors till it fell under the dominion of the Turks, about three hundred years ſince. The only river of any note is the Mariza, antiently Habrus, which riſes at the foot of mount Rhodope, on the borders of Macedon, and running eaſtward by Philipoppolis and Adrianople, turns to the ſouthward, and falls at length into the Egean ſea.

Conſtantinople.

The chief towns of this province are, 1. Conſtantinople, the antient Byzantium, the metropolis of the Turkiſh empire; called by the Turks Stamboul, and frequently, by Europeans, the Port, by way of eminence, being the fineſt port, or harbour, in the univerſe; though ſome ſay it obtained the name of the Port, from the principal gate of the Grand Seignior's ſeraglio, which looks towards the town. Many fine deſcriptions we meet with of this city, from whence I ſhall endeavour to give the reader a juſt idea of it: however the form of it will be beſt underſtood by the draught I have ordered to be engraved and bound up with this volume.

CONSTANTINE the Great having rebuilt and adorned this city, and made it the ſeat of his empire, gave it the name of Nova Roma; from whence the province wherein it ſtands obtained the title of Romania; but the town itſelf, on the death of this Emperor, was called Conſtantinople from its founder, as he may very well be eſteemed, ſince it does not ſtand exactly on the ſame ground as the antient Byzantium; and the foundation of the walls were laid by him. After the diviſion of the empire it remained the ſeat of the eaſtern Emperors: the French and Venetians took it from the Greeks in the year 1203; but it was retaken by the Paleologi, anno 1254. MAHOMET the ſecond took it from the Chriſtians, on Whitſunday, 1453, ever ſince which time the Turks have made it the ſeat of their empire.

Conſtantinople is ſituate in forty-one degrees odd minutes north latitude, and of a triangular figure, two ſides of it being waſhed by the ſea. The harbour is about three miles long and one over, and ſo deep from one end to the other, that the ſhipping may lye cloſe to the ſhore, at a little diſtance. This city affords the fineſt proſpect in the world, riſing gradually from the ſhore; ſo that you diſcover at one view, an infinite number of moſques, with their domes and turrets: the ſeraglio and caſtle of the ſeven towers particularly make a glorious appearance, a multitude of globes and gilded ſpires being here intermixed with groves of ever-greens.

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The ſeraglio is built upon the point of the triangle which runs out between the Propontis and the harbour; and underneath this palace, on the declivity of the hill, are the gardens of the ſeraglio, lying upon the water, in the place where it is ſuppoſed old Byzantium ſtood: at the other angle on the Propontis ſtands the ſeven towers, built when this place was in the poſſeſſion of the Chriſtians, at preſent a priſon for ſtate criminals: at the third angle at the bottom of the harbour are the ruins of CONSTANTINE's palace.

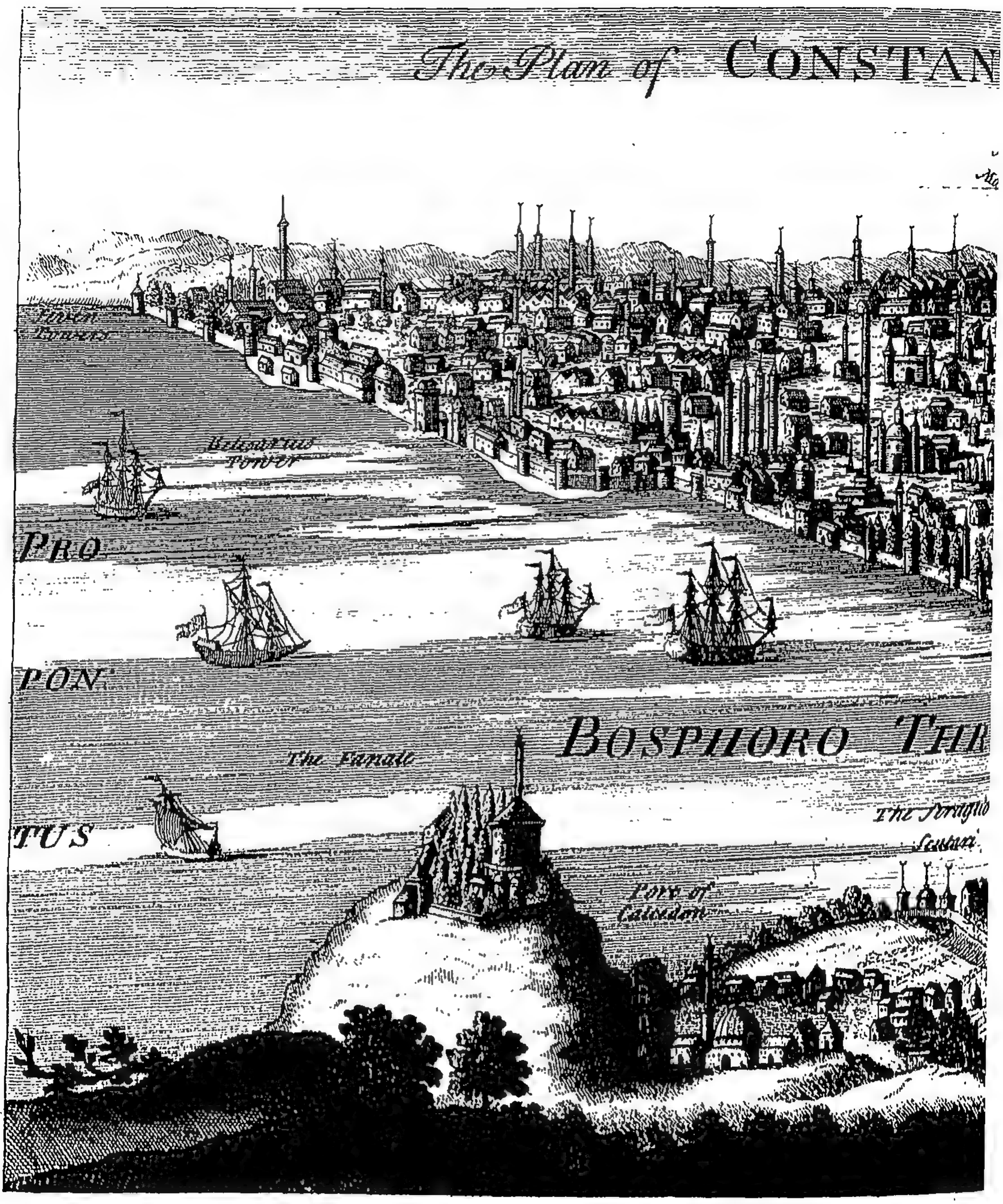
The town is ſurrounded by a wall tolerably good towards the land, but of no great ſtrength on the ſides which lye next the ſea: there are two and twenty gates, (TOURNEFORT ſays twenty-three) ſix towards the land, eleven along the harbour, and five on the ſide of the Propontis, having their reſpective landing places and ſtairs; and the circumference of the whole town within the walls, according to THEVENOT's computation, is twelve miles, or thereabouts; but then he excludes Galata, and the other ſuburbs. But notwithſtanding that noble proſpect of this city, with which travellers are charmed on their approaching it, they find themſelves miſerably deceived in their expectations when they come into the place; for the houſes are low, and built for the moſt part of wood: the ſtreets extremely narrow and dirty, the houſes jutting over in many places, that you may almoſt ſtep croſs from one to another; and if ever there happens a fire, which is not ſeldom, there is no ſtopping it till it comes to ſome garden or vacant place. In other parts of the town are long dead walls before the palaces of the great men, which do not appear to the ſtreet: there are however ſeveral things very well worth a traveller's obſervation in Conſtantinople, particularly,

The Seraglio.

1. The Grand Seignior's ſeraglio: this, a late author obſerves, is rather a collection of palaces and apartments added to one another, according to the caprice of the ſeveral Emperors, than one ſingle palace: it is compoſed of rich materials, very indifferently put together: the roofs are covered with lead, as are the reſt of the Sultan's palaces, which diſtinguiſhes them from thoſe of private perſons, to whom this privilege is ſtrictly prohibited. The principal entrance to this palace is called in Turkiſh capi, the gate, or port, by way of eminence, and by this name the Ottoman empire is now generally known, as has been obſerved already. There is nothing magnificent in this gate, unleſs the materials, which are all of marble: an Arabick inſcription over it, in gold

and

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and azure, ſhews that this and the palace were built by MAHOMET II. Forty or fifty capigis, or porters, keep guard here, who are diſtinguiſhed by their high ſtiffened caps, when they are upon duty; fifty more of them keep guard at the ſecond gate; but all without arms, except a little ſtaff they carry in their hands; nothing being more contrary to the Turkiſh humour than the going armed in towns, even the janizaries themſelves are ſeldom ſeen with weapons, and laugh at the Franks, who wear ſwords as part of their dreſs; demanding if they intend to make war upon the dogs, who ſometimes purſue them through the ſtreets in troops, and compel them to draw in their defence; which our friend MOTRAYE ſuppoſes to proceed from the novelty of the Franks dreſs, as well as their going armed.

But to return to the ſeraglio: Through the great gate above-mentioned, which is open to all people, we enter the firſt court, called duor, being conſiderably longer than broad: on the right hand is the infirmary, which is rather convenient than magnificent: but, it ſeems, people are ſo well taken care of here, that they ſometimes counterfeit ſickneſs to be entertained in this place, particularly upon account of their being indulged the liberty of wine, as they are in all their hoſpitals, which, it ſeems, is permitted to be drank by way of medicine.

On the left hand of this court ſtands an old building, with a cupola over it, formerly a Chriſtian temple, as ſome relate, in which the arms and other ſpoils of the Chriſtians are repoſited. Here is alſo the mint for coining money, and lodgings for the ordinary ſervants of the ſeraglio, on both ſides. The ſecond court, into which alſo any perſon may enter, is called the court of the divan; the walks are paved with marble, and there are ſeveral large graſs plots ſurrounded with trees, and fountains in the middle of them: round this court there runs a large gallery, ſomething low, but not ill built, and ſupported by a vaſt number of fine marble pillars. On the right hand ſtands the aſna, or treaſury, and a ſtable wherein are kept ſome of the fineſt horſes in the world, for the Grand Seignior's own riding: nor can any thing be more ſplendid than the bridles, ſaddles, houſen, and other furniture, with which they are accoutred on publick occaſions, being enriched with precious ſtones, and every where ſhining with gold and ſilver. But neither the treaſury, nor the ſtables where this rich furniture is repoſited, have any thing grand or magnificent in their architecture.

On the left hand of this court ſtands the kitchens, containing ſeveral large handſome buildings, with cupolas over them, but no chimneys, holes being cut in the cupolas to let out the ſmoke; for the hearth is always in the middle of the room, as it uſed to be in our great halls, and is ſtill in our colleges and inns of court. The numbers that inhabit this palace muſt be very large, as Mr. MOTRAYE obſerves, from the vaſt quantities of proviſions which are annually ſpent here; of which ſome of the hatchis, or cooks, aſſured him there were no leſs than thirty thouſand oxen, twenty thouſand calves, ſixty thouſand ſheep, ſixteen thouſand lambs, ten thouſand kids, an hundred thouſand turkeys and geeſe, an hundred thouſand pigeons, and two hundred thouſand fowls and chickens, beſides wild-fowl and fiſh, of the laſt of which they ſpend at leaſt an hundred and thirty thouſand turbats only every year: theſe are moſt delicious eating, and mighty plentiful in the ſeas about Conſtantinople, as indeed all other fiſh are, of which the Turks eat only the beſt ſort, and do not care to meddle with ſhell-fiſh.

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None but the Grand Seignior himſelf may be ſeen on horſeback in the ſecond court: and ſo profound a ſilence is obſerved in all the courts of the palace, that notwithſtanding the vaſt numbers of inhabitants and people who daily reſort thither, eſpecially to the firſt court, where the ſervants wait, there is not the leaſt murmur heard, but every thing is huſhed and quiet, as if no body lived in the ſeraglio, to which their converſing by ſigns very much contributes; for not only the mutes themſelves, but every one who would be acceptable at court, endeavours to qualify himſelf for this kind of converſation, which the Grand Seignior underſtands perfectly well.

At the farther end of the upper court is the divan, in which councils of ſtate are held, and juſtice adminiſtred. Beyond this no ſtrangers are admitted, unleſs Ambaſſadors, who paſs on to the hall of audience, where the Sultan's throne is erected, being almoſt incruſted or covered over with pearl and precious ſtones: the hall of audience is very richly furniſhed, the roof and ſides ſhine with gold and azure, and are adorned with paintings after the Perſian manner; the whole being pretty well deſigned; but the divan is much too low, its height being not at all anſwerable to the extent.

Some travellers relate that they have found opportunities of viſiting the more inward parts of the ſeraglio, particularly Mr. MOTRAYE, who ſays that the court with the haram being removed to Adrianople, he attended a French watch-maker, as his ſervant, into ſeveral apartments, who was ſent for to rectify ſome fine clocks which had been preſented to the Grand Seignior. A black eunuch conducted them into the hall of the haram, where was an Engliſh clock in a rich caſe which wanted mending: the whole room was lined, or wainſcotted, with China tiles, and the cieling of the cupola, and the reſt of the roof,

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roof, adorned with gold and azure: in the middle of the hall under the cupola was a fountain, the baſon whereof was of fine green marble, which our author took to be jaſper. Theſe artificial fountains are as common in the Turkiſh apartments as in our gardens, ſerving for their ablutions which precede their prayers, as well as to entertain the eye, eſpecially in the harams of the women, who never enter their moſques, or temples, but have the alcoran read to them in ſuch halls as theſe, which ſerve as ſo many chapels: theſe halls have large windows, which are not only glazed, but have bars or lattices before them; and round the room are ſofas, or broad raiſed benches, covered with rich carpets, where the Ladies ſit and take the freſh air ſometimes, and entertain themſelves with viewing the gardens which ſurround them.

From the hall our author paſſed by ſeveral little rooms, like the cells of monks or nuns, but excelling them infinitely in the richneſs of the furniture, particularly one of them, where a fine pendulum wanted mending, into which he was introduced: the clock ſtood upon a maſſy ſilver table, before a looking glaſs, the frame whereof was ſilver gilt, curiouſly wrought, and embelliſhed with foliages in relievo: two high ſtands of maſſy ſilver ſtood at each end of a rich ſofa, which had a covering of plain green ſilk; and this being taken off, there appeared a very rich brocade, with a gold ground, the cuſhions being of green velvet richly wrought: this chamber was better adorned with painting and gildings than the hall; but the bottoms of the windows were above the reach of the talleſt man, the glaſs being painted, but no repreſentation of any living creature in it.

Thus far Mr. MOTRAYE has diſcovered to us the inward apartments of the ſeraglio: in his return back he was led through ſeveral fine halls and chambers, the floors whereof were covered with rich Perſian carpets, and adorned with ſofas and gilded cielings; but had not time to make any particular obſervations on them: the gardens, over which they paſſed to the ſea-ſide, were full of groves of cypreſſes, and other evergreens, planted without any manner of order: about twenty paces from the ſtair-caſe by which he deſcended into the garden, ſtood a pillar of granate marble, of one ſingle piece, which ſeemed to him to be larger, and a third part higher than MARCIAN's pillar; it ſtood upon a ſquare pedeſtal, adorned with ſome mutilated feſtoons and Latin inſcriptions, ſo defaced that our author could only diſcover the name of JUSTINIAN entire, and durſt not ſtay to copy any thing, being ſtrictly obſerved by the officers under whoſe care they were.

There are other travellers who pretend to have ranged through all the Ladies apartments, and to be acquainted with the Grand Seignior's moſt private amours, and even with the manner of the Ladies reception, when they are admitted to his bed: but their relations ſeem much fitter to fill a novel than a hiſtory, and therefore I muſt beg leave of the gay part of the world, who ſeem infinitely pleaſed with the relation of ſuch amuſements, for not gratifying them with the repetition of theſe particulars, which they themſelves will give leſs credit to every day, as their judgment ripens.

The outſide of the palace towards the port has little worth obſervation, unleſs the kioſc, or pleaſure-houſe, over-againſt Galata, ſupported by twelve marble pillars, and richly furniſhed and painted after the Perſian manner: hither the Grand Seignior ſometimes comes to take water, or divert himſelf with viewing the ſhipping. There is another kioſc on that ſide of the palace next the Boſphorus, higher than that on the ſide of the port: this is built on arches, which ſupport three ſalons covered with gilded cupolas, and hither the Sultan frequently comes with the Ladies, attended by the mutes and dwarfs, and other inhabitants of the palace, to take the freſh air and divert himſelf.

Beſides the buildings, gardens, and ſquares already mentioned, there are many others in which the inferior officers and ſervants are lodged, and where all manner of ſtores and proviſions are repoſited, particularly on the left hand of the entrance, quite down to the waterſide, are prodigious wood piles for the uſe of the palace, which ſome thouſand baltagis, or hatchet men, young luſty ſlaves, are employed in cutting out and carrying to the ſeveral apartments: on the other ſide, on the right, is a large ſquare, where thoſe who are deſigned for military employments are taught their exerciſes, at which the Sultan is ſometimes preſent.

From the palace I paſs on to take a farther view of this mighty city, ſaid to have the moſt agreeable ſituation, and at a little diſtance to afford the fineſt proſpect of any town in the univerſe, as has been intimated already. Nothing upon earth, ſays TOURNEFORT, can afford more delight to the eye, than at one view to behold all the buildings of the largeſt city in Europe, whoſe terraſſes, balconies, and gardens, form a variety of amphitheatres, ſet off with bezeſtins, (exchanges), caravanſeras, (publick buildings for entertainment of ſtrangers), but above all, a variety of noble moſques, or temples, which, tho' monſtrous in their ſize, have nothing but what appears beautiful at a diſtance; the defects of the Turkiſh architecture not being diſcernible far off: on the contrary, the large cupola's, with the leſſer domes which ſtand round them, covered with lead

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or gilded; the minarets, or ſteeples, vaſtly high, with creſcents on the top of them, viewed by a traveller who ſtands at the entrance of the canal of the Black ſea, create in him the higheſt admiration.

There are ſeveral other ſeraglios, or palaces in Conſtantinople, beſides the Grand Seignior's; but they have very little beauty on the outſide, people here ſeeming to affect as little outward ſhow as poſſible, for fear of giving umbrage to the government, and endangering the ſeizing their poſſeſſions. Theſe palaces are generally large, and ſurrounded with high walls, like thoſe of monaſteries: in the inſide there are noble apartments, adorned with gold and azure, the floors being covered with rich carpets; the walls ſometimes lined with tiles, in imitation of China ware, and in all their rooms there is a broad bench, raiſed about a foot high, againſt the wall, covered with better carpets than the floor, and embroidered cuſhions ſet upon it, and this is called a ſofa: their halls, where they receive viſits, and ſpend moſt part of the day, are generally called divans. The women's haram, or apartment, is ſeparated from the reſt of the houſe, no man being admitted to enter it but the maſter and his eunuchs: theſe places are eſteemed ſo very ſacred, that the officers of juſtice will not enter them, it is ſaid, to apprehend a criminal, but wait his coming out. The private houſes of Conſtantinople, as has been obſerved already, are very mean, and being built of wood, frequently deſtroyed by fires; for putting a ſtop to which the baltagis, or hatchet-men, have no other way than to demoliſh twenty or thirty houſes before the fire reaches them; and notwithſtanding this, there are often ſeveral thouſand houſes deſtroyed in a few hours: theſe fires are commonly occaſioned, it is ſaid, by the Turks ſmoking tobacco in their beds, againſt which practice ſome of their Sultans have been very ſevere; but they are ſo enamoured with the intoxicating weed, that nothing will reſtrain their taking it.

But notwithſtanding the Turks affect nothing grand in the ſtructure of their private houſes, their temples, and other publick buildings, are exceeding magnificent: and among other things taken notice of by travellers, are the ſeven Royal moſques, or temples, which are not encloſed by houſes and tradeſmen's ſhops, that prevent the view of them, as in Chriſtendom; but ſtand ſingle, within ſpacious encloſures, planted with fine trees, and adorned with noble fountains.

St. Sophia.

St. Sophia, the principal of theſe, ſtands oppoſite to the great gate of the ſeraglio, and has a very advantageous ſituation, being in the fineſt part of the town, upon an eminence, from whence there is a gradual deſcent to the ſea: it was anciently a Chriſtian temple, built by the Emperor JUSTIN, enlarged and beautified by JUSTINIAN, and dedicated to the wiſdom of GOD, whereupon it obtained the name of Agia Sophia; and though the Turks have now converted it into a moſque, it ſtill retains its antient name. This noble ſtructure is of a ſquare form without, being an hundred and fourteen paces in length, and eighty in breadth; but the inſide appears round: a portico, or piazza, twelve yards wide, ſupported by marble columns, extends the whole length of the front, which in the time of the Greek Emperors ſerved for a veſtibulum: this piazza has a communication with the church by nine marble folding doors, the leaves whereof are braſs and adorned with baſſo relievos, extremely magnificent, the middlemoſt of them being very large: this veſtibulum is joined to another parallel to it, which has only five brazen doors, the leaves whereof were charged with croſſes; but there are left only the upright beams, the croſs beams being taken away: parallel to theſe veſtibulums the Turks have built a large cloiſter, wherein are the cells or lodgings of the mollas, and officers who belong to the moſque.

A cupola of admirable ſtructure covers the greateſt part of the building, and at the foot of this dome runs a colonnade, or piazza, which ſupports a gallery five fathoms broad, by ſome called CONSTANTINE's gallery, formerly ſet apart for the women; and over this are two other leſſer galleries, which make a glorious figure in the time of their Ramezan, when they are all filled with lamps. The cupola is thirty-ſix yards from ſide to ſide, and reſts upon four vaſt pillars, about eight fathoms thick: the arch ſeems a perfect demiſphere, and is illuminated by four and twenty windows placed round it at equal diſtances: from the eaſt part of this mighty dome we paſs on to the demi-dome, in a ſtrait line, which was the ſanctuary of the Chriſtians, and their great altar placed there. In this moſque, it is ſaid, there are no leſs than an hundred and ſeven pillars, of various kinds of marble; among which ſome are of porphyry, and others Egyptian granate, and the whole dome is lined with curious marble.

The moſque moſt admired, next to that of St. Sophia's, is the Solymania, ſo called from its founder SOLYMAN II. The outſide of this moſque is ſaid to exceed that of St. Sophia; the windows being larger and better diſpoſed, the galleries more regular and ſtately, and the whole built of the fineſt ſtones, brought from the ruins of Chalcedon and Troy. The mauſoleums of its founder, and his Sultana, are behind this moſque, covered with noble domes: over SOLYMAN's coffin is a rich piece of embroidery, repreſenting the town of Mecca; and at the head of the coffin is a turbant placed, with a tuft of herons feathers, enriched with precious ſtones; the whole

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whole tomb being illuminated with a vaſt number of lamps and tapers, and ſeveral religious attend conſtantly, who have ſtated ſalaries for reading the alcoran, and praying for the ſoul of the deceaſed.

The validea, or moſque founded by the mother of MAHOMET IV. is another noble ſtructure, the model and materials much the ſame with that of St. Sophia, and being ſituated in the moſt frequented part of the town, is nobly illuminated upon rejoicing days; they do not only fill the galleries and minarets with lamps, but by cords faſtened from one minaret to another, and little lamps fixed to them, they repreſent the name of the Grand Seignior, or a beſieged town, or a battle, very artfully.

The new moſque built by Sultan ACHMET is another magnificent ſtructure: the entrance into it is through a large court, which leads to a portico, or piazza, over which is a gallery, covered in length by nine domes, and in breadth by ſix, ſupported by marble pillars: from hence we paſſed through a large ſquare cloiſter, which joins to the moſque, over which there is a ſtately dome, with ſlender minarets, or ſteeples, as in the reſt; but the only ornaments in the inſide of this and the other moſques, are branched candleſticks, ivory balls, and cryſtal globes: one of the cryſtal globes in this moſque contains a little galley rigged; another, the model of the temple, and the reſt ſome curioſity or other.

There are ſeveral other noble moſques, as thoſe of Sultan MAHOMET, Sultan SELIM, Sultan BAJAZET, &c. which have hoſpitals and ſchools endowed belonging to them; but the model being much the ſame with thoſe already mentioned, need no farther deſcription: porticos and galleries are common to moſt of them; they have all their domes and minarets, and gilded creſcents; moſt of them are lined with marble, and their galleries ſupported by marble pillars: the floors are covered with mats or carpets, and they have no painting or imagery in any of their moſques. The Turks have defaced the cherubims, and other images, they found in St. Sophia, which has not a little diminiſhed the beauty of the cupola, and ſome other parts of it. A pulpit there is of ſtone or marble in every moſque, from whence the religious ſometimes harangue the people: but of this I ſhall enlarge when I come to treat of their religion.

The atmeidan.

Another place which travellers viſit at Conſtantinople is the atmeidan, the antient hyppodrome, a famous ſquare, ſtill put to the ſame uſes almoſt as it was originally, for here the Turks exerciſe feats of horſemanſhip, and ſhew their dexterity in throwing the gerit, or dart, in a full career; and antiently it was the place for horſe races. The dimenſions are ſtill the ſame as formerly, viz. 400 paces long and 100 broad; but the noble ſtatues and obeliſks which were erected here are moſt of them demoliſhed or defaced. An obelisk of granate, or thebaick marble, however, remains ſtill in the atmeidan; being one ſingle piece, about fifty foot high, terminating in a point, and charged with hieroglyphicks, now unintelligible; but by the Greek and Latin inſcriptions on the baſe, it appears, that the Emperor THEODOSIUS cauſed it to be ſet up again, after it had lain on the ground a conſiderable time, and the engines which were made uſe of in raiſing it are repreſented in baſſo relievo. NICETUS, in the life of St. IGNATIUS, Patriarch of Conſtantinople, obſerves, that this obelisk had on the top a brazen pine-apple, which was thrown down by an earthquake. Not far from hence are the remains of another obelisk, compoſed of ſeveral pieces of marble, the top whereof is fallen, and the reſt in a ruinous condition. This obelisk was formerly covered with brazen plates, ſet off with bas reliefs, and other ornaments: and by the inſcription on the bottom appears to have been a very ſurpriſing work. The column of the three ſerpents twiſted together, mentioned by former writers, gentlemen, who have lately travelled to Conſtantinople, tell us is taken away or demoliſhed. It was held by the ſuperſtitious to be a taliſman, or charm, againſt ſerpents, with which this country was infeſted.

There is another pillar in the ſtreet of Adrianople, called the burnt column, being ſo black and ſcorched, by the frequent fires which happen in this city, that it is not eaſy to diſcover what it is made of; but thoſe who have taken the pains to examine it, ſay, that it is compoſed of porphyry ſtones, and that the joints were hid with copper plates. The hiſtorical pillar, ſo called becauſe it is covered with figures from top to bottom, and ſaid to contain the hiſtory of the victories of the Emperor ARCADIUS, is of plain marble, and about an hundred and forty-ſeven foot in height. The conquered towns are repreſented by women, whoſe heads are crowned with towers. The horſes are finely wrought, and the Emperor appears ſitting in an elbow chair, in a kind of fur gown. The Imperial ſtandard is held over his head by two angels, having that device of the Chriſtian Emperors wrought in it, viz. JESUS CHRIST is conqueror. The column called Marcian's pillar, is compoſed of granate marble, and ſtands in a private court in Adrianople-ſtreet, near the baths of IBRAHIM Baſſa, and was diſcovered but a few years ſince, by Sir GEORGE WHEELER and M. SPON.

Bezeſtins.

The grand bezeſtin, or exchange, is much admired by travellers, where all manner of tradeſmen have their ſhops; one quarter being aſſigned to the goldſmiths, another to the drapers, a third

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to the mercers, and so on, different trades never mixing together. It is built of free stone, and covered from the weather. Here the richest merchandize is exposed to sale, and at night the place is locked up, and all people retire to their respective dwellings. There is another bezestin, where goods of less value are sold; but in other parts of the town there are no shops or any trade stirring, unless in their bazars, or market places, where flesh and other eatables are exposed to sale.

The hans or caravanseras, for entertainment of travellers and merchants, are many of them noble stone buildings, consisting for the most part of a large square court, in the middle of which is a fountain. A cloister runs all round the square, through which we enter the lodgings, and over this cloister is a gallery, with lodging rooms behind it. A merchant has nothing to do but to apply to the porter who has the keeping of the house, and he will assign him a lodging, and a warehouse for his goods, paying only a piaster, or some such sum at his entrance, and two or three aspers a day afterwards. The noblest of these hans is that called valide han, built by a dowager Empress. Here foreigners always find a lodging at an easy rate; and a quilt or two, a carpet, and some cushions are all the furniture that is requisite. The revenue that arises from these hans, is usually applied to some pious or charitable uses. There are some of them however purely for the conveniency of travellers, where they do not only lodge gratis, but are furnished with rice and flesh if they will accept it, which few people do, provision being exceeding cheap.

But nothing in Constantinople appears so shocking to the Franks, as the publick market which is daily held for slaves of both sexes. Here men purchase wives, concubines, or servants, as they do cattle in other countries. This is a large square, called the yessir bazar, and commonly the avret bazar, or women's market, there being more of these exposed to sale than of the other sex. The male slaves stand in the middle of the square: but the women are kept in little rooms adjoining to it, whither chapmen go to cheapen and examine them. Those who are distinguished for their beauty or other accomplishments, and like to become the mistresses of people of condition, the merchants keep up carefully in their own houses, where they are taught to sing and dance, and all other qualifications which may render them desirable. And when a great man comes to traffick for them, these Ladies use the most tender and moving expressions to induce him to take them off, styling him sovereign of their hearts, soul of their souls, &c. But a merchant takes care his chapmen shall not be too familiar with his ware, till the bargain is concluded, for the same girl with her maidenhead is valued at twice the price she would be without it; and there are old women according to MOTRAYE, who are sworn to examine them, and report their opinions of the matter.

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Over against Constantinople, on the other side the harbour, stands Galata, to which people usually go in a wherry, it not being more than half a mile from the one side to the other. But when we go to Galata by land, it is necessary to fetch a compass round the harbour, and cross a little river which discharges itself into it. The first thing observable in the way, is, the Ocmeidan or field of arrows, a spacious place, where the Turks practise archery, and come in procession at the breaking out of a war, to implore success on their arms. From hence we arrive at Cassumpasha, which looks like a great village. Here by the water-side is the arsenal, where the gallies and ships are built, containing no less than sixscore arched docks. the Captain Bassa has his residence in the arsenal, and has the command of all the workmen and marines. From hence we go to Galata, which is separated from Cassumpasha, only by the burying-places, which lye between them. Galata is a large town, and the private houses better built than those of Constantinople, and inhabited for the most part by Greeks, Armenians, Franks, or Jews, who are not under those restraints here, as they are on the other side the water, but enjoy as full liberty in their religion and customs, as in Christendom almost, having taverns and publick houses, where wine is drunk with all imaginable freedom, even the Turks themselves often cross the water to get a dose of it. Here are also several monasteries of the Franks, as Cordeliers, Jesuits, Franciscans, Capuchins, &c. besides several private families of Franks.

Ocmeidan.

Cassumpasha

Galata.

By the sea-side is one of the finest fish-markets in the world, where no kind of fresh fish is wanting, exceeding cheap and good. From Galata we go to Pera, which is likewise separated from it by burying-grounds. In this town the Christian Ambassadors have their residence, except those of the Emperor and Poland, who are allowed to have houses within the walls of Constantinople. The private houses of Pera are handsomer than any about the city, and it is chiefly inhabited by Greeks of condition. From Pera to Tophana there is a great descent, this place lying upon a river just opposite to the seraglio. It is called Tophana because here their artillery is cast, the foundery giving its name to all that quarter, which makes a little town, but all these places are by some reckoned a part of Constantinople, or at least as suburbs to it, and then indeed this city may be reckoned near thirty miles about. But Constantinople, properly so called, according to the best information I can get, is not above

Pera.

Tophana.

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eleven or twelve miles in circumference, exclusive of the great seraglio which is computed to be about three or four miles more: and by the way, there is another seraglio in Constantinople, besides that already mentioned, called the old seraglio, being about two miles in compass, where the Ladies who belonged to former Emperors are kept, and never suffered to come out. Here also are kept those of the Royal Blood, who are suffered to live. Over against the grand seraglio, on the Asian shore, stands the town of Scudaret, and notwithstanding this place is a mile distant from the city, and separated from it by the sea, this also is by some reckoned a part of Constantinople. It is indeed the principal rendezvous of the merchants and caravans of Armenia and Persia, which traffick to Constantinople, and at present a large beautiful town, the only one on the Asiatick side of the Bosphorus. As for Chalcedon, which lay a very little to the westward of it, just opposite to the point of the grand seraglio, there is now scarce any ruins left, to shew where that city stood. Between Scudaret and Chalcedon, the Grand Seignior has a fine palace, and gardens of a vast extent, whither he frequently retires from the city.

Scudaret.

Adrianople.

2. The second city in this province is Adrianople, so called from the Emperor ADRIAN, who re-edified it, after it had been destroyed by an earthquake; by the Turks called Adrine. The antient name of this city was Orestes, which it obtained from its founder, and was afterwards known by the name of Uscadana. It is situate in 43 degrees odd minutes north latitude, about an hundred and forty miles north west of Constantinople, and stands for the most part on a flat, in a fruitful country, being watered by several rivers, of which, the chief are the Meriza, the Tungia, and the Arda, over which there are three stone bridges. The town is healthful, and the country about it pleasant, which frequently brings the Grand Seignior and his court hither; and some of the Sultans, particularly the last, have so doted on the place, that no representations of their people could bring them back to Constantinople. The Sultan has here a magnificent seraglio, and there are some noble mosques, but the private buildings are not better than at Constantinople, and the streets more dirty and inconvenient. The circumference is computed to be about seven or eight miles, including the gardens, and it is said to contain about an hundred thousand inhabitants. It was taken by the Turks in the year 1362, whither they removed the seat of their empire from Brusa in Natolia, and it continued to be the metropolis of the empire, till the taking of Constantinople.

In this city is a noble bezestin, or exchange, near half a mile in length, having between three and four hundred shops on the sides, furnished with rich goods, and near it is a covered street a mile in length, full of good shops from one end to the other; the tradesmen having a particular quarter to themselves in most of the cities of Turkey, and are not dispersed over all parts of the town, as with us. The principal mosque here is that of Sultan SELIM, but as the form of it differs little from those of Constantinople, I shall not tire the reader with a particular description of it. This, like every Mahometan temple almost, is surrounded with a piazza, and galleries; the middle of the temple covered by a large dome or cupola, and several lesser domes about it, slender steeples or minarets of a considerable height, standing at the ends with crescents upon them. As this is the general frame of their mosques, and there is no other difference but in their dimensions or materials, I persuade my self the reader will very readily dispense with a fresh description of them in every town we come at.

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3. The next great town I shall mention in this province, is Trajanople, situate about forty miles to the south east of Adrianople, once the see of an Archbishop, but now a small place.

Trajanople.

4. Philippopoli, so called from King PHILIP the father of ALEXANDER, about eighty miles west of Adrianople, is still a large city, situate in a spacious plain on the river Mariza, part of it standing on the declivity of a little hill, and the rest on the plain: here are no other antiquities but the remains of two antient brick chapels built in the form of a cross: in one of which, according to the tradition of the Greeks, St. PAUL preached to the Philippians; and upon that account they often resort thither on holy days to perform their devotions. The walls of the city are in a ruinous condition, and over the gates are found some Greek inscriptions, but not legible at present; and as for the Greeks who are natives of the place, even their priests and coloyers (monks) are so extremely ignorant, that they are not at all acquainted with the history of their city, or its original; but attend with admiration when the Franks relate any thing out of the antient writers concerning it. There are in the plain about this city several little hills, or tumuli, like those we have in England, which, according to tradition, were the sepulchres of some noble Romans who lost their lives in battle on this plain. Sir PAUL RICAUT relates, that a Greek having dreamt there was a considerable treasure buried under one of these hills, had so firm an assurance of the truth of it, that he applied himself to the Nazir Aga, who has the oversight of the waterworks and pleasure houses of the Grand Seignior in this province, and acquainted him with his dream: the Nazir sent intelligence of it to the Grand

Philippi

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Grand Scignior; and ſo apt, ſays Sir PAUL, are the Turks to catch at the leaſt ſhadow where there is any profit to be expected, that the peaſants of the neighbourhood were ſummoned in to dig for this ſuppoſed treaſure, who underſtanding but little of the art of mining, and having dug very deep, the ground fell in upon them, and buried no leſs than ſeventy perſons under it: and thus the work ended, and the Greek awaked from his dream. But to proceed, this city was taken by the Turks about the year 1360. and is an archiepiſcopal ſee.

Gallipoli.

5. Gallipoli, a large town at the mouth of the Propontis, or ſea of Marmora, on the Thracian Cherſoneſe, where the ſtreight between Europe and Aſia is about five miles over: it is computed to ſtand about an hundred miles ſouth-weſt of Conſtantinople, and five and twenty miles north-eaſt of the Dardanells, and has two ports, or bays for reception of gallies, one to the ſouthward and the other towards the north. The bezeſtin, or exchange, is a handſome building, having ſeveral domes covered with lead; but the private buildings are of wood very low and mean; it is reported that the Greeks and Jews here, make the doors of their houſes but two foot and a half high, as in ſome other towns in Turkey, to ſecure them againſt the inſolent Turks, who in their zeal, or frolicks, will ride into their houſes where they find it practicable, to the great terror of their families. The Turks are computed to amount to about ten thouſand in this city, the Greeks to be three or four thouſand, and the Jews a conſiderable number. This is the firſt town the Turks poſſeſſed themſelves of in Europe; and it is obſerved to be ſo convenient a place for paſſing from Aſia into Thrace, that other Princes who have had deſigns upon this province have firſt attempted Gallipoli.

Seſtos.

6. Seſtos, as it is generally called, about twenty five miles ſouth-weſt of Gallipoli, where ſtands one of the caſtles of the Dardanells, though Sir GEORGE WHEELER is of opinion our geographers are miſtaken in the ſituation of Seſtos; for the caſtle on the European ſide does not retain any thing of the name they have given it, but is called, the old caſtle of Romelia, as that on the Aſian ſide is the old caſtle of Anatolia, and does not go by the name of Abydos, as we ſee it in our maps. Theſe were places famous in the poets for the amours of HERO and LEANDER, as well as for the bridge of boats which XERXES laid over the Helleſpont here. The ſea is about two miles over at this ſtreight, on each ſide whereof theſe caſtles of the Dardanells ſtand, and take an account of all ſhips bound for Conſtantinople, but the diſtance between them ſeems to be too great to hinder ſhips paſſing on towards that city; and the Turks were in the utmoſt conſternation I find, on the victory the Venetians obtained at the Dardanells, being apprehenſive their fleet might attempt the ſailing up as high as Conſtantinople. It has been obſerved already, that this ſtreight between the Archipelago and the ſea of Marmora, was antiently called the Helleſpont, as the ſtreight between the ſea of Marmora and the Black ſea, was the Boſphorus.

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Heraclea.

7. Heraclea, antiently a great city ſeated upon the ſea of Marmora, or Helleſpont, almoſt in the midway between Conſtantinople and Gallipoli: it is now dwindled to an inconſiderable town, though there are ſome remains of the antient walls and columns; and conſiderable ruins of an amphitheatre erected in the time of the Emperor SEVERUS, who, to mortify the Byzantines for being in a confederacy againſt him, transferred their privileges to Heraclea. The harbour is pretty ſecure, but not deep enough for large veſſels, and the entrance of it hazardous on account of ſome rocks which lye almoſt even with the water.

Rodoſto.

8. Rodoſto, which ſtands but a few hours from Heraclea, on the ſame coaſt, is a large populous town with a good harbour, and has a conſiderable trade: the inhabitants are Turks, Greeks and Jews: the Greeks have ſeveral churches, and the Jews their Synagogues, being each of them allowed the free exerciſe of their religion.

The reader may by this time probably be pretty well tired with the dry deſcription of towns and provinces: before I proceed therefore to give an account of the reſt of the European provinces, I ſhall enquire into the preſent ſtate of religion in the Turkiſh empire; and firſt of the Mahometan faith, which may properly be called their eſtabliſhed religion, the others being only tolerated.

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Containing an enquiry into the eſtabliſhed religion of Turkey, and particularly of ſuch ſects of Mahometans as have not already been mentioned in treating of Perſia and Arabia.

73 ſects.

IT is generally held by the Mahometans, that there are ſeventy three ſects amongſt them, but Sir PAUL RICAUT, who had conſidered them very attentively, was of opinion there were many more; perhaps, ſays he, as many as there are ſchools and towns in the empire; in which ſome pragmatical teacher or other is ever ſtarting opinions, and endeavouring to gain new diſciples, which he attributes to that variety of religions out of which the Mahometan is compoſed; every party introducing ſome opinions peculiar to their own way; and he might have added, that the variety of religions tolerated in the empire, out of every one of which the Turks, by virtue of the

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privileges and preferments appropriated to Mahometiſm, frequently gain proſelytes, is a farther reaſon for the multiplication of ſects amongſt them; for theſe, as they have opportunity, are fond of propagating ſuch favourite notions as they have embraced in their youth, and ſo as they are not oppoſite to any fundamentals of Mahometiſm, ſo as the belief of the unity of the Godhead and MAHOMET's miſſion remain undiſputed; and they continue to obſerve the five grand precepts, viz. Their purifications, prayers, faſts, alms and pilgrimages; and ſo as they forbear to advance any notions which may diſturb the government, publick authority takes little notice of them. They are allowed to be as whimſical as they pleaſe in the doctrines they broach.

Difference between the Turks and Perſians.

The two principal ſects among the Mahometans, as has been obſerved already, are thoſe of Perſia and Turkey; the Perſians adhering to the doctrines received from HALI the ſon-in-law of MAHOMET, and the twelve Imans or Patriarchs his ſucceſſors; and the Turks to the doctrines and commentaries of ABUBEKER, OMAR and OSMAN, the immediate ſucceſſors of MAHOMET, whom the Perſians eſteem uſurpers, and their followers hereticks. With what deteſtation the Perſians ſpeak of the Turks I have ſhewn already: the Turks on the other hand charge the Perſians with corrupting the alcoran, altering the words, and miſplacing the points and ſtops, whereby many paſſages carry a doubtful and ambiguous ſenſe. And thereupon thoſe alcorans which were found in Babylon, when it was taken from the Perſians, are laid up in the ſeraglio at Conſtantinople, in a place by themſelves, and all people prohibited to read them on pain of the Mufti's curſe. The Turks alſo denominate the Perſians, the forſaken of GOD, abominable, and blaſphemers of their holy prophet: inſomuch that when Sultan SELYMUS made war on the Perſians, he called it the cauſe of GOD, and made the vindication of the prophet's honour the ground of the war; and notwithſtanding the children of other nations are admitted into the ſeraglio, and educated in the ſeminaries there, the Perſians are diſabled to enjoy this privilege, their apoſtaſy being eſteemed ſo notorious and abominable that they think them beyond all hopes or poſſibility of a recovery, and therefore ſeldom give them any quarter in the wars, or admit them to the privilege of becoming their ſlaves.

In a ſentence denounced by one of the Turkiſh Muftis, againſt the tutor of Shaw ABBAS the Sophi, he tells him, that if the Perſians retained no other hereſy than the rejecting thoſe elevated companions of MAHOMET, ABUBEKER, OMAR and OSMAN, their crime was not capable of expiation by a thouſand years prayer and pilgrimage; but they would be condemned to the bottomleſs abyſs of hell, and deprived for ever of the celeſtial bliſs.

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Another crime he charges the Perſians with is, their not aſſembling in the moſques to publick prayers as the Turks do. The Sophi of Perſia ſeldom or never going to the moſques, and the people when they do go thither praying every one ſeparately, without a prieſt or leader, with whom the people ought to join and imitate according to the Turks.

He charges them alſo with not waſhing their bare feet in their purifications, but ſlightly ſtroking them over, with cutting and clipping their beards into various forms, with not having a due reverence for the holy colour green, appropriated to the banner of MAHOMET, but irreverently wearing that colour on their ſhoes and breeches; with drinking freely of wine, and eating prohibited meats, and with their ſuffering ſeveral men to enjoy one woman, ſo that it cannot be known to whom the children ought to be appropriated. (This laſt ſeems to be a ſcandal upon the Perſians, but nothing is more common than for one ſect to charge another with many more faults than they are really guilty of.)

Was not, ſays the Mufti, ABUBEKER firſt converted to the faith? Was not OMAR the braveſt champion of the Mahometan religion againſt the Chriſtians? Was not he who diſpoſed and diſtinguiſhed the chapters of the alcoran, the chaſte OSMAN? Are not ye therefore who wear red turbants, and hate the houſe of the prophet, commanding after the repetition of your prayers, that curſes and blaſphemies be proclaimed againſt theſe holy friends and aſſociates of the prophet to be condemned for your wickedneſs; when the Chriſtians preſerve the hoofs of the aſs on which CHRIST rode, and ſet them in caſes of gold and ſilver, and eſteem it the greateſt honour to touch ſo holy a relick?

Ye maintain it to be lawful alſo to pillage, burn and deſtroy the countries of the Muſſulmen, and carry their wives and families into ſlavery, driving them naked through your markets, and expoſing them to ſale to every one that will buy them: from whence it is evident that ye are the moſt mortal and moſt irreconcilable enemies to us of all nations of the world: in ſhort, ye are the kennel of all ſin and uncleanneſs: a Chriſtian or a Jew may hope to become true believers, but ye can never.

Wherefore by virtue of that authority I have received from MAHOMET, in conſideration of your offences and incredulity, I pronounce it lawful for any one of what nation ſoever, of true believers, to kill, deſtroy and extirpate you: and as he who kills a rebellious Chriſtian performs a meritorious act in the ſight of GOD, much more he who kills a Perſian ſhall obtain a ſeventy-fold reward

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ward from the fountain of juſtice. And I hope that the Majeſty of GOD in the day of judgment will condemn ye to be the aſſes of the Jews, to be rode and hacknied in hell by that contemptible people; and that ye will in a ſhort time be exterminated by us, the Tartars, Indians, and Arabians, our brethren and aſſociates in the ſame faith.

There are four great ſects of Mahometans however, who differ only in ceremonials, bearing the names of ſome of their primitive apoſtles, whom the Turks hold to be orthodox in the main: the firſt is called Hamiſſe, and inhabit chiefly Turkey and Tartary. The ſecond Shaffe, of which are the generality of Arabians. The third Malchee, of which are thoſe of Tripoli, Tunis and Algier, and other parts of Africa. The fourth Hambella, of which are ſome few of the Arabians: each of theſe have a charitable opinion of the others as true believers. All Mahometans, whatever country they inhabit, except the Perſians, come under one of theſe denominations, but are again ſubdivided, and known by the names of the particular teachers they adhere to. It would be tedious and almoſt endleſs to give an account of every particular perſuaſion; I ſhall therefore mention only ſome of the chief. And firſt the Moatzali, who ſtyle themſelves defenders of the equity and unity of GOD; in which however they differ ſo much among themſelves, that they are divided into two and twenty ſects, who maintain their opinions with that paſſion, that every party accuſes their opponents of infidelity. And one of the ſects derived from the Moatzali, called the Haieſſi, hold that CHRIST aſſumed a natural body, and was eternal and incarnate, as the Chriſtians profeſs; and in their creed have inſerted an article that CHRIST ſhall judge the world at the laſt day; for proof whereof they bring that paſſage in the alcoran, viz. Thou MAHOMET ſhalt ſee thy Lord return in the clouds.

Another ſect called Morgi hold, that a true believer, how wicked and impious ſoever, ſhall never be puniſhed, for GOD ſees no ſin in his children: on the contrary, the good works of one who is of an erroneous faith avail him nothing, or will ever procure him the joys of paradiſe. But there is a ſect oppoſite to theſe called the Waidi, who hold, that a believer who has committed a great or mortal ſin is in the condition of an apoſtate, and without repentance ſhall be for ever puniſhed in hell, tho' his torments will not be ſo exquiſite as thoſe inflicted on infidels. But the opinion eſteemed the moſt orthodox among the Turks is, that a notorious ſinner dying without repentance is left wholly to the pleaſure of GOD, either to pardon him of his mercy, or for the interceſſion of the Prophet MAHOMET, according to what he ſays in his alcoran, my interceſſion ſhall be for thoſe of my own people who have greatly ſinned. That theſe ſhall be firſt puniſhed according to the meaſure of their iniquity, and afterwards be received into paradiſe: for it is impoſſible, ſay they, that theſe ſhould ever remain in eternal flames with infidels, becauſe it is revealed to us, that whoever hath but the weight of an atom of faith remaining in his heart ſhall in due time be releaſed from fiery torments. Which is the reaſon that many of the Turks uſe prayers for the dead.

Purgatory.

One of their modern ſects, denominated the Jebaiah, deny GOD's omniſcience, and hold that his government is as ſubject to chance and accidents as that of mortals: and that from eternity, or at the creation, he had no certain knowledge of what would be tranſacted in the world; but that he improves in his knowledge by time, as men do by practice and experience.

Concerning the attributes of GOD.

The ſect called Bectaſh obſerve the ceremonial part of the law of MAHOMET, with a ſtrictneſs and ſuperſtition above any of their religion; and hold it unlawful to aſcribe any attributes to GOD, as to ſay that GOD is great, GOD is merciful, &c. For, ſay they, the nature of GOD being infinite and incomprehenſible cannot fall under the weak and imperfect conceptions of man's underſtanding, which can imagine nothing applicable to his nature: of which ſect was the Turkiſh poet NEMISI, who was flea'd alive, for ſaying when the imaum called the people to prayers in the uſual manner from the ſteeples, crying, GOD is one, GOD is great, &c. that the imaum lie'd, for that no epithet could be predicated of the divine eſſence: the officers of the janizaries, it is ſaid, are generally of this ſect. But theſe gentlemen who are ſo very abſtracted in their notions, are guilty of the fouleſt practices, having no regard to proximity of blood, but lying with their neareſt relations, and even with their own daughters; alledging, that he who planted the vine is beſt intitled to the fruits of it.

The Munaſihi, another ſect, are Pythagoreans, believing the tranſmigration of ſouls, on which account they are very compaſſionate to animals, purchaſing the liberty of ſome, and feeding others.

A ſect which comes near the Chriſtians.

The Eſchrachi, or illuminated, hold that the happineſs of the other world conſiſts in the contemplation of the Divine Nature, and reject all thoſe groſs conceptions of heaven, which ſeem calculated by MAHOMET, to allure ſenſual men; of which ſect are the great ſheiks, or preachers, who belong to the royal moſques, theſe men are conſtant in their devotions, abſtemious in their diet, of a chearful countenance and obliging behaviour, and great lovers of muſick and poetry, compoſing ſongs or hymns for the entertainment of their audience: they are obſerved alſo to be generous and

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and compaſſionate towards the frailties of human nature, far from covetouſneſs and that churliſh temper with which the Turks in general are charged, for which reaſon their converſation is much deſired in Conſtantinople.

Scepticks.

But the moſt unaccountable ſect are the Hairetti, or the doubtful, who determine nothing poſitively; they will not ſo much as enter into any diſputes, or undertake to perſuade or diſſuade any thing, holding with the academicks, that falſhood by the wit of man may be ſo dreſſed up as not to be diſtinguiſhed from truth; their uſual anſwer therefore to any queſtions put to them is GOD knows, it is unknown to us, &c. Of this ſect however have ſeveral of the Muftis been, who never examine the ſentences or fetfa's they are required to ſign by the Grand Seignior, it is obſerved, but blindly comply with whatever he commands, ſaying only, GOD knows what is beſt.

Atheiſm in Turkey.

Atheiſm alſo prevails mightily in Turkey; there are a ſet of people who ſtyle themſelves Muſerim, which ſignifies The true ſecret is with us, who abſolutely deny the Deity, and reſolve every thing into nature; the heavens, the ſun, moon, and ſtars, they hold are all the production of nature or blind chance, and man himſelf riſes and fades like other plants and flowers. Of this perſuaſion there are multitudes in Conſtantinople, among their cadis and learned men, but eſpecially among the runegadoes who have apoſtatized from Chriſtianity, who are extremely ready to hope there may be nothing beyond this world. One of this perſuaſion called MAHOMET EFFENDI, a wealthy man, educated in the eaſtern learning, Sir PAUL RICAUT ſays, he knew in his time executed for impudently proclaiming his blaſphemies againſt the being of a Deity, making it in his ordinary diſcourſe an argument againſt the being of a GOD, that he was ſuffered to live who was the greateſt enemy and contemner of the Divine Eſſence; and though this man might have ſaved his life if he would have confeſſed his error, he perſiſted ſtill in his blaſphemies, ſaying, that though there was no reward to be expected in another life, yet the love of truth obliged him to die a martyr to it. Sir PAUL informs us farther, that the Ladies and eunuchs of the ſeraglio were many of them infected with theſe notions, and ſome of the greateſt Baſſa's were favourers of them, when he reſided at Conſtantinople.

The Mahometan monks.

I proceed now to enquire into the ſeveral orders of Mahometan monks or derviſes, and of their convents and religious houſes; and it is generally held by their Doctors that theſe houſes and their inſtitutions are as antient as MAHOMET, by whom general orders and inſtructions were given for their oeconomy; but their hiſtories mention nothing of monaſteries till within theſe four hundred years, in the reign of ORCHANES the ſecond King of the Turks, ſaid to have been the firſt founder of theſe houſes and their orders.

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The order of the Mevelevee.

The moſt conſiderable of theſe orders are the Mevelevee, commonly called derviſes, a word which ſignifies poor and renouncers of the world. Their firſt convent was at Iconium, now Cogni, the capital of Lycoania, in which there are about four hundred derviſes. The head of which houſe is the ſuperior of the whole order throughout the Turkiſh empire, by virtue of a charter from OTTOMAN the firſt of their Kings. They pretend to great degrees of patience, humility, modeſty, and charity, and are enjoined ſilence. Their heads hanging down, and their eyes always fixed upon the ground; they wear the coarſeſt linen next them, and have a white mantle about their ſhoulders, and moſt of them wear a looſe woollen garment of a dark colour; their caps are white, and ſhaped like the crown of a hat; their legs always bare, and their breaſts open, and ſometimes they burn and ſear them to teſtify their zeal and devotion. They are girt with a leathern girdle faſtened with a large buckle of ſhining ſtones, which make a mighty glittering. A ſtring of beads they are never without, and run them over oftener than a Chriſtian frier, repeating at every bead the name of GOD. Other Turks alſo carry beads in their hands, but it is more for an amuſement than any thing elſe, or to keep the devil at a diſtance, as ſome expreſs themſelves.

A dance of the derviſes or monks.

They keep a ſtrict faſt every Thurſday, not eating till ſun-ſet, and on Tueſday and Friday the ſuperior of the convent makes a ſermon, or expounds ſome paſſages of the alcoran, after which the derviſes bowing with the profoundeſt reverence to their ſuperior begin their uſual dance, turning round with that ſwiftneſs that their faces can ſcarce be ſeen, one of them playing upon a pipe made of a hollow cane; when the muſick ceaſes they all ſtop in an inſtant, not at all diſordered with the circular motion; to which they have been accuſtomed from their infancy, until it becomes as natural, and as little diſturbs the head or ſtomach, as the walking backwards and forwards. This cuſtom they obſerve with great devotion in imitation of their founder MEVALUNA, who for fourteen days together, and without any nouriſhment, it is ſaid, uſed this vertiginous motion by a miraculous aſſiſtance, his friend FRANZE playing all the while upon a pipe, till at length falling into an extaſy he received ſtrange revelations concerning the inſtitution of this order. The pipe or flute they play on is eſteemed an antient inſtrument by them, and held to be the ſame which JACOB and other holy ſhepherds uſed to praiſe GOD upon: It has a melancholy ſound ſuitable enough to the devotees who uſe it, and

ſome

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Inſtrumental muſick, the lawfulneſs of it diſputed.

ſome of theſe canes it ſeems are valued at five and twenty dollars a piece.

But the lawfulneſs of this kind of devotion with inſtrumental muſick is very much diſputed by the generality of the Turks, becauſe the alcoran expreſly forbids all muſick in the ſervice of GOD but vocal: and this is ſaid to be the reaſon they uſe no bells in ſummoning the people to their devotion, but call them as the manner is from the tops of the ſteeples. And Sir PAUL RICAUT informs us, that in his time this practice of the derviſes was prohibited by publick authority. On the contrary, the derviſes urge in their defence the example of DAVID's playing and dancing before the ark, and by means of ſome great men in power, who ſeem affected with this kind of devotion, they ſtill maintain this inſtitution of their founder, as all our modern travellers aſſure us: they vow poverty, chaſtity, and obedience, like ſome orders in the church of Rome; but any derviſe who deſires it however, may have a licenſe to leave the convent and marry.

The novices are employed in the moſt ſervile offices of the houſe, till others are admitted who ſupply their places; and their chief buſineſs is the learning to read and write the Turkiſh, Arabick, and Perſian languages; many of them lead a ſlothful idle life, or employ themſelves in learning ſome kind of legerdemain, or ſlight of hand, with which they amuſe the people; while others pretend to magick, and to foretel future events.

They make no ſcruple to drink wine, ſpirits and other intoxicating liquors, and eat opium in ſuch quantities as would poiſon half a dozen ordinary men who are not uſed to it; which at firſt raiſes their ſpirits and they appear to be drunk or mad, and as the force of it abates, a dull ſtupefaction ſucceeds, which they term an extaſy, and eſteem themſelves to be in a very bleſſed ſtate, like their founder, who was often obſerved to put himſelf into this condition; whatever therefore contributes to work them into a frenzy or diſtraction is held allowable in this order.

Theſe derviſes have monaſteries in all parts of the Turkiſh empire, which ſerve for houſes of entertainment to thoſe of their order, who travel into all countries where their religion is profeſſed, even as far as China, and are eſteemed the beſt ſpies that are to be found in the eaſtern parts of the world.

There are ſeveral other orders in Turkey, ſome of whom profeſs great abſtemiouſneſs and ſelf-denial, but moſt of them pretend to viſions and revelations, and have their ſantos or ſaints, who are remarkable for the oddneſs of their dreſs, and voluntary mortifications, and are in great eſteem with the people. From theſe convents come their principal ſheiks or preachers, to which office no particular perſons are ſet apart or ordained, but any brother, who apprehends himſelf gifted, undertakes to interpret the alcoran, and hold forth to the people.

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The Emirs who are of the family of MAHOMET, are generally reckoned among their religious: theſe are diſtinguiſhed by their green turbants, ſaid to be the Prophet's favourite colour. Many privileges they are indulged in by the government, inſomuch that if another Turk affront and ſtrike one of them, he forfeits his right hand; however they have a head or ſuperior called the Nakib Eſchref, whoſe abſolute power over them extends to life and death, but he will never bring ſo great a ſcandal on the holy ſeed as to puniſh them publickly. There are not many of theſe Emirs, who can derive their pedigree from MAHOMET; but the Nakib is ready to favour the pretenſions of all people to encreaſe the number of his ſubjects, and will make out their pedigree for them in his office of heraldry for a ſmall conſideration, when they are not able to do it themſelves. The ſecond officer among theſe Emirs is the alemdar, who carries the green ſtandard of MAHOMET when the Grand Seignior appears abroad upon any ſolemn occaſion. Few of theſe Emirs exerciſe any trade, unleſs it be that of buying and ſelling ſlaves, the captivating and enſlaving of Chriſtians, being looked upon as a pious employment by this holy generation.

Emirs.

The head of the Mahometan religion in Turkey is the Mufti: he appoints all inferior civil magiſtrates, who are indeed eccleſiaſtics, their canon and civil law being one and the ſame, for the ſupreme, eccleſiaſtical, and civil power were originally veſted in the Caliphs of Babylon, the ſucceſſors of MAHOMET, and the Mufti ſtill retains the ſhadow of that authority; for to him is regularly the laſt appeal in all caſes of importance, and without his fetfa ſeldom any great man is put to death: he is their oracle, and the Grand Seignior ſcarce ever reverſes his ſentences; but then as he appoints the Mufti and depoſes him whenever he ſees fit, if one Mufti is not for his turn he immediately makes another, ſo that in effect the ſentence is the Grand Seignior's. The title the Sultan gives the Mufti when he writes to him is,

The Mufti or High Prieſt.

'To the Eſad, the wiſeſt of the wiſe, inſtructed 'in all knowledge, the moſt excellent of the ex-'cellent, abſtaining from things unlawful; the 'ſpring of virtue and true ſcience, heir of the 'prophetick and apoſtolical doctrines, reſolver of 'the problems of faith, revealer of the orthodox 'articles, key of the treaſures of truth, the light 'to doubtful allegories, ſtrengthened with the 'grace of the ſupreme aſſiſter and legiſlator of 'mankind. May the moſt high GOD perpe-'tuate thy virtues.

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The cuſtom of demanding the Mufti's fetſa or confirmation of every reſolution, whether it be in relation to war or peace, or the condemnation of ſtate criminals, ſeems to be kept up at this day, rather to take off the odium of ſuch reſolutions from the Sultan, where they are not attended with ſucceſs, than out of any regard the government have to his determination; for the people it is preſumed will never murmur at an edict approved of by their holy and infallible High Prieſt, at leaſt their Prince is deemed excuſable where the Mufti, the oracle of the law, has given his fetſa; and for the like reaſon do Chriſtian Princes ſometimes demand the concurrence of their clergy, to give a ſanction to their reſolutions, and skreen themſelves and their miniſters from popular reſentment. But to proceed, though the alcoran be generally the rule of their faith and practice, the Mufti aſſumes ſo great a latitude in the expoſition of the text, and even altering it in ſome caſes, that this book is far from being their ſole director: For inſtance, it being propoſed to the Mufti how a Mahometan ſhould behave himſelf in relation to the hours of prayer, who ſhould happen to be in a part of the world where the whole day was but an hour long, he anſwered, heaven did not require things difficult or impoſſible, but ſo as the duty was complied with five times in the four and twenty hours, it was not material, if it was not performed preciſely at the reſpective times required by the alcoran. And as the Turks are obliged to turn their faces towards the kabba or chapel at Mecca when they pray, it was demanded of the Mufti how they ſhould comply with this precept when they were at ſea, and uncertain whereabouts Mecca lay? To which this oracle anſwered; that they ſhould obſerve a circular motion at their prayers whereby they would not fail ſometimes to ſet their faces towards the holy city, which in a caſe of ſuch difficulty would be a ſufficient compliance with the command.

Kadiliſquier.

The next eccleſiaſtical officer to the Mufti is the Kadiliſquier, who is likewiſe a civil magiſtrate and judge of the militia in his province; and the ſoldiery, it is ſaid, have the privilege of being tried only by theſe; but it is evident that both ſpahis and janizaries are frequently ſtrangled privately by the direction of the Sultan and Grand Vizier, without being brought before any court of judicature, to prevent inſurrections, and defeat their conſpiracies againſt the ſtate. The Kadiliſquier of Romania is the next eccleſiaſtic to the Mufti, the Kadiliſquier of Natolia the ſecond, and the Kadiliſquier of Egypt the third; and it is neceſſary to paſs thtough one of theſe offices before a perſon arrives at the dignity of Mufti. In every beglerbeglick or vice-royalty, there is a Mollah Cadi, whoſe poſt is next to that of the Kadiliſquiers, and theſe have ſeveral Cadis under their juriſdiction, who are judges in the large towns and villages throughout the empire. But of capital crimes, as has been obſerved already, the Beglerbegs and Baſſa's take cognizance and determine them arbitrarily. The Sultan when he writes to a Mollah or Cadi of a conſiderable place, uſes this title, viz.

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Mollah Cadi. Cadi of the metropolis.

'To the moſt perfect judge of the faithful, the 'beſt preſident of believers; the mine of virtue 'and true knowledge: the diſtributer of juſtice 'to human creatures: heir of the prophetick and 'apoſtolical doctrines, elected by the ſingular 'grace of GOD for our governor and judge of— 'whoſe virtues may they ever flouriſh.'

Imaums.

The imaums, or pariſh prieſts, have no civil juriſdiction, neither are they appointed by the Mufti or any other eccleſiaſtic, or accountable to them; any perſon who can read the alcoran, and has the reputation of a good moral man, and learnt to ſummon the people to prayers in the uſual form from the tops of the ſteeples, may be advanced to this office. They are recommended by the people of the pariſh, or diſtrict to which the moſque belongs, to the Prime Vizier or Governor of the place, as well qualified for the office on a vacancy, and his approbation is all that is requiſite to their induction and eſtabliſhment. They are not diſtinguiſhed from the people by taking holy orders, as with us, but derive all their authority from the ſecular powers, and when they are diſmiſſed from their charge are again numbered among the laity. Their habit differs not from other people's, except that they wear a turbant ſomething larger, and put on an air of greater gravity and ſerioufneſs: their office is to call the people to prayers, and to be their leaders in the moſque, for when the imaum ſtands or ſits, or proſtrates himſelf in the temple, the people obſerve exactly every poſture and motion, and perform them altogether with him, at leaſt ſuch of them as take him for their pattern; for as I underſtand it, there are other holy men frequently attending in the moſques, behind whom the people place themſelves in ſmall parties, imitating their motions in every thing, during their devotions. The imaum alſo on Fridays repeats ſome verſes of the alcoran, but few of them adventure to preach, leaving that office to the ſheiks, or thoſe who make preaching their profeſſion: and theſe generally have their education and reſidence in the convents already mentioned. The imaums are perfectly independent in their pariſhes, having no Superior or Governor, but the Governor of the place or province, who upon the application of the people, places or diſplaces them as he ſees fit.

Sheiks or preachers.

Moſt of their moſques are very well endowed, but eſpecially thoſe of royal foundation, over which the

Their moſques well endowed.

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the Kiſler Aga, or chief of the black eunuchs is ſuperintendant; and he diſtributes the moſt conſiderable preferments belonging to theſe moſques. When Santa Sophia was converted into a moſque, all the lands which were appropriated to it by the Chriſtians were continued to it by the Turkiſh Emperors, and the revenues belonging to that ſingle moſque at preſent are ſaid to amount to near fifty thouſand pounds a year, great part whereof ariſes from the palaces and other houſes within the walls of Conſtantinople. The Sultan himſelf is a tenant to this temple, and pays a thouſand and one aſpers annual rent for the ground on which the ſeraglio ſtands; it belonging to the temple in the time of the Chriſtian Emperors.

Theſe revenues are applied to the maintenance of the imaums and Doctors of their law, who officiate in the moſque, and to the education of youth, providing oil for the lamps, and to the relief of multitudes of poor, who daily at certain hours appear at the gates of the temple: the overplus of the revenue is laid up in the treaſury of the moſque, for the repairing and beautifying of it, and ſometimes applied to the ſervice of the wars, when their religion is thought to be in danger; and is a noble reſerve which ſome of their Emperors have made uſe of on this pretence, when their other treaſures have been exhauſted.

The revenues of many great towns and villages, and of ſome whole countries are applied to the uſe of the moſques, part of their rents being paid in corn, oil and other proviſion: in every new conquered country, a portion of it is allotted for the maintenance of moſques of modern ſtructure. Theſe countries and villages which are thus appropriated to the uſe of their temples are in a much happier ſtate than any other, the inhabitants enjoying great privileges and immunities, and are not liable to the oppreſſion of the Turkiſh Baſſas or the ſoldiery on their march, who have ſuch a regard for thoſe lands applied to pious uſes, that they abſtain from all manner of violence towards the tenants: the leſſer moſques which have no lands, have eſtates in money ſettled upon them, which being placed out at an high intereſt, produces a certain revenue; but it is only in this caſe, and for the maintenance of orphans, that the placing out money at intereſt is held lawful in Turkey, tho' they frequently find means to evade the prohibition by doing what is equivalent to it.

The Mufti, as has been obſerved already, is appointed by the Sultan, and all the ceremony at his inveſtiture, when he preſents himſelf before the Grand Seignior, is his putting on a rich veſt of ſables, with which that Prince preſents him, together with a purſe of gold of the value of a thouſand dollars: he appoints him alſo a revenue of a thouſand aſpers a day, which is between four and five pounds of our money; and he has the diſpoſing of ſome church preferments in the royal moſques, which he ſells to the beſt bidder, having no notion of the crime of ſimony: he is complimented and preſented alſo by the foreign miniſters when he enters on his office; and as he has frequently a conſiderable influence on the Grand Seignior and Vizier, he is continually preſented by the Baſſas and great men, which uſually amounts to more than all the other perquiſites he is entitled to by virtue of his office.

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A late writer gives the following account of the manner of the Turks performing their devotions in the moſque, viz. That being ſummoned to prayers by thoſe whoſe buſineſs it is, from the balconies round the ſteeples, every one waſhes and purifies himſelf as the law requires, and before he enters the temple puts off his ſhoes; when he is come into the moſque, he firſt makes a low reverence towards the place where the alcoran is lodged, and conſequently towards the kabba, or holy temple of Mecca; for the alcoran is always placed in that part of the moſque which looks towards Mecca: after this he lifts up his eyes to heaven, and then ſits down in the humbleſt poſture on the calves of his legs, thus he continues for ſome time with down caſt eyes, and having kiſſed the earth three times, he waits for the imaum, or prieſt, whom he follows, making the ſame proſtrations and adorations he does. While they are engaged in their devotions they ſalute no perſon, or even diſcourſe together, or take notice of any one; nor can any accident divert them from what they are about, neither do they ſpit, or cough or rub themſelves; for any of theſe things would ſo defile them that they muſt begin the courſe of their prayers again: you hear nothing but profound ſighs, or breathings of the ſoul towards their GOD, as my author has it, amidſt which the prieſt riſes up, and ſpreading out his hands and lifting up his eyes to heaven, ſays, or ſings with a loud voice, GOD is great, glory to thee, O Lord, may thy name be bleſſed and praiſed, may thy greatneſs be acknowledged, for there is no other GOD beſide thee: and the following hymn they repeat in their devotions as frequently as the Chriſtians do their pater noſters, viz. 'In the 'name of GOD, full of goodneſs and mercy, 'praiſed be GOD, the Lord of the world, who 'is one GOD; Lord, who ſhall judge all men, 'we worſhip thee, we place our truſt in thee; 'preſerve us who call upon thee in the right way, 'which thou haſt choſen, and doſt favour with 'thy acceptance: it is not the way of the infi'dels, or of thoſe againſt whom thou art juſtly 'incenſed.' Then they proceed in their bowing and adorations, repeating the hymn, 'GOD is 'great, &c. Let the name of the Lord be glori'fied.' Here they proſtrate themſelves again, kiſſing the ground twice; after which they ſay, 'I ac-

How the Turks perform their devotions.

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'I acknowledge that GOD is GOD, that GOD 'is eternal, that he neither begot nor is begotten, 'and has none like him, or equal to him:' and thus having performed all the reverences and proſtrations required at that hour of prayer, they conclude with the following words.

'Adorations and prayers are due only to GOD, 'ſalvation and peace be to thee, O Prophet: the 'mercy, bleſſings and peace of the Lord be upon 'us, and upon the ſervants of GOD; I declare 'there is but one GOD, that he has no compa-'nion or equal, and that MAHOMET is the meſ-'ſenger of GOD.' And at the cloſe of their prayers they ſalute the two angels, whom they believe to ſtand on their right and left, the one being a white angel, who they are taught excites them to good actions, and records them; and the other black, who records their evil actions, with which he charges them after they are laid in the grave; but the ſalutation of each angel is the ſame, viz. 'the ſalvation and mercy of GOD 'be upon thee.' The ſamewriter relates, that they believe their prayers will not be heard unleſs they forgive their enemies, and therefore never let a Friday paſs without endeavouring at a reconciliation with them.

Beſides their daily prayers, they have ſome particular collects for every day of the week; for inſtance, on Friday, their ſabbath, they pray more particularly for the favour of GOD on all true believers: on Saturday for the converſion of the Jews: on Sunday for the converſion of the Chriſtians: on Monday for the prophets: on Tueſday for the prieſts and thoſe who honour the ſaints: on Wedneſday for ſuch believers as are in ſlavery among infidels: on Thurſday for the whole world, of whatever religion or nation: but their prayers are ſaid with the greateſt ſolemnity on Fridays, when the Grand Seignior himſelf and the Baſſas and miniſters reſort to the moſques, contrary to the practice of Perſia, where they are very ſeldom or never ſeen in their temples: but with all this ſeeming devotion, Sir PAUL RICAUT and other good writers give them no better character than that of hypocrites.

Of all nations and religions that I have known, ſays Sir PAUL, they are the moſt hypocritical: they are thoſe who love to pray in the market-places, and in the corners of the ſtreets to have the praiſe of men; for it is obſervable with the Turks, that where they find the moſt ſpectators, eſpecially of Chriſtians, to chooſe that place, how inconvenient ſoever, to ſpread the cloth on which they ſit and begin their prayers: the ſubſtance whereof conſiſts in the praiſes of the divine power and attributes, intermingling certain petitions for the proſperity of the Prince and his dominions, and for diſſention and wars amongſt Chriſtians, in which, as Sir PAUL obſerves, they ſeem to be ſufficiently gratified. Speaking of their morality in another place, he ſays, I cannot applaud the generality of this people with ſo high encomiums as I have read in books of travels, and do believe without partiality that they come ſhort of the good nature and virtues which are to be found in moſt parts of Chriſtendom.

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The reverend Mr. MAUNDREL, who was lately amongſt them, obſerved (as has been mentioned already in ſpeaking of their general character) 'That their religion ſeems framed to keep up 'great outward gravity and ſolemnity, without 'begetting the leaſt good tincture of wiſdom or 'virtue in the mind. You ſee them at the hours 'of prayer, ſays he, addreſſing themſelves to their 'devotions with the moſt ſolemn and critical 'waſhings, always in publick places where moſt 'people are paſſing, uſing moſt lowly and regu-'lar proſtrations and a hollow tone, which 'amongſt them are the great excellencies of 'prayer; they will out of an affected charity give 'money to birdcatchers to reſtore the poor cap-'tives to their liberty, and at the ſame time hold 'their own ſlaves in the moſt rigorous bondage; 'at other times you will find them buying fleſh 'to relieve indigent dogs and cats, and at the 'ſame time curſing you with famine and peſti-'lence and all the moſt hideous execrations, in 'which way they are certainly maſters of the 'moſt exquiſite rhetorick. They know ſcarce 'any pleaſure but that of the ſixth ſenſe; and 'yet with all this are intolerably conceited of 'their own religion, and contemptuous of that 'of others, being a perfect viſible comment upon 'our Bleſſed Lord's deſcription of the Jewiſh 'Phariſees: in ſhort, luſt, arrogance, covetouſ-'neſs, and the moſt exquiſite hypocriſy complete 'their character: if they have any thing com-'mendable in them, it is that outward decency 'of their carriage, the profound reſpect they pay 'to religion, and every thing relating to it, and 'their great temperance and frugality.' And moſt travellers relate, that their temperance is not much to be admired when they get by themſelves, oftner drinking to exceſs in private than Chriſtians, who are not prohibited the uſe of wine, as this ſanctified generation expreſly are by the alcoran: nay, their commentators carry it ſo far, it ſeems, that if wine happens to be ſpilt on the ground, and graſs grows in the ſame place, it is not lawful to eat the cattle that have fed upon ſuch graſs; and yet no people indulge themſelves more in wine than many of the Turks do in private at this day, urging in their excuſe, that the temptation is too great to be reſiſted; and as confeſſion among the Catholics, ſo here a general ablution waſhes away the crime; and who would not indulge a little, who believed fair water would infallibly cleanſe both ſoul and body,

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and render them as pure as ever in the ſight of heaven?

Having ſpoken largely of the Mahometan religion already, in treating of Perſia and Arabia, there remains little more to be ſaid on that head here: I ſhall conclude therefore with the account Mr. MOTRAYE gives us of their celebrating their ramazan, or annual faſt, and the bairam, or feſtival that ſucceeds it. Their ramazan, or lent, ſays that gentleman, is the moſt ſevere that is obſerved by any nation, at leaſt the poor, who are obliged to follow their work, have reaſon to think it ſo; for no perſon is allowed to eat, drink, or ſmoke from ſun riſe till ſun ſet but only in the night, people of condition indeed ſleep moſt part of the day, and revel all the night, when they abſtain from nothing but meats, which are prohibited at other times, as hog's fleſh, &c. of other things they eat and drink rather more plentifully than at other times, during the night: a vaſt number of lamps alſo are lighted and ſet upon the minarets and ſpires of the moſques, and the whole town is illuminated, inſomuch that a ſtranger would be apt to miſtake it for ſome glorious feſtival.

Their ramazan.

The lamps are ranged in a very nice order round the balconies of the ſpires, of which the great moſques have two or three one above another, which appear like ſo many coronets, or flaming circles; cords alſo are faſtned from one ſpire to another, on which ſeveral rows of lighted lamps are hung, ſome higher ſome lower, ſo as to form certain ſentences in Arabian characters to the honour of GOD, their great prophet, the Sultan, or the founders of the moſques; and in great cities, ſuch as Conſtantinople, where theſe illuminations are very numerous, nothing can afford a more delightful ſcene to one who ſtands at a little diſtance from them: the inſides of the moſques alſo are ſo well illuminated that they are as light as day.

Bairam.

So ſoon as the moon changes, the month Schenval begins, when they celebrate the feſtival called bairam, which laſts three days: this brings great joy to the inferior people eſpecially, for the reaſons above-mentioned, and is proclaimed by the diſcharge of the cannon of the ſeraglio, and the ſound of drums and trumpets, with ſuch muſick as the country affords: they begin it with a thankſgiving in their moſques, when to their ordinary prayers they add ſeveral hymns, ſuch as theſe that follow, viz.

'We thank thee, O Lord, the only infinite, 'perfect, eternal and moſt merciful being: in 'that thou haſt communicated thy all holy, true 'and pure law to us; and that we have preſerved 'it in its purity as it was delivered to us by thy 'Prophet, ſervant and Ambaſſador MAHOMET: 'to whom be ſalvation and bleſſings, as alſo to 'thy other prophets, JESUS the ſon of MARY, 'MOSES, DAVID and SOLOMON, &c.' After prayers the Sultan receives the compliments of the great officers of the Porte ſeated on his throne, and even the Sultaneſſes.

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The people dreſſed in their beſt habits viſit one another, and accquaintance embrace when they meet in the ſtreets; and where they have had any differences they are reconciled: even their women at this time are allowed the liberty of going abroad, it is ſaid, and ſome of them make uſe of the opportunity to break looſe from their keepers. Sacrifices of oxen, ſheep and lambs are alſo made by the wealthy, and their fleſh diſtributed among the poor, ſo that at this time a general joy appears; and moſt of our travellers compare it to the Eaſter of the Chriſtians, becauſe it ſucceeds their ramazan, as Eaſter does our lent. It is alſo a moveable feaſt, being held in every month of the year in the compaſs of thirty years, or thereabouts; for the Mahometan year in eccleſiaſtical matters being lunary, and conſequently between eleven and twelve days ſhort of ours: their faſts and feſtivals happen ſo many days ſooner every year than they did the preceding year, and in little more than thirty years run thro' every month, as has been obſerved already.

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Treats of the ſtate of the Chriſtian religion in Turkey, and particularly of the Greek church.

A general toleration in Turkey.

THE Mahometans tolerate all religions, but encourage and reward the diſciples of none but their own: nay, if contempt, reproach and oppreſſion may be deemed perſecution, the Chriſtians in that empire are not altogether exempted from it at this day. They allow them ſome temples indeed, but they have deſtroyed more, or converted them into moſques, and they admit no churches to be built upon new foundations, or the rebuilding thoſe which are decayed, without extorting an extravagant fine from the poor people for the liberty of building them, ſeveral churches deſtroyed by the fires which happened in Conſtantinople and Galata in the year 1660. being rebuilt by the Chriſtians, an edict iſſued for the demoliſhing them again, which was immediately executed, on pretence that it was a breach of the Turkiſh law, to permit churches to be reedified of which nothing remained but the foundations; but it appears theſe ſcruples may be overcome by a handſome bribe, ſeveral churches having been rebuilt ſince that time by making proper applications, and a preſent to the magiſtrate.

There are ſome inſtances alſo where men are forced to turn Mahometans, or loſe their lives; as, where a perſon has ſpoken irreverently of the

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Mahometan religion; or, where he has been taken in too great familiarity with a Turkiſh woman: in either of theſe caſes he muſt turn Mahometan, or die for it; ſo where one has in his liquor, or upon ſome ſtrong temptation profeſſed himſelf a Mahometan, they ſhew him no mercy if he declares himſelf a Chriſtian afterwards; and if a man profeſſes himſelf a Mahometan, all his children under fourteen, however educated, are obliged to become Turks.

Chriſtians oppreſſed.

Neither is a Chriſtian ſuffered to wear the honourable garb of thoſe of the eſtabliſhed religion under the ſevereſt penalties: it is criminal for him to be ſeen with a white turbant, or a yellow ſlipper, which are worn only by their inſolent maſters, and every raſcally Turk will inſult and beat a Chriſtian upon the leaſt, and ſometimes upon no provocation; for which there is no remedy but patience. The ordinary capitation tax every Chriſtian pays is not to be accounted among their greateſt grievances: the Baſſas and inferior magiſtrates are ever finding ſome pretence or other to extort ſums of money from them, and the ſanctified Mahometan ſcarce thinks it a crime to give falſe evidence againſt a Chriſtian.

Extent of the Greek or eaſtern churches.

The whole Greek church, taking in every ſect, is of a vaſt extent, containing not only the Chriſtians of the Turkiſh empire, who are in many parts of it much more numerous than the Mahometans themſelves, but alſo the Chriſtians of Muſcovy, the Coſſacks, the inhabitants of Podolia, and Black Ruſſia, the people of Ethiopia and Abyſſinia, ſouth of Egypt. Thoſe of Circaſſia, Georgia and Mengrelia, and the inhabitants of the iſlands in the Mediterranean, under the Venetians, are generally of the Greek communion: but I ſhall treat chiefly of thoſe who are under the dominion of the Turk, who are governed by four Patriarchs, (viz.) the Patriarchs of Conſtantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jeruſalem.

Patriarch of Conſtantinople.

1. The Patriarch of Conſtantinople is the firſt in point of dignity, and has alſo the largeſt juriſdiction, taking in all the Leſſer Aſia, except the two moſt eaſtern provinces, which border upon Syria. In Europe he hath Romania, Macedonia, and the reſt of Greece; Dalmatia, Albania, Walachia, and Moldavia, and the iſlands of the Archipelago, under his juriſdiction. In his letters miſſive he ſubſcribes himſelf, By the mercy of GOD, Archbiſhop of New Rome, Conſtantinople, and œcumenical Patriarch.

Patriarch of Alexandria.

2. The Patriarch of Alexandria, whoſe juriſdiction extends over Egypt, Lybia, and part of Arabia, ſtyling himſelf, By the mercy of GOD, Pope and Patriarch of the great city of Alexandria, and œcumenical Judge, and ſometimes œcumenical Patriarch, it being the chief ſee before Conſtantine, and founded by St. MARK, from whence Alexandria is frequently called the throne, the ſeat and chair of that Apoſtle. Sometimes he is ſtyled Patriarch of Alexandria and all Egypt, Pentapolis, Lybia, and Ethiopia: the Metropolitan of the Abyſſines, till of late, being conſecrated and confirmed by him. This Patriarch uſually reſides at Grand Cairo, for the conveniency of the Chriſtians of his communion, who are numerous in this city, and that he may have acceſs to the Turkiſh Viceroy, in caſe of any grievous oppreſſion.

Patriarch of Antioch.

3. The Patriarch of Antioch, who has the churches of Syria and Meſopotamia, and the provinces of Iſauria and Celicia, in the Leſſer Aſia, under his juriſdiction, ſtyles himſelf, By the mercy of GOD, Patriarch of the great city of Antioch, called Theopolis, and of all the eaſt; and uſually reſides at Damaſcus or Scham.

Patriarch of Jeruſalem.

4. The Patriarch of Jeruſalem has Paleſtine, and part of Arabia under his juriſdiction, and ſtyles himſelf, By the mercy of GOD, Patriarch of the holy city of Jeruſalem, and of all Paleſtine; and ſometimes he is ſtyled, Patriarch of Jeruſalem, the holy mount of Sion, Syria, Arabia, beyond Jordan, Cana of Galilee, and of all Paleſtine.

The four Patriarchs are prayed for in their publick liturgies; and upon the union that was propoſed between the Latin and Greek church, ALEXANDER the fourth, then Pope, required that his name ſhould be added to the four Patriarchs, which was agreed to; but the union being generally diſliked upon the return of the Greek commiſſioners to Conſtantinople, it was again diſuſed.

The other ſects of Chriſtians alſo have their Patriarchs, as the Armenians, Maronites, Jacobites, &c. and there is uſually a titular Patriarch of Conſtantinople, of the Pope's appointing, as well as a Biſhop, who has the power of a Legate.

The Chriſtians, in this part of the world, having long ſince deſpaired of recovering their loſt liberties, their ſpirits are broken, and they now ſeem contented with their ſlaviſh condition, and entertain no thoughts of reſcuing themſelves from their bondage, or being delivered by any foreign powers. As to the Latins, ſo great is there antipathy to them, that it is ſaid they would chooſe to continue under the dominion of the Turk rather than ſubmit to theirs: nor are the Romaniſts a whit behind them in their uncharitable cenſures, treating thoſe Greeks as hereticks and infidels, who refuſe to ſubmit to the ſee of Rome, and are perpetually inviting the Turks to deſtroy and oppreſs them, as appears in the caſe of the Patriarch CYRILLUS LUCARIS, whom the Jeſuits actually procured to be ſtrangled, becauſe he refuſed to ſubmit to the Pope. From the ſucceſſes of the Muſcovites, they have ſometimes entertained hopes of their church being triumphant again;

again; and, it is ſaid, there is a prophecy among the Turks, that the ruin of their empire will be effected by that people, at leaſt from their ſituation, and the enterprizing genius of ſome of their Princes. There is no nation they are more jealous of than the Muſcovites, and perhaps with a great deal of reaſon; for ſhould the Muſcovite ever penetrate into Turkey, the Greeks, who are very numerous, would probably join them, being of the ſame faith; whereas their averſion to the Latins would keep them firm to the Sultan, in caſe of an invaſion from thence.

Under ſo much violence and oppreſſion, and ſuch arts as are uſed to promote the Mahometan religion, and to diſcourage the poor Chriſtians in the Turkiſh empire, it is no wonder that the Turks gain ground; it is rather to be admired, ſays a late author, that there is any ſuch thing as Chriſtianity left in the eaſt, and that Mahometiſm has not prevailed in theſe countries as univerſally as it has all along the coaſts of Africk, from Egypt to the moſt weſtern part of Barbary, where there is not a Chriſtian to be found, unleſs in the Spaniſh garriſons, or among the ſlaves, who are taken captive by the rovers. If we conſider, ſays this gentleman, how ignorant the Greeks are; how deſtitute of all helps of learning, there being no publick ſchools among them; to what grievous temptations their poverty and perſecution continually expoſe them; how unacquainted with the holy ſcripture; and how little inſtructed in the doctrines of Chriſtianity, not one in twenty of them being able to read, and ſermons being rarely preached amongſt them, and thoſe only in the patriarchal church at Conſtantinople, in Lent or Chriſtmas, it is next to a miracle that they remain ſo firm in their profeſſion of Chriſtianity; and aſcribes their perſeverance chiefly to their ſtrict and religious obſervation of their feaſts and faſts. 'Theſe, ſays he, are the chief preſervatives of their church againſt the poiſon of Mahometiſm. For children, and thoſe of the moſt ordinary capacities, know the meaning of theſe holy ſolemnities, when they flock to church in crowds, and thereby retain the memory of our Saviour's birth, death upon the croſs, reſurrection, aſcenſion, &c. And while they commemorate the ſufferings and martyrdoms of the Apoſtles, and other ſaints, they are animated by ſuch glorious examples, to endure patiently the trials and hardſhips they meet with.

Their fixed and immoveable feaſts, beſides thoſe we keep, are, 1. The nativity of the bleſſed virgin MARY, September 8. 2. The exaltation of the holy croſs, September 14. 3. The tranſlation or death of St. JOHN the Evangeliſt, September 26. For it was the belief of ſome Chriſtians, it ſeems, that St. JOHN never died, but was taken up into heaven, occaſioned by our Saviour's words, 'If I will that he tarry till I 'come, what is that to thee?' But that he died at Epheſus, really and truly, and was buried there, POLYCRATES, Biſhop of that city, relates, in a letter to VICTOR, Biſhop of Rome, which is preſerved by EUSEBIUS in his church hiſtory, lib. 3. cap. 31. and other authors. 4. DEMETRIUS, Proconſul and martyr, pierced through with lances at Theſſalonica, by the command of MAXIMIAN, October 26. 5. St. JOHN CHRYSOSTOME, November 13. 6. St. NICHOLAS, Biſhop of Myra in Lycia, confeſſor under DIOCLESIAN and MAXIMIAN, December 6. 7. St. SPIRIDIEN, Biſhop and confeſſor under MAXIMIAN, having had his right eye ſtruck out, and hamſtringed in his left leg, and condemned to work in the mines: afterwards preſent at the council of Nice, December 12. 8. St. IGNATIUS, to whom they give the title of Θεοφόρος, the third Biſhop of Antioch from St. PETER, thrown to the wild beaſts in the amphitheatre at Rome, under TRAJAN, December 16. 9. St. ANTHONY, one of the firſt founders of the monaſtick order in Egypt, under DECIUS, January 17. 10. St. ATHANASIUS and St. CYRIL, Biſhops of Alexandria, January 18. 11. St. GREGORY NAZIANZEN, whom they ſtyle Θεολόγος, or the divine, January 25. 12. St. BASIL, St. GREGORY, and St. CHRYSOSTOME, the memory of which three famous Biſhops they celebrate together, January 30. 13. St. BLASIUS, Biſhop of Sebaſte in Armenia, put to death by DIOCLESIAN, February 11. 14. The forty ſoldiers, martyrs, who being expoſed in a lake near Sebaſte, in the Leſſer Armenia, were frozen to death, under LICINIUS, March 9. 15. St. GEORGE of Cappadocia, martyred under DIOCLESIAN, and ſtyled peculiarly by the Greek, Ὁ Τροπαιοφόρος, April 23. 16. CONSTANTINE the Great, and his mother HELENA, whom they call Ἰσαποστόλους, or equal to the Apoſtles, May 21. 17. St. MARINA, virgin and martyr, of Antioch in Piſidia, the daughter of AEDESIUS, a Pagan prieſt, between whom and JULIAN the Apoſtate there was a great intimacy and familiarity. The Roman Catholicks call this ſaint MARGARET: July 17. 18. ELIAS the Prophet, July 15. 19. PARASCEVE, virgin and martyr, who had her head ſtruck off about the time of ANTONINUS, July 26. 20. St. PANTELEEMENON, phyſician and martyr, who ſuffered at Nicomedia in Bithynia, under MAXIMIAN, called by the Roman Catholicks PANTALEON, July 27. 21. The transfiguration of our Saviour, Auguſt 6. 22. The death of the bleſſed virgin, (ἡ Μετάστασις, ἡ Κοίμησις, tranſlato vel dormitio) Auguſt 15. This the Roman Catholicks call the aſſump-

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tion, in relating whoſe triumphal aſcenſion into heaven, by the aſſiſtance of angels, the Greeks expreſs a great deal of credulity and folly. The inſtitution of this ſolemnity NICEPHORUS attributes to the Emperor MAURITIUS, about the year 600.

In their monaſteries they commemorate ſome ſaint or martyr almoſt every day; but not with that ſolemnity the other feſtivals are celebrated, at which the people uſually are preſent, being obliged to obſerve them by abſtaining from work.

Their prieſts and deacons, and other devout people, obſerve the vigils preceding the great feſtivals, ſpending the whole night in prayers and reading the hiſtory of the Goſpels, or the proper leſſons for the ſolemnity, without interruption, relieving one another when they are tired. My author, the reverend Mr. SMITH, relates, that he has been preſent for ſeven hours together at their ſervice on a feſtival day, viz. from between four and five in the morning till towards twelve. The ordinary prayers for the ſolemnity begin when there is a full congregation, and the life of the ſaint is read to the people in the vulgar Greek, tranſlated out of SIMEON METAPHRASTES, or the ſynaxaria, which are collections containing the moſt remarkable paſſages and accidents of the ſaints lives, with their ſufferings and martyrdom, intermixed with ſome moral reflections, to which the people are very attentive. At theſe ſolemnities the holy ſacrament is always celebrated with great pomp, and every one brings his gift or preſent, according to his ability, as bread, wine, oil for the lamps, wax candles, frankincenſe, &c. to be made uſe of in theſe ſacred rites, or otherwiſe, as the ſervice of the church may require.

They are alſo very charitable and liberal to the poor at theſe times, the meaneſt of the people giving away what they can ſcarce ſpare themſelves: it being uſual for ſuch as are fallen into any great diſtreſs, to procure letters from the Patriarch to move them to compaſſion. The Turks alſo will bring their ſlaves in chains to the church doors of the Greeks, to beg alms for their maintenance; but this being an artifice of their covetous maſters, there is little notice taken of them. Divine ſervice begins always very early in the morning, and in the winter an hour or two before day, that the people may be preſent at the whole ſervice, and diſmiſſed in time to attend their affairs, but chiefly becauſe they may perform their devotions with leſs diſturbance from the Turks. And I am perſuaded, ſays my author, that no Chriſtian, of what communion ſoever, can be preſent at their worſhip but he muſt melt into tears and ſighs, and earneſtly put up his petitions to our Saviour, that he would pleaſe to deliver his poor diſtreſſed ſuppliants out of the hands of thoſe proud inſulting infidels, the enemies of his croſs, and deſpiſers of his Godhead.

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Their other feſtivals are moveable, and depend upon Eaſter, or the anniverſary of our Saviour's reſurrection, in aſſigning which they make uſe of the old paſchal cycle, and limits of it, as they were eſtabliſhed by the Fathers of the firſt general council of Nice, their account being the ſame with ours. Eaſter day is called the holy and great Lord's day, or feſtival of the paſſover, or the paſſover of the reſurrection. Upon this and the two following days, the Greeks, at their firſt meeting in the ſtreets, if they can do it conveniently, without the obſervation of the Turks, or elſe in their churches or churchyards, expreſs their mutual love and joy, and belief of this great article of faith, by kiſſing each other, and uſing the old form of words, taken out of St. LUKE, Κριστὸς ἀνέστη, CHRIST is riſen: to which is anſwered, ἀληθῶς ἀνέστη, he is riſen indeed. Sometimes it is called λαμπρά, the bright or white Sunday, alluding to the cuſtom of the firſt ages, when the catechumeni, upon their being baptized at this ſolemn time, were clothed in white, the whole week being thence called Διακαινήσιμος, which name is ſtill retained in their publick offices and eccleſiaſtical writings. The Sunday after Eaſter, Ἀλιπάσχα, or Κυριακὴ Διακαινήσιμος, the ſame with Dominica in albis, the albs being then left off, or the Sunday of St. THOMAS; becauſe the Goſpel of that day relates to the hiſtory of his doubting, and the confirmation of his faith in the reſurrection, done as upon this day, viz. the eighth day from our Saviour's ariſing out of the grave. The ſecond Sunday after Eaſter alſo is a great feſtival, and called the Sunday of the women who brought the ointment, and of JOSEPH of Arimathea. The third, the Sunday of the man ſick with the palſy, cured by our Saviour. The fourth, the Sunday of the Samaritan women. The fifth, the Sunday of the blind man reſtored to ſight, being all of them denominated from the reſpective Goſpels. On the Thurſday following is the feſtival of our Saviour's aſſumption or aſcenſion into heaven. The ſixth Sunday is the Sunday of the three hundred and eighteen divine Fathers who were aſſembled at Nice, and are commemorated on this day, for their piety and zeal in defence of the catholick faith, againſt ARIUS and his followers. The Friday following is All-ſouls, and then comes Whitſunday, or Pentecoſt. The day following is the feſtival of the Holy Trinity, and the Sunday after Whitſunday, All-ſaints day.

The due obſervance of theſe days is held to be one of the principal ſupports of the Chriſtian religion in the Turkiſh empire, as has been obſerved

Their faſts

ſerved already; nor does the ſtrict obſervation of the annual and weekly faſts contribute leſs to make them tenacious of their religious rites. They believe it to be a heinous ſin to tranſgreſs the laws of the church in this particular, and by long cuſtom ſeem to have rendred the greateſt hardſhips and ſeverities of this kind tolerable and eaſy: they have gained a perfect maſtery over their appetites, and are ſo far from complaining of the tedioufneſs or rigour of their faſts, that they would not willingly ſuffer any abatement or relaxation of them: they would entertain a jealouſy of their eccleſiaſtical governors, if they were indulged or diſpenſed with, and apprehend their religion to be in danger by it.

Four Lents.

Their annual faſts are four: the firſt is much about the time of our Lent, before Eaſter, which continues eight and forty days, beſides Sundays, during which time they abſtain from all ſorts of fleſh and fiſh, except ſhell-fiſh, ſuch as cockles, oyſters, ſcallops, &c. which have no blood. They abſtain alſo from eggs, cheeſe, and whatever is made of milk, only on Saturdays the uſe of oil and wine is permitted, and upon Lady-day and Sundays they are allowed to eat ſome ſort of fiſh, which they are not on other days in Lent.

Days of the week no names.

The week before Eaſter they call the week of the holy and ſalutary paſſion, or the great and holy week. The Monday after Palm-ſunday is called the great and holy ſecond day. Tueſday, the great and holy third day, and ſo of the reſt; for the Greeks have no proper names for the days of the week, except Sunday, which they call the Lord's day; and the ſeventh, which they call the Sabbath: the other five days they diſtinguiſh only by their order; as the ſecond, third, fourth, fifth, and ſixth; in which our Quakers imitate them. On Thurſday evening in the holy week, the ceremony of waſhing the feet of twelve caloyers, or monks, is performed by the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, in the patriarchal church; each of the twelve bearing the name of the Apoſtle he repreſents; but none of them, it ſeems, will conſent to repreſent JUDAS, without a promiſe of preferment: but this ceremony has already been deſcribed at large. The eve of Good-friday is ſpent in faſting and prayers, and reading the hiſtory of our Saviour's paſſion, and the women and children of ſeven or eight years old will not be excuſed from this duty, but faſt from morning till night; and thoſe of a ſtronger conſtitution will faſt four and twenty hours longer, and eat nothing till Eaſter-eve at night, placing a great part of their religion in theſe rigorous faſts.

Their ſecond ſolemn faſt continues forty days, beginning on the fifteenth of November, but is not ſo ſevere as the former, being allowed the uſe of oil and wine, and all manner of fiſh.

The third faſt is ſpent in honour of the bleſſed Virgin, beginning on the firſt of Auguſt, and ending on the fourteenth of the ſame month; the day following being the feſtival of her orbit, or rather, as they explain it, of her tranſlation from earth to heaven, and which the church of Rome call the aſſumption of the bleſſed Virgin.

The fourth ſolemn faſt is moveable, and happens to be of a longer or ſhorter duration, according as Eaſter falls; for it begins on the Monday after All-ſaints day, which is with them the Sunday after Whitſunday, and is continued to the feſtival of thoſe two great ſaints, St. PETER and St. PAUL, being the twenty-ninth of June.

Their weekly faſts are Wedneſday and Friday, except Wedneſdays and Fridays in the three great feſtivals of Chriſtmas, Eaſter, and Whitſuntide; and except alſo Septuageſima and Sexageſima, that they may not ſeem to agree with the Armenian Chriſtians, who faſt moſt rigorouſly at theſe times, whom they hate mortally, looking on them as hereticks. They are alſo obliged to faſt on the eves of Epiphany, Pentecoſt, the transfiguration, exaltation of the croſs, and the eve before the feſtival of the beheading Saint JOHN BAPTIST: but they hold it unlawful to faſt on any Saturday, except that in the holy week.

Their churches.

The churches which now belong to the Greeks are mean buildings, and poorly furniſhed; it being thought prudent to affect nothing that is rich and ſtately, that they may not excite the envious and covetous Turk to deprive them of them. Theſe they ſtill enjoy, by virtue of the grant made them by the Emperor MAHOMET, on his triumphal entrance into that city; but moſt of their beſt churches were ſoon after converted into moſques, The Greeks have ſtill about ſix and twenty churches in Conſtantinople, ſix in Galata, and a ſmall church in the bagnio, where a Greek prieſt is ſometimes permitted to officiate before the poor ſlaves of their communion, when the gallies return from their ſummer expeditions: and there are alſo ſeveral Chriſtian churches in the towns and villages near Conſtantinople, on either ſide the Boſphorus.

The preſent patriarchal church formerly belonged to a convent of nuns; and here the Patriarch has his reſidence. It is ſituated on the riſing of a hill, near the lantern-gate, towards the harbour, being of an ordinary ſize, and without any great ornament. Here they ſhew the relicks of St. EUPHEMIA, and ſome other martyrs, locked up in cheſts, which they open with great ſolemnity to gratify ſtrangers, who ſufficiently reward their civility: but what is moſt eſteemed, is a piece of black marble, ſaid to be part of the pillar to which CHRIST was tied when he was ſcourged; this is encloſed in a brazen grate, leſt

it

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it ſhould be diminiſhed by devout or ſacrilegious hands, for the people believe that the powder of this ſtone taken inwardly will infallibly cure agues and fevers.

Their churches are of various forms, ſome covered with domes or cupolas, others built in the form of a croſs like our cathedrals, and others are in the form of oblong ſquares: in the building of them they had regard to three ſorts of people who were to frequent them, and divide them accordingly; they conſtantly ſtand eaſt and weſt, having three doors on the ſouth ſide, one opening into the moſt weſterly part, where the penitents excommunicated and Catechumeni formerly ſtood, and was divided from the body of the church by a partition five or ſix feet high; but theſe uſes long ſince ceaſing, this part of the church is now aſſigned to the women, who never ſit promiſcuouſly with the men, but look through lattices into the church, without being ſeen themſelves. The middle gate opens into the body of the church, where the lay people who were under no church cenſure aſſembled, and is ſtill taken up by the men: in the middle is the desk where they read the ſcriptures to the people, and a pulpit very ſeldom uſed, but no ſeats for the congregation, who never kneel or ſit, but perform their devotions ſtanding, and when they are weary ſupport themſelves with crutches. Between the body of the church and chancel there is a partition reaching almoſt from the top to the bottom of their church, full of pictures of their ſaints drawn at full length. Three doors open out of the church into the chancel; that in the middle being called the holy or royal door, is never opened but upon extraordinary occaſions, as upon the veſpers of great feſtivals, or at the celebration of the communion, when the deacon goes out of it to read the Goſpel to the congregation, or when after a proceſſion the prieſt enters it in order to conſecrate the elements, or when the communicants approach to receive them of the prieſt or deacon, who ſtand juſt at the entrance of it.

The chancel, frequently called bema, either becauſe of the little aſcent to it, or rather becauſe it is looked upon as the throne and tribunal of Chriſt, ſays my author, is peculiar to the prieſts, and thoſe who ſerve at the altar; it not being permitted to the laity to enter there during the communion ſervice, according to a canon of the council of Laodicea; out of regard to which St. AMBROSE it ſeems admoniſhed the Emperor THEODOSIUS after he had made his offerings not to ſtay there to receive the ſacrament as he intended, which the good Emperor took very patiently and ſubmitted to: there are three tables in the chancels of their great churches, on the middlemoſt of which only it is lawful to conſecrate the elements: this is of ſtone fixed to the wall, and called, the holy, the divine and myſtical table; over which there is a croſs. On the left hand towards the north is a little table called Προθεσις, where they depoſite the holy gifts or preſents, and where ſeveral things are done preparatory to the holy communion: on the oppoſite ſide is the Σκευφυλάκιον, or ſacriſty, which has alſo a table: here they put their books and holy veſſels and veſtments, and this is properly the place of the deacons and other inferior miniſters, hence called Διακονικὸν, employed in lighting the lamps, heating water for the chalices, &c. and this ſacriſty was ſometimes antiently without the church: they burn lamps for the moſt part before the altar, and ſometimes in the body of the church.

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In the patriarchal and epiſcopal churches there are ſeats in the concha or ſpace about the altar, the chief ſeat being higher than the reſt, which they call the holy throne, to diſtinguiſh it from the other ſeat of the Patriarch or Biſhop below in the church, in both which he is placed at his inauguration, by which he is deemed in full poſſeſſion of his dignity.

As the Turks will not allow them the uſe of bells, to ſupply the want of them in the villages they poſſeſs, they beat with a hammer upon a board or iron plate, to call the people to church: they retain much the ſame form of eccleſiaſtical government under the Turks they had formerly when their's was the eſtabliſhed religion, having ſtill the ſame orders and degrees of clergy, diſtinct in office and dignity, ſo that there is the face of a church, though much diſtreſſed and haraſſed, every where viſible, and a due ſubordination among their clergy, and diſcipline is ſtill exerciſed, of which the reverend Mr. SMITH has given us the following account, viz.

Eccleſiaſtical government.

The eaſtern Chriſtians of the Greek communion look upon the Patriarch of Conſtantinople as their head, and though he does not conſtitute the other Patriarchs, yet they pay him an extraordinary reſpect, and often conſult him in perſon, and by their deputies in caſes of difficulty, being unwilling to determine any thing without his approbation; and in the midſt of his poverty and affliction he retains the pompous title of œcumenical Patriarch: his Metropolitans alſo value themſelves as much upon the antient dignity and pre-eminence as if they ſtill enjoyed the ſame revenue and power, and had the ſame number of ſuffragans under their juriſdiction as formerly.

There is not only a conſiderable ſum demanded by the Turks of the Greek clergy upon the preſentation of a new Patriarch, who is always confirmed by the Grand Seignior or Vizier, but an annual ſum is now exacted of the Patriarch by way of tribute. EMANUEL MALAXES in his hiſtory,

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history of the Patriarchs of Constantinople, from the taking of the city to his time (viz.) 1577. relates, that the elections of the first four Patriarchs after the taking of Constantinople were free, but that afterwards a present of a thousand ducats being made in favour of one SIMEON a caloyer or monk of Trapesond, whom his countrymen were ambitious of making Patriarch, the Turks took advantage of their forwardness, and made it a precedent for the future, and the sum was soon after doubled and trebled, and at length turned to an annual tribute, which has been encreasing ever since, to which the dissentions among the Greeks have not a little contributed: and there is not only an annual sum paid to the government, but presents must be made to the Sultana, the great officers and favourites at court, so that the standing and accidental charge of the Patriarch amounts to a very great sum. To raise this money with which they purchase a toleration of their religion, a tax is laid upon every Archbishop and Bishop (besides what is given at their consecration) every year. This they exact from the priests under their jurisdiction, according to the value of their respective incomes.

To collect these sums or presents, as they are termed, the Patriarch deputes one of his dependents as his Legate, whom they call Ἐξαρχον, and sometimes he visits in person for this purpose: he raises money also by the ordination of priests within his particular dioceses, who pay him one year's profits of their livings; licences of marriage, and dispensations, are another branch of his profits, and the law suits which are heard before him afford some perquisites; for to prevent the ill consequences of coming before the Mahometan tribunals, they make the Patriarch their judge frequently in civil cases, and are concluded by his sentence on pain of excommunication, which they dread more than death; and should such a person not endeavour to be reconciled to the church (unless he proposes to turn Turk to get the better of his adversary by suing him before the Cadi, or in the divan) the Patriarch and his clergy will spare no charge to procure such a one to be condemned to the gallies for a certain time, till they have brought him to submit; but they have seldom occasion to use this rigorous course, the people fearing to offend their ecclesiastical Governors out of a principle of conscience. The Patriarch is assisted in the determination of causes, by twelve of the chief officers belonging to his church, who also assist the Archbishop of Heraclea in crowning him at his inauguration: these are also his standing council, to whom he refers the great affairs of religion; and they still retain the grand titles they did before they came under the dominion of the Turks. But to return to the Patriarch's revenue, this is considerably increased by the legacies of devout people who have increased their fortunes, and left part of them to the church. And by all these means it is computed he may receive thirty or forty thousand dollars a year, which is most of it swallowed by the Turkish ministry.

The Patriarch is usually chosen out of their Bishops, who are caloyers or monks of the order of St. BASIL, and educated for the most part on mount Athos, under a vow of celibacy, and to add a lustre to his office, his menial servants are usually in deacons orders: their usual style when they address him is Παναγιώτατε, most Holy Father, or, ἡ Παναγιότης σου, your Holiness; and Μακαριώτατε, or ἡ Μακαριότης σου, most blessed Father, or your Blessedness, making their Patriarch in all respects equal to the Pope. But it is not to be conceived what prejudice their feuds and dissentions at the choice of a Patriarch bring upon Christianity. It is a common thing to have several Bishops making interest for that high office at the same time, and bribing the Vizier and other officers of state to obtain their ends; and when one of them has prevailed this way, and defeated his competitors, he usually endeavours to reimburse himself, by throwing the debt he has contracted on the church, which must pay for all, while those who are piqued at his advancement, never rest till by their money or misrepresentations to the government, they procure him to be deposed; for the Turks, glad of these opportunities of extorting money from them, encourage their complaints, and are very ready to make removes as often as they are applied to: in the mean time large sums are taken up at a high interest by the contending parties to carry on their unchristian quarrels: and besides the reigning Patriarch there have sometimes been three others alive who have enjoyed the same title. Their Archbishops who have any suffragans under them are called Metropolites, for there are many of them at this day have no suffragans, the cities where their sees were being long since demolished; and there are several Bishops who are independent of any Metropolitan, and these have assumed the title of Archbishops.

His titles.

The revenues of their priests are so very small that there seems to be no temptation to enter into holy orders, unless a pure principle of conscience invite them; especially since they are hereby deprived of all other ways of getting a subsistence, the clergy not being allowed to busy themselves in any secular employment. It is esteemed very good preferment in a country village, if the priest can make ten pounds a year, out of which he pays a certain annual sum to the Bishop: there being no lands annexed to their cures, and but a small allowance agreed upon at their first undertaking the charge. The people pay the priest a certain number of aspers (half-pence) at the christning a child, or administring the sacrament upon extra-

Stipends of the priests.

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ordinary occaſions, for burying their dead, &c. And at great feſtivals they make him a ſmall preſent of money, or proviſions, to mention their own or their relations names, alive or dead, when he comes to that part of the ſervice, in the celebration of the ſacrament, where ſuch commemorations are uſed, believing them to be of great advantage to them. Marriage is no legal objection againſt a perſon's going into orders, but the general practice of their Church is againſt marriage after they are in orders; and ſhould ſuch a one marry he would be liable to cenſures, and be looked upon as a mere lay-man; but ſince their livings are ſo exceeding ſmall, one would think they needed no other diſcouragements to prevent their marrying.

They may marry before they go into orders.

They are diſtinguiſhed from the laity by their habits, wearing a black caſſock, and a cap like the crown of a hat, of the ſame colour; and if they are monks, they have a kind of hood, which hangs down behind their backs. They are alſo permitted to wear their hair long upon their ſhoulders, which is a privilege no other Greeks are allowed in Turkey. The people have them in great veneration, and ſalute them by the name of παπᾶς, or father, often kiſſing their hands, and putting them to their foreheads, which is the greateſt mark of reſpect they can ſhew to any one in that part of the world.

Of deacons there are great numbers, who belong to the Biſhops, and are ſcarce ever advanced to the prieſthood: there are ſubdeacons alſo, who aſſiſt in the ſervice of the church, and readers, whoſe office it is to read the ſcriptures to the people. As to the ſuperior orders, they cannot be conferred at one and the ſame time, but there muſt be the interpoſition of a day at leaſt. Therefore if the Grand Seignior intends any ſimple monk ſhould be made Patriarch, he is advanced by degrees, and not placed immediately in the patriarchal chair.

Monks.

The ſevere courſe of life, which their monks or caloyers lead, is much admired by the Greeks as the height of perfection, and what equals them to angels. There are great numbers of theſe of the order of St. BASIL the Great, in Greece, particularly on mount Athos; and in Aſia there are others of the order of St. ANTHONY, who live chiefly about mount Libanus, and mount Sinai. They have their convents in the moſt obſcure places out of the publick roads, or in the iſlands of the Arches. Their innocency and ſtrictneſs of life have procured them much eſteem, even among the Turks, inſomuch that they ſeldom give theſe poor people any diſturbance.

There are three degrees of them, according to their age and ſtanding, and the progreſs they have made in the aſcetick diſcipline. The novices, on their admiſſion, vow chaſtity and obedience, and to remain in this ſtate all their lives, and chearfully to undergo all the auſterities of a monaſtick life. Upon completing their novitiate, they change the coarſe hair cloth they have worn hitherto, for a μανδύας, or coat, which they call τὸ μικρὸν ἀγῆμα, or the leſſer habit, and thereby become complete monks: but the angelical or divine habit, as they term it, is reſerved for thoſe who are remarkable for their piety and auſterity of life; hence they are called μεγαλόσχημοι, or ſuch as are admitted to put on the great habit, being only a hood thrown over their heads and ſhoulders.

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The principal reſidence of theſe monks is upon mount Athos, in a promontory jutting out into the ſea, between the gulph of Conteſſa, and the gulph of monte Sancto, about ſeventy miles to the eaſtward of Salonichi, or Theſſalonica, and is now named monte Sancto, from the two and twenty monaſteries ſtanding upon it, ſeveral whereof belong to the Bulgarians, and one of them is appropriated to the Ruſſians: and it is generally held that there are not leſs than four thouſand Monks reſident in all of them. No woman is ever ſuffered to come within ſight of theſe convents, and thoſe which lye near the ſea, are fortified to defend them from the rovers, who ſometimes land here.

Mount Athos.

Theſe Monks, it is ſaid, keep up the credit of the firſt inſtitution, ſo much admired in the primitive ages. They are punctual in their publick devotions at the appointed hours, both day and night; and what time they have to ſpare, they employ in the neceſſary buſineſs of the convent, every one having his employment aſſigned him. The monks, who are not in orders, are ſome of them mechanics, and follow their reſpective callings; others attend their vineyards and husbandry; ſome are employed in making their clothes; and thoſe which lye near the ſea, in fiſhing. The prieſts and deacons amongſt them, however, are exempt from ſecular employments; their leiſure time therefore they employ in reading or collating and tranſcribing old Greek books, or in viſits. But notwithſtanding their parſimony, and good husbandry, ſome years the ſeaſons prove ſo unkind, that they are forced to ſend out ſome of their numbers to beg relief; but this is only done in the utmoſt neceſſity.

As to their diet, they eat no kind of fleſh or fiſh that has blood in it: their chief food is ſhell fiſh, olives, beans, and other pulſe; onions, melons, raiſins, and ſuch other things as their gardens and fields afford; and their bread is a coarſe biſcuit, twice baked, with which kind of diet they enjoy a good health, and live to old age. They faſt three times a week, (viz.) on Mondays, Wedneſdays, and Fridays, when they content themſelves with a piece of biſcuit and a draught

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draught of water, after evening prayers. On the other days of the week they eat ſuch fiſh as they eſteem lawful and white meats, and allow themſelves wine. In the great lenten faſt, ſome of them will abſtain from food eight and forty hours, and others, it is ſaid, three or four entire days, which in our climate is ſcarce practicable; but as they lye in a much warmer, being above ten degrees nearer the ſun than we are; it is poſſible faſting may be much eaſier to them than it is to us; for one of our countrymen, who made the experiment, relates, that he faſted two entire days and nights, in a hot country, without any manner of inconvenience, and thoſe who have long enured themſelves to ſuch rigorous faſts, may continue them much longer than others, it is probable. However, it is certain that the rules obſerved by ſome conſtitutions in warm climates, can never be fit to be practiſed by all, eſpecially thoſe Chriſtians who happen to inhabit colder countries; for by the law of ſelf preſervation, every man ought to take care of his health in the firſt place, which would be very much endangered by ſuch rigorous faſts here; and did they only diſorder a man, as they certainly do ſome people, it can never be a duty to make ourſelves unfit for the ſervice of GOD and man. An abſtemious way of living may indeed be of excellent uſe at ſome times, as well upon account of health, as to render our minds bright and clear, and fit us for divine offices; but abſolute faſting for a whole day will not agree with one man in ſeven, in Great Britain, it is ſaid. Indeed if by faſting we only mean a change of diet from fleſh to fiſh, or the like; if the laws of the country required this for thirty or forty days every year, few people would make a difficulty in complying with them: but by a ſtatute made in the reign of Queen ELIZABETH, it is declared, that even this alteration of our diſhes is not required by our laws, and that 'if any perſon by preaching or writing ſhall notify that the eating of fiſh, or forbearing of fleſh is neceſſary for the ſaving the ſoul of man, or the ſervice of GOD, they ſhall puniſhed as ſpreaders of falſe news ought to be.' But to proceed, there are ſome hermits among the Greeks, who live in deſolate places far from any towns, who lead ſeverer lives than the monks of Athos, or mount Sinai, eating nothing but herbs, and drinking no other liquor than water. There are alſo ſome women profeſſed, who wear vails; but moſt of them are old widows, who take the vow upon them for a maintenance; being employed in looking after the ſick, and in other charitable offices; and ſome few convents of nuns there are in the iſlands. Such a ſtreſs do the Greeks lay upon this duty of faſting, according to Dr. COVEL, that he ſays, he knew many, eſpecially of the laity, who would count fornication, exceſs in drinking, curſing, revenge, and the like practices, leſs crimes than the violating their faſts; adding, that a zealous monk will rather die, than at any time, or in any diſtemper taſte the leaſt morſel of fleſh. And ſome monks of the higheſt order, eſpecially anchorets and hermits, never eat above three times a week at moſt; whereby they are emaciated to mere skin and bone before they leave this world. And as for the Armenians, they faſt at leaſt a third part of the whole year.

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Seven ſacraments.

The modern Greeks reckon up ſeven myſteries or ſacraments, which Dr. COVEL, and other proteſtant writers are of opinion, they learnt from the Latins, there being no foundation in antiquity for moſt of them: of theſe however they hold only baptiſm, and the Lord's ſupper to be generally neceſſary to ſalvation, as inſtituted by our Saviour himſelf. Theſe ſeven are 1. Baptiſm. 2. Unguent of chriſm. 3. The euchariſt. 4. Penance. 5. Holy orders. 6. Matrimony. And 7. Oil with prayer.

As to baptiſm they have no ſet time for it, but ſeldom defer it however beyond the 8th or 10th day, or haſten it ſooner, unleſs in caſe of ſickneſs, but entertain very hard thoughts of infants who die before they are baptized: to prevent which misfortune, where there is any danger of the child's life, they allow any lay perſon, male or female, to adminiſter this ſacrament, where a lawful miniſter cannot be had: at all other times if the child be in health, it is brought to church. The font, which ſtands towards the narthex at the weſt end of the church, is uſually a foot and a half deep, and in winter they warm the water and perfume it with ſweet herbs: upon which the prieſt breathes and makes a croſs; then he pours oil upon it three times in form of a croſs, with which having anointed the child, and holding him upright with both his hands and his face turned towards the eaſt, he performs the rite, uſing this form of words: 'The ſervant of GOD, A. B. is baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, now and for ever, amen,' dipping the child under water at the mention of each perſon of the Holy Trinity; the godfather, who is but one if it be a male child, anſwering amen, at every emerſion: and ſometimes they only pour the water three times on the child's face. The pronouncing the words paſſively, the ſervant of GOD, A. B. is baptized; and the Latins actively, I baptize thee, &c. has occaſioned many bitter invectives one againſt the other; but whether there be any material difference I leave to our divines to ſettle.

The water uſed in baptiſm is conſecrated for that purpoſe on the feaſt of the Theophania, or baptiſm of our Saviour, with great ſolemnity;

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but leſt it ſhould not keep, they conſecrate more every month: they never uſe the ſame water for two children, but if two or three are to be baptized the ſame day, they ſo often fill and empty the laver. But the water which has been uſed for this holy purpoſe is not thrown away like common water, but poured into a hollow place under the altar.

Unguent of chriſm.

The child being wrapped up in a mantle, the prieſt proceeds to anoint it, for in the Greek church chriſmation is inſeparable from baptiſm, though reckoned as a diſtinct myſtery; and, it ſeems, confirmation among the Greeks conſiſts of this ſingle rite, and is therefore called by them unguent or chriſm, or the unguent of chriſm, and peculiarly the ſeal, or obſignation; and it is obſervable, that this is only done to new born infants, without impoſition of hands, and not repeated when they are grown up: whereupon the Latins charge the Greek prieſts with having no ſuch thing as a regular confirmation, and uſurping epiſcopal power. This anointing and obſignation is made upon the forehead, eyes, noſtrils, mouth, ears, breaſt, hands and feet, the prieſt repeating theſe words, 'The ſeal of the gift of the holy Spirit, amen.' The reaſon of which form is aſſigned in their confeſſion, (viz.) 'As the holy Spirit formerly 'deſcended upon the Apoſtles in the ſhape of fire, 'and poured upon them his gifts: in the like man-'ner when the presbyter anoints the baptized per-'ſon with holy oil, the gifts of the holy Spirit are 'poured out upon him from above.' And though this oil be uſed by presbyters in the performance of this rite, yet it is only bleſſed for this uſe by the Patriarchs, or Biſhops, on Thurſday in the holy week, in the compoſition whereof they are exceeding curious: it being made up of ſtorax, balſam, caſſia, myrrh, and the decoction of twenty ſeveral drugs, ſeeds and plants mixed with wine and oil, which is afterwards diſtributed, being put into round vials, or alabaſter boxes, in alluſion to the alabaſter box of ointment which St. MARY MAGDALEN broke and poured on our Saviour's head.

The euchariſt.

As to the celebration of the euchariſt, it is performed after this manner, the prieſts and deacons having firſt waſhed their hands, they carry the gifts of bread and wine which have been preſented by the people to the altar of the prothesis, which ſtands on the north ſide of the high altar, ſeparating them thereby from common uſe: the top of the loaf is marked either with a ſquare in a circle, or ſquare only in this manner:

IC	XC
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Which letters ſtand for Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ. JESUS CHRIST overcometh: this mark, or ſeal, being pierced in ſeveral places, is at length cut and divided from the reſt of the loaf by a knife ſet apart for that purpoſe, and made like the head of a ſpear, which they call the holy lance: with this lance the prieſt makes a croſs upon the ſeal, ſaying three times, In memory of our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST: then he ſtrikes the lance into the right ſide of it, ſaying, 'He was led as a ſheep 'to the ſlaughter;' and afterwards into the leſt, 'And as an innocent ſheep before the ſhearer is 'dumb, ſo he opened not his mouth:' then he ſtrikes it into the upper part, ſaying, 'His judg-'ment was taken away in his humiliation;' and into the lower, ſaying, 'For his life is taken 'away from the earth.' Then he lays it in the patin, and ſays, 'The Lamb of GOD which 'takes away the ſin of the world is offered for 'the life and ſin of the world.' Then thruſting his lance into it again, he ſays, 'And one of the 'ſoldiers pierced his ſide with a lance, and ſtrait-'way there iſſued forth blood and water.' And thereupon the deacon pours wine and water into the chalice. This part of the bread thus bleſſed is only intended to be conſecrated; but the prieſt, out of the ſame, or another of the loaves which have been offered by the people, takes another ſmall piece, ſaying, 'In honour and memory 'of our moſt bleſſed and glorious Lady the mo-'ther of GOD, the ever Virgin MARY; by 'whoſe interceſſion receive, O Lord, this ſa-'crifice upon thy ſuperceleſtial altar:' then he elevates this piece and lays it on the right ſide of the holy bread: after which he takes another piece, and ſo on to the ninth, which he places on the left ſide of the holy bread; and offers them up in honour of St. JOHN Baptiſt, the Apoſtles, St. BASIL, GREGORY the Divine, CHRYSOSTOME, ATHANASIUS, CYRILLUS, NICOLAS, and all holy Biſhops; St. STEPHEN, GEORGE, DEMETRIUS, THEODORUS, and all holy martyrs; St. ANTHONY, EUTHYMUS, SABA, ONUPHRIUS, ATHANASIUS of mount Athos, and all holy monks; holy phyſicians, which cured gratis, COSMUS and DAMIANUS, CYRUS, JOHN, PENTELEEMENON, HERMOLAUS, SAMPSON, DIOMEDES, THALLALEUS, TRYPHON, St. JOACHIM and ANNA; and of the ſaint of the day, and all ſaints; 'For the ſake of whoſe 'prayers and ſupplications, O GOD, protect 'us:' and in behalf of the Biſhop of the place, and of the whole hierarchy, of benefactors, and friends, and relations, living and dead, (here he names the perſons whom any of the congregation have deſired him particularly to commemorate, and for which they make him a preſent,) 'That 'the merciful GOD would indulge them pardon.' Then he puts a little machine over them, conſiſting

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ing of two ſhort arches croſſing each other that the covering may not touch the pieces, which is called a ſtar, ſaying, 'And the ſtar came and 'ſtood over where the young child was.' And then they cover the patin and chalice ſeparately with linen, or ſilk, ſaying when they cover the patin, 'The Lord hath put on glorious apparel, '&c. and when they cover the ſecond, 'Thy 'power, O CHRIST, hath obſcured the heavens, 'and the earth is full of thy glory now and for 'ever;' and afterwards both together are covered with a larger vail, when they ſay, 'O our GOD, 'hide us under the ſhadow of thy wings now and 'for ever, amen.'

Then all together, both bread and wine, making the oblation, are bleſſed by this ſolemn prayer, which they call ἡ Εὐχὴ τῆς προθέσεως, 'O GOD, 'our GOD, who haſt ſent our Lord and GOD 'JESUS CHRIST, our Saviour and Redeemer; 'who doſt bleſs us and ſanctify us to be the hea-'venly bread and nouriſhment of all the world, 'do thou bleſs this oblation, and receive it upon 'thy ſuperceleſtial altar. Remember, O moſt gra-'cious and merciful GOD, thoſe who offer it, 'and thoſe for whom it is offered; and preſerve 'us blameleſs in the celebration of thy divine myſ-'teries (this the prieſt ſays ſoftly, as it were to 'himſelf, and the following words aloud.) For 'thy moſt venerable and glorious name, of Fa-'ther, Son and Holy Ghoſt, is ſanctified, and 'glorified now and for ever, amen.'

After this prayer of benediction the elements being barely bleſſed and not conſecrated, are yet, according to the Greeks, become venerable and divine gifts and oblations. And now the deacon having received the book of the Goſpel from the hands of the prieſt, holding it on high that the people may ſee it: he goes out at the north door of the chancel, the inferior officers carrying lighted tapers before him and is followed by the prieſt; and having made a ſhort proceſſion in the body of the church, they enter the chancel at the middle door, and ſet the Goſpel on the middle altar, where the conſecration is always made: this they call the firſt and leſſer introitus, or entrance: then the prieſt prays ſoftly for the grace of the holy ſpirit, &c. and the choir ſing two or three ſhort hymns; after which the deacons read the epiſtle and goſpel appointed for the day; and the prieſt having ſaid ſome private prayers to himſelf, advances towards the altar of protheſis, taking from thence the chalice, which he holds in his hand covered, and the deacon takes the patin, in which is the holy bread that is to be conſecrated, and ſets it upon his head, being likewiſe covered from the view of the people: then the inferior officers going before them in order with the lance, the ſponge, (with which they wipe the diſh and chalice) gilt croſſes, incenſe pots, tapers, little bells, and other utenſils; they march out at the little north door of the chancel ſurrounding the nave, or area of the church, the choriſters all the while ſinging the hymn, which they call cherubicus: the people during the proceſſion bowing their heads, bending their knees, and ſometimes proſtrating themſelves upon the ground; others kiſſing the hem of the prieſt's ſtole as he paſſes by; and croſſing themſelves continually, they ſay, 'Re-'member me, O Lord, in thy kingdom.' The prieſts and deacons interceding for themſelves and the people in theſe words. 'The Lord God be 'mindful of us in his kingdom now and for 'ever.' Then they enter the middle door of the chancel and place the elements upon the altar directly oppoſite to it in order to their conſecration: this they call the great introitus, or acceſs to the altar; and ſeems to be the moſt ſolemn part of the Grecian worſhip, at leaſt here they expreſs the moſt devotion. After the conſecration when the ſymbols are expoſed and ſhewn to the people, their reverence is not half ſo great, for then they only bow the body a little: but to proceed, while the prieſt conſecrates the elements the door of the chancel is ſhut up, or at leaſt the curtain drawn before it, the people being excluded from the ſight of it.

After the recital of ſome prayers and the Nicene creed, except the article of the proceſſion of the holy Spirit from the Son, the prieſt proceeds to the conſecration, ſaying ſoftly to himſelf (after the choir have ſung the Ὑμνὸς ἐπινίκιος, or triumphant ſong,) 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God 'of ſabbaoth, heaven and earth are full of thy 'glory: hoſannah in the higheſt, bleſſed is he 'that cometh in the name of the Lord, hoſan-'nah in the higheſt. With theſe bleſſed pow-'ers, O merciful Lord, we cry aloud, and ſay, 'thou art holy, altogether holy; and great is 'thy glory: ſo is thy only begotten Son and thy 'Spirit: thou art holy, altogether holy; and great 'is thy glory, who ſo lovedſt the world, that thou 'gaveſt thy only begotten Son; that whoſoever 'believes in him ſhould not periſh, but have ever-'laſting life; who when he had come and ful-'filled the diſpenſation which he undertook for 'us in the night in which he was betrayed, or 'rather in which he delivered up himſelf for 'the life of the world, took bread into his holy, 'pure and ſpotleſs hands; and when he had 'given thanks, and bleſſed it, and ſanctified it, 'and brake it, he gave it to his holy diſciples 'and Apoſtles, ſaying,' (the prieſt here inclining his head, and laying his hand upon the bread, with a loud voice) 'Take eat, this is my body 'which is broken for ye for the remiſſion of ſins; 'likewiſe alſo after ſupper he took the cup,' (here he takes the cup in his hand) 'ſaying, 'Drink ye all of this: this is my blood of the

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'New Teſtament, which is ſhed for ye and for 'many, for the remiſſion of ſins.'

Afterwards he ſays in a low voice, 'Mindful 'therefore of thy ſaving command, and of all 'things done for us, of thy croſs, reſurrection the 'third day, aſcenſion into heaven, ſeſſion at the 'right hand of GOD, and of thy ſecond and 'glorious coming, (then with a loud voice) we 'offer to thee thine, of thine own in all things, 'and through all things' ——— The choir ſinging, 'We praiſe thee, we bleſs thee, we give 'thanks to thee, O Lord; and we make our ſup-'plications to thee, O GOD.' Then the prieſt ſays again, 'We alſo offer to thee this rational 'and unbloody worſhip and ſervice; and we be-'ſeech thee, and pray thee, and make our ſup-'plications to thee, ſend forth thy holy Spirit upon 'us and upon theſe gifts which lye before us' (Then after ſome adorations and ſhort private prayers) the prieſt ſigning the holy elements with the ſign of the croſs three times, ſays privately, 'Make this bread the body of thy CHRIST; 'make that which is in this cup the precious 'blood of thy CHRIST;' (laying both his hands on them) 'changing them by thy holy Spirit;' and ſoon after, 'That this ſacrament may be to 'thoſe who partake of them for the health and 'ſobriety of the ſoul, the remiſſion of ſins, the 'fulneſs of the kingdom of heaven, and aſſurance 'in thee, and not for our ſin and condemnation. Then follows, 'We offer alſo this rational ſer-'vice for thoſe who reſt in faith; for our anceſ-'tors, forefathers, patriarchs, prophets, apoſtles, 'preachers, evangeliſts, martyrs, confeſſors, vir-'gins, and for every ſoul made perfect by faith; 'and eſpecially for the glorious and ſpotleſs ever 'Virgin MARY, St. JOHN Baptiſt; all the holy 'Apoſtles; the ſaint whoſe memory we now cele-'brate, and all thy ſaints.' Here he names ſeveral of the living and dead, for the dead he ſays, 'For the reſt and eaſe of the ſoul of thy ſervant in 'the bright place, whence all grief and ſighing 'are baniſhed, and make it to reſt where the light 'of thy countenance ſhines.' Then he prays to GOD to remember all the orthodox clergy; and then, 'We offer alſo this rational ſervice for the 'whole world; for the holy Catholick and apo-'ſtolick church; for all Chriſtian Princes, their 'courts and armies; that GOD would grant 'them a peaceable reign; that we may live a 'peaceable and quiet life, in all godlineſs and ho-'neſty.' After which follow ſeveral other prayers and reſponſes, with the Lord's prayer.

Then the prieſt comes to the middle door of the chancel and elevates the bread, which he afterwards breaks into four parts, and lays them down in the figure of a croſs, one of which he puts into the chalice wherein ſome warm water is again poured, and then he communicates himſelf; at the receiving of the cup he drinks three times, ſaying at the firſt time, 'In the name of the Father,' at the ſecond, 'and of the Son,' and at the third, 'and 'of the Holy Ghoſt.'

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The prieſts and deacons receive the elements apart, viz. The bread by itſelf, and the cup by itſelf: at the delivery of the bread the prieſt ſays, 'The precious holy and undefiled body of the 'Lord GOD our Saviour JESUS CHRIST is gi-'ven to thee for the remiſſion of ſins, and ever-'laſting life.' And at the delivery of the cup, 'The precious and holy blood of our Lord and 'Saviour JESUS CHRIST is given to thee for the 'remiſſion of ſins, and everlaſting life;' and ſometimes the expreſſion is varied, as, 'I give 'unto thee, &c.'

After thoſe in the chancel have received, the deacon, ſtanding at the middle door with the chalice lifted up in his hands, invites the communicants to approach, ſaying, 'Come hither in the 'fear of GOD, with faith and charity:' then dipping a ſpoon into the chalice, and taking out a little bit or bits of the conſecrated bread called μαργαριται, or pearls floating on the top, he puts it into the mouth of the communicant, ſaying, 'The precious and holy body and blood of our 'Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST are given to 'thee for the remiſſion of thy ſins, and eternal 'life.'

It is uſual before the receiving this ſacrament to ask forgiveneſs of one another; the deacon begs it of the conſecrating prieſt, who alſo takes care to be reconciled to thoſe he has offended before he approaches the altar. The prieſts who aſſiſt turn their heads to the right hand and to the left, ſignifying thereby their deſire of forgiveneſs; and every one of the people ſays for himſelf aloud before the act of receiving 'Συγχωρη σθε Χριστιανοι, 'Forgive, O Chriſtians,' to which the reſt with one voice, ὁ Θεὸς συγχωρήσῃ σοι, GOD forgive you.'

When the communion is over the prieſt diſtributes to thoſe that are preſent the unconſecrated bread, which has only been bleſſed; this is called by ſeveral names, as Θεῖος Ἄρτος, or divine bread, ἁγιασμα, and Ευλογία, from its being ſanctified and bleſſed, and moſt commonly Ἀντίδωρον, being given inſtead of the conſecrated holy elements, to thoſe who do not communicate, which the people imagine there is great virtue in carrying it home to give to their ſick friends.

Obſervations on the celebration of the euchariſt.

It is obſerved by our proteſtant divines who have travelled into Turkey, that the Greeks do not think the conſecration of the elements perfected by the pronunciation of thoſe words of our Saviour, Take eat, this is my body, &c. but that the change, whatever it be, is made by the deſcent and elapſe of the holy Spirit upon the elements;

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ments; for the prieſt afterwards prays in theſe words; 'Send thy holy Spirit upon us, and up-'on theſe holy gifts lying before us:' and after a ſhort pauſe, having three times made the ſign of the croſs, he adds, 'make this bread the pre-'cious body of thy Chriſt, and that which is in 'this cup the precious blood of thy Chriſt; (then holding his hands over them, he ſays,) 'chang-'ing them by thy holy Spirit.' In like manner in their confeſſion of faith it is poſitively aſſerted, 'That the change is made by the operation of the 'holy Spirit of GOD, whom the prieſt invokes 'at that time.' Our divines obſerve farther, that though ſeveral of the Greek Patriarchs and Biſhops now profeſs the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, yet it is a novel doctrine among them unknown to the antient Greek Church, as is evident by ſome of their liturgies ſtill extant; and that far the greater number of them, even of their Biſhops and clergy at this day, do not pretend to define what the change is that is made in the elements by the conſecration: they only hold in general, that by the conſecration they become the body and blood of Chriſt to the worthy receiver; but as for their being tranſubſtantiated from bread and wine to fleſh and blood, ſcarce any of the Greeks come up to this notion of the matter, except thoſe who have been educated in the Italian ſeminaries, or learnt it from the Romiſh Miſſionaries; and when theſe are told of the numerous abſurdities conſequent to this opinion, they reſolve all into GOD's omnipotency, and wave all diſputes about it.

Thoſe who ſeem to come up to the notion of the Roman Church, viz. that the natural ſubſtance of the elements are annihilated and wholly deſtroyed, the ſpecies and accidents only remaining, have rather been terrified into this profeſſion than convinced of the reality of it by the practices of the jeſuits and other Romiſh emiſſaries, who have by bribing the Grand Vizier and other miniſters cauſed ſeveral Patriarchs of Conſtantinople to be depoſed or murdered, who have refuſed to come into their ſentiments, particularly CYRILLUS LUCARIS; an account of whoſe ſufferings and death the reader will meet with hereafter. Nothing was more conteſted, it ſeems, in the laſt century than this point of the Greeks holding tranſubſtantiation: I ſhall therefore give the opinion of ſome very eminent divines of the Church of England who then reſided in Turkey, concerning the arts which were uſed by the Popiſh Miſſionaries, to obtain ſubſcriptions from the Biſhops and clergy of the Greek Church to their doctrines of tranſubſtantiation, &c.

Dr. COVEL's account of the belief of the Greek Church concerning tranſubſtantiation.

That in the year 1670, being appointed chaplain to Sir DANIEL HARVEY, Ambaſſador from King CHARLES II. to the Ottoman Porte, Dr. GUNNING, Dr. PEARSON, Dr. SANCROFT, Dr. WOMOCK, and ſeveral others, importuned him to enquire ſtrictly into the opinion of the Greek Church, concerning tranſubſtantiation when he arrived at Conſtantinople. That in the year 1671, diſcourſing with one D'HILARIONE, a Venetian born, and bred up there under the Archbiſhop of that city, but who was habited like a Baſilian or Greek papas and in prieſts orders, D' HILARIONE taking the Doctor for a Romaniſt made ſome conſiderable *diſcoveries*. He told him, that there were many Metropolites then Romans in their hearts, and that ſince money would do any thing among them, they queſtioned not but ſhortly to make Metropolites enough of their own way: that the preſent Patriarch was a lay-man with cropt hair, (the Greek prieſts wear long hair) but by money and friends made a deacon one day, a prieſt the next, a Biſhop and Metropolite the third: that by the mediation of the King of France, and other Popiſh powers, they were endeavouring to ſupplant him, and advance a creature of their own in his room.

In the year 1674 Dr. COVEL relates, that he received a letter from Mr. CRAWFORD, Chaplain to Sir THOMAS HIGGINS the Engliſh Ambaſſador at Venice, acquainting him with the controverſy between Monſieur ARNOLD Doctor of the Sorbonne, and Monſieur CLAUDE miniſter of Charenton, the former affirming that the Greek Church in all ages believed tranſubſtantiation, and the latter denying it; and that thereupon Dr. ARNOLD had employed the eaſtern Miſſionaries to procure him teſtimonies to ſupport his aſſertion; and they had accordingly tranſmitted to him a quarto book full of the ſubſcriptions of the Greek Patriarchs, Metropolites, Biſhops and Doctors, acknowledging their belief of tranſubſtantiation. Mr. CRAWFORD tells Dr. COVEL farther, that the French Ambaſſador reported, that Sir DANIEL HARVEY the Engliſh Ambaſſador, had promiſed to ſubſcribe an acknowledgment 'that 'the Greek Church believed tranſubſtantiation;' but that Dr. COVEL his Chaplain adviſed to the contrary, and prevented it: Mr. CRAWFORD therefore deſires Dr. COVEL to endeavour to find out if thoſe ſubſcriptions were genuine, and how they were obtained; and whether Sir DANIEL HARVEY promiſed to ſubſcribe any paper intimating his belief that the Greek Church held tranſubſtantiation.

To which Dr. COVEL anſwered, that he had ſeen ſeveral of the teſtimonials, which the Marquis DE NOINTEL, the French Ambaſſador, and the Miſſionaries, had procured. That Sir DANIEL or himſelf would never deny their having ſeen them, but that in their diſcourſes with the Marquis, they often told him that they thought all thoſe teſtimonials, and five hundred more ſuch, would ſignify nothing to the Roman purpoſe;

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purpoſe; and that Sir DANIEL HARVEY never promiſed to aſſert, that the Greek Church held tranſubſtantiation, and he ſhould make ſuch enquiries into this matter, as he hoped would ſatisfy Mr. CLAUDE, and all reformed Chriſtians.

The Doctor adds, that he had the honour to be well acquainted with the French Ambaſſador at the Porte, the Marquis DE NOINTEL, that when the Engliſh and French Ambaſſadors met, after matters of ſtate were over, he was continually admitted into their company, where this point of the Greeks ſubſcriptions was certainly one of the themes of converſation, and the ſum of what he ſaid to the Marquis at theſe conferences, was to this effect.

Theſe articles, eſpecially that about the euchariſt, were all either fairly in diſcourſe, or otherwiſe, propoſed to thoſe who ſubſcribed them, that they might conſider them, and give their opinion in their own ſenſe and words: Or elſe they were firſt drawn up and modelled by the Latins, and then offered to the Greeks for their ſubſcriptions; and I cannot ſee how either of theſe ways can ſignify any thing to the end for which they were deſigned by the Latins.

1. For as to the firſt, it is impoſſible that one in an hundred of thoſe ignorant ſubſcribers ſhould be capable of thoroughly apprehending, or duly weighing, the ſenſe the Latins put upon their terms. Had they, ſays the Doctor, been ſolemnly asked, whether they believed that the whole bread undivided, and every one of the leaſt crumbs of it (the margaritæ, as they call them) when divided, were every one of them by itſelf, after conſecration, made the entire body, head and members, the very fleſh and bones of JESUS CHRIST, which he bare about him here on earth? Whether every particle of the bread was alſo by itſelf, then made his very entire blood by concomitancy? Whether every one of the leaſt drops of the wine by itſelf, was then made his entire body by the like concomitancy? Or laſtly, whether the whole bread, whilſt it was entire, and whether every particle of it when afterwards it was crumbled into millions of grains of impalpable duſt, were every one of them ſtill the entire undivided body and blood of JESUS CHRIST, which is in heaven? If theſe and the like queſtions had been asked them, and after due deliberation they had ſet down their own anſwers plainly and fully in the affirmative to them all, this had been ſomething to the purpoſe, and given a ſpecious reſemblance of ſome kind of an imperfect union with the Latin Church: but for ſome to ſay, like parrots, that there is a tranſubſtantiation, or for others to own a real preſence, without the expreſſion of its mode or manner, or for them all to ſay, that it is made not by the words of CHRIST, but by the prieſt's invocation; all this is far enough from agreement with the Latins; for we of the Church of England own, 'That the body and blood of CHRIST 'are verily and indeed taken and received by the 'faithful in the Lord's ſupper. We no leſs than they acknowledge a real preſence, but we know nothing at all of the mode or manner of it. Therefore it is trifling for a Greek to ſay, 'I 'believe a real preſence,' unleſs he expreſſes himſelf fully, as to its mode and manner, he comes no nearer to your explication than our Church of England doth, by owning the preſence without the mode.

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Beſides, as ſome of the moſt eminent Greek prieſts objected, What are any ſingle perſon's private thoughts? The belief of a Church is not to be gathered from the opinions of private men, but from the decrees of full and general councils, made by all the Patriarchs and Prelates of it, where there has been a ſolemn debate, a ſerious deliberation, and judicious examination of all particulars before they ſubſcribe them.

It is generally acknowledged alſo, that few of the Greek prieſts have any books except their church offices; that their whole time is taken up in getting theſe by heart, and the knowledge of theſe is all the learning that is required to fit them for holy orders: how are ſuch ſubſcribers then qualified to give their teſtimony of the belief of their whole Church in any controverted article?

But farther, it is notorious, that the Greeks differ from the Latins in uſing fermented or leavened bread in the euchariſt, as well as in the words of conſecration; and when there are ſuch weighty differences between them in ſuch ſubſtantial points, how can any Greeks teſtify, that the belief of both Churches about the euchariſt is the ſame, eſpecially ſince not one of a thouſand of them underſtand Latin, or know any thing of the matter: and to ſay, that notwithſtanding all this, they however both believe the ſame thing (or rather the word) tranſubſtantiation, is the ſame as to ſay parrots believe or know what they ſay, when they prattle the ſame words.

2. It is manifeſt in all theſe ſubſcriptions that have appeared, that the articles were firſt drawn and modelled by the Latins themſelves, and then offered and urged upon the ſubſcribers; for in the preface to theſe teſtimonials is recited a complaint, that they had heard from credible perſons, that the Greeks and eaſtern Churches had been impudently and outrageouſly ſlandered and miſrepreſented by Monſieur CLAUDE and his Calviniſts and others; from whence it is plain, they had theſe informations from the Jeſuits and Romiſh emiſſaries; for the eaſtern people underſtood nothing of the Latin, and as little of the French, or any other European weſtern language; and when theſe agents have told their own tale, and



Officiating Habit of a Greek Papa or Priest

Officiating Habit of a Greek Patriarch

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represented the Calviniſts in the moſt frightful colours, they might not poſſibly find much difficulty in procuring thoſe forms to be ſubſcribed, which reflect upon a people they have been taught to think are hereticks, and their mortal enemies. The greateſt part of the œconomy and diſcipline of the eaſtern Chriſtians, eſpecially the Greeks, conſiſts in their pompous and amuſing ceremonies at their liturgies and other offices: the habits they officiate in alſo are exceeding rich; the upper garment of their prieſts is wrought with gold and ſilver, (they have no ſuch thing as a linen ſurplice) and all their other garments and accoutrements are very glorious and different from ours; they are apt therefore to look with contempt, even upon the Engliſh, for appearing at their religious offices in ſo mean a garb, and for having ſo few ceremonies; and if the clergy of the Church of England, whoſe garb is ſo decent, are looked upon by the eaſtern Chriſtians as far from the primitive pattern in this point, how odious and abominable muſt the Calviniſts appear to them, when they are told with aggravating circumſtances, that there is no ſuch outward pomp among them, or even any reverent or decent garments uſed in their divine offices: that their miniſters are not epiſcopally ordained, and wear only a common black cloke, and a coat or jump, without either gown, or caſſock, or girdle, or ſurplice.

But farther, the greateſt outward proof of the Greeks religion is ſeen in celebrating their faſts and feaſts; what muſt they think then of the Calviniſts in the weſt, who are reported to be ſuch a wretched people, as never to obſerve any ſtated feaſts or faſts, but on the contrary hold it to be a piece of ſuperſtition? What an idea of the Proteſtants muſt it raiſe in the minds of the Greeks, when they are told, that they value and diſtinguiſh themſelves by proteſting againſt ſuch things as the eaſtern Chriſtians eſteem moſt ſacred, ſuch as oral tradition, auricular confeſſion, worſhipping the Virgin MARY and other ſaints, all ceremonies and prayers at funerals, the uſe of holy water, and the ſign of the croſs, which the Greeks look upon as certain preſervatives againſt the devil, and all other evils; when they hear that the proteſtants write againſt and bitterly cenſure all theſe obſervances as vain, wicked, and intolerable ſuperſtitions, and many of them as downright idolatry; no wonder they look upon them as abominable hereticks, and take any thing on truſt from the inſinuating Popiſh emiſſaries, which is reported of them, and as readily ſubſcribe any thing againſt them.

But a farther inducement to believe thoſe ſubſcriptions were drawn up by the Popiſh Miſſionaries is, that they are moſt of them drawn up in the very ſame words; and becauſe, as the Latins themſelves have acknowledged, moſt of the ſubſcribers are ſo illiterate that they were not capable of drawing up ſuch inſtruments; and whence indeed ſhould they have thoſe Latin ſcholaſtick terms, and phraſes expreſſed ſo nicely in all thoſe declarations, and ſo exactly levelled againſt the Lutherans and Calviniſts, and other pretended hereticks in the weſt; the very articles themſelves and the uſual prefaces to them, being mere calumnies and invectives againſt them? And for the atteſtation of the Maronites, as the Latins boaſt they have long ſince been reconciled to the Church of Rome, whatever their former ſentiments were, it is no wonder that the preſent declaration runs entirely in the Roman ſtyle and ſenſe.

Nor can we be ignorant what an influence the French Monarch and his Miniſters have on the clergy of the eaſtern Churches, he is ſtyled 'the 'moſt Chriſtian King, and the protector of all 'thoſe who there profeſs and worſhip the Bleſſed 'Jeſus.' And as the Grand Seignior and other infidel Princes, are the ſole diſpoſers of all eccleſiaſtical promotions, and none can pretend to have a greater intereſt in them than the French King, no wonder that the Prelates and great men of the eaſtern Church court his miniſters, and upon all occaſions apply to them for protection, and in any diviſions and diſputes which happen among them, are able by their authority to turn the ſcale. It is evident how votes and ſubſcriptions are procured in other caſes, the authority and countenance of great men, the active warmth, noiſe, and zeal of ſome, and the eaſineſs or indifference of others, give great opportunities to deſigning men to gain their ends; and it is not to be ſuppoſed that the ſubſcription or vote of every particular man is really his ſincere opinion.

And as the eaſtern Prelates themſelves were in a great meaſure guided by their intereſt, ſo were no doubt thoſe who depended on them: the officers of Patriarchs, Metropolites and Biſhops, muſt all ſubſcribe, or be turned out if the patron ſubſcribed; and as for the inferior prieſts, they were entirely governed in the affair by the example of their ſuperiors: if we conſider therefore, ſays the Doctor, the private views of many leading Prelates amongſt them, the ſtupidity or love of eaſe and quiet in others, the deplorable ignorance of all, and the methods of thoſe dextrous and vigilant emiſſaries, who by their perſuaſive arts and various applications in a manner compelled many conſiderable Greeks to ſubſcribe contrary to their declared opinions and ſentiments; we muſt conclude that theſe ſubſcriptions were not ſo fairly procured as they ought to have been: and therefore, ſays the Doctor, I cannot conceive what weight, or authority theſe ſubſcriptions procured under ſuch circumſtances can have with any judicious and impartial ſearcher after truth. Neither the Engliſh nor Dutch miniſters in Turkey

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key at that time could deny their having ſeen thoſe ſubſcriptions indeed; but yet none of them honeſtly could, or ever did declare they believed the matters contained in them, were the real faith, or ſentiments of the whole eaſtern Church; eſpecially ſince there was not the leaſt pretence of any ſynodical authority for them, or of their having been debated and conſidered in any aſſembly whatever. Thus far the Doctor.

I proceed now to recite ſome farther obſervations of other divines on the Greeks celebration of the communion: and, it ſeems, they require that the ſacramental bread be not made by common hands; and therefore either old women profeſſed, or the wives of married prieſts are employed in kneading and baking it; the former being ſuppoſed upon account of their vow, and the other of their relation, to be of more than ordinary ſanctity. In great churches the ſacrament is celebrated upon ſolemn feſtivals and Sundays, and upon ſome particular occaſions, as when the prieſt is hired to pray for the ſoul of any dead perſon, or for ſucceſs in a journey, or the like: ſometimes they go to ruinous places in the fields where formerly churches ſtood, or to ſome holy fountain; there being many reputed ſuch in Greece, where a table being ſet inſtead of an altar, it is covered with conſecrated cloths (without which they cannot conſecrate in unhallowed places) and hither they frequently bring diſeaſed people, laying them with their faces towards the altar, and hope to have their healths reſtored.

The laity are obliged to receive the communion four times in the year, with which they readily comply, and none omit it at Chriſtmas, or Eaſter. They uſually celebrate it at the third hour of the day, or nine of the clock in the morning: the prieſt uſing this ſhort form of prayer, 'O Lord, who ſenteſt thy moſt holy Spirit 'upon the Apoſtles at the third hour, take not 'thy holy Spirit from us.' But at Eaſter the ſervice is performed before ſun-riſe, after the example of MARY MAGDALEN, and other holy women who came to the ſepulchre, 'as it began 'to dawn towards the firſt day of the week:' they communicate faſting, looking upon it as a great enormity to taſte any thing before they receive; and ſtand when they receive it, bowing their bodies a little; but never take it either ſitting or kneeling, being taught to exerciſe an act of faith in this manner, 'I confeſs and acknow-'ledge that thou art JESUS CHRIST the Son 'of the living GOD, who cameſt into the 'world to ſave ſinners, of whom I am chief.' And the people are obliged to confeſs themſelves to a lawful prieſt before they communicate; but as they do not require a very particular confeſſion, ſo they are not very difficult in granting abſolutions. They give the euchariſt to little children of one or two years old; and ſometimes to new born infants which have been chriſtned, when there is any danger of death: grounding their practice on thoſe words of our Saviour, 'Verily 'I ſay unto you, except you eat the fleſh of the 'Son of GOD, and drink his blood, you have 'no life in you.' That ſick or dying perſons may never want this comfortable viaticum, they take care that a ſufficient quantity of this bread be conſecrated on the Thurſday in the holy week; which being broken into little particles, and ſufficiently tinged and moiſtned in the conſecrated wine, they dry in a ſmall diſh over a pan of coals, and then put them into a pix, or box, either of ſilver or wood; and this is put into a ſilk caſe, and hung up uſually behind the altar, with a lamp or two burning before it; the prieſt as often as there is occaſion taking out one, or more of the margaritæ, or crumbs, and carrying them to the houſes of ſuch ſick perſons as deſire to communicate; but they are firſt moiſtned in common wine, either that theſe little particles may the better paſs into the ſtomach, or that the particles of the conſecrated wine, which were condenſed by the heat of the fire, may be excited by this means.

Upon great feſtivals after the celebration of the ſacrament, there is an entertainment provided for the people, which is called the oblation of the colyba, conſiſting of boiled wheat and pulſe, raiſins, nuts, almonds, &c. the prieſt, taking a diſh wherein all theſe are mixed together, goes round the church diſtributing it among the men, women and children, which they receive with an air of gratitude and reſpect, kiſſing either his hand or veſt; and by this ceremony they tell us they ſhew their belief of the reſurrection, of which they ſuppoſe this to be a ſymbol, deriving the occaſion of it from the words of our Saviour, Saint JOHN xii. 24. 'Verily I ſay unto you, except 'a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, 'it abideth alone, but if it dies, it bringeth forth 'much fruit:' And of St. PAUL, 1 Cor. 'Thou 'fool, that which thou ſoweſt is not quickned ex-'cept it die, &c.'

As to the ſuperior orders of Biſhops, prieſts and deacons, they are always conferred by the impoſition of the Biſhop's hands, and great care is taken that the perſon ordained have no lameneſs or other defect in his body or limbs. Thoſe in inferior orders, who go alſo under the general name of eccleſiaſticks, are 1. The ſub-deacon, who takes care of the utenſils of the altar, and the veſtments of the prieſt and deacon, when they officiate; he remains in the ſacrarium during the ſervice, the multitude of ceremonies making his aſſiſtance neceſſary. 2. The choir man, who ſings the prayers and hymns, ſometimes performed by a poor boy, and the muſick generally is but very indifferent. 3. The reader.

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reader, who reads the leſſons out of the epiſtles or goſpels, and 4. The ſexton whoſe office it is to light the lamps and keep the church clean.

Confeſſion and abſolution.

The doctrines of confeſſion and penance which they retain, it is obſerved, conduce much to the preſerving the dignity of the prieſthood, in a country where they have no ſecular advantages; but they do not expect the penitent ſhould enumerate every particular circumſtance, if he diſcloſe as much as he thinks it prudence to declare, it is accepted: they oblige every one to go to confeſſion four times a year, except the poor people, who are required to confeſs only in lent: from others who have made great advances in piety, they expect a monthly confeſſion. Only ſuch prieſts receive confeſſions as are licenſed by the Biſhop, who makes choice of the graveſt and moſt prudent among his clergy, to exerciſe this ſolemn part of the prieſtly office, and the penances they inflict are readily obeyed, or compounded for; which laſt is not uncommon among the Greeks, and then the prieſt abſolves the penitent after this manner, (viz.) 'The grace of the all holy Spi-'rit, by the mediation of my miniſtry, pardons 'and abſolves you.' But the form of abſolution is not always the ſame: in the prayers of pardon which the prieſt recites over penitents he ſometimes ſays, 'Do thou, O Lord, remit, pardon 'and forgive the ſins committed by thy ſervants: 'or, be pleaſed to abſolve thy ſervants according 'to thy word, &c.' And ſometimes very briefly, 'Be thou pardoned or abſolved.' And they look upon a perſon who dyes unabſolved to be in a very deſperate condition; but if one dyes excommunicated, they imagine his body feels the diſmal effects of it in the grave, that it grows hard and indiſſoluble till the excommunication is taken off, and ſwells like a drum, which is occaſioned by the devil's entring into it: their ghoſts alſo they tell us wander about while the body remains in this ſtate, and ſtories of their being ſeen in the burying places, and knocking at doors in the ſtreets are ſo firmly believed, that any one would be looked upon as an athieſt who ſhould ſeem to doubt them; nor are their prieſts and Biſhops leſs credulous than the vulgar. Their Biſhops particularly when they prohibit any thing to be done by their brieſs, threaten the offenders, that after death they ſhall ſwell and be undiſſolved, which is alſo inſerted in their ſentences of excommunication, to add the greater terror; but whenever the excommunication is taken off, they relate that the body diſſolves and turns to duſt; of which the graveſt amongſt them will pretend there have been many inſtances, conſtantly affirming the truth of ſuch facts to our divines who have diſcourſed with them upon this ſubject. But I cannot meet with any of our travellers who have ſeen an inſtance of this nature themſelves, and therefore muſt beg leave to place it among their vulgar errors, as well as their Chriſtmas apparition, or evil ſpirit, which, they tell us, is let looſe during the twelve days, and poſſeſſes children born during that time; which the Turks ſeem to give credit to as well as the Chriſtians.

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Oil with prayer.

The ceremony of anointing the ſick with oil is another of their myſteries, or ſacraments, which the Latins compare to their extreme unction; the Greek prieſts have the power of making and conſecrating this oil to anoint dying perſons with, which practice they derive from the Apoſtles who were ſent out by CHRIST, and anointed with oil many who were ſick and healed them. Another authority they produce for it, is the advice of St. JAMES, Chap. V. 'Is any ſick among you, 'let him call for the elders, (or presbyters) of 'the church, and let them pray over him, a-'nointing him with oil in the name of the Lord;' from whence they conclude that ſeveral are neceſſary to the performing this aright: their office requires ſeven, but they allow it to be done by three; and anoint only the forehead, ears and hands of ſick perſons, uſing ſeveral prayers at the time of the unction, and particularly this, 'O 'holy Father, phyſician of ſoul and body, who 'has ſent thy only begotten Son, our Lord JESUS 'CHRIST, to cure all diſeaſes and to redeem from 'death, heal thy ſervant of his infirmity both of 'body and ſoul, and quicken him by the grace of thy 'CHRIST; for the interceſſion of our Lady the 'mother of GOD, the ever Virgin MARY. (Here they repeat the names of ſeveral other ſaints.) 'For thou, O Chriſt our GOD, art the foun-'tain of all healing, and we give the glory of 'it to thee, and to the Father, and to the holy 'Spirit now and for ever.' After which they alſo give the ſick man the Euchariſt. They proceed to anoint the houſe of the ſick perſon with the ſame oil, making the ſign of the croſs upon the doors and poſts: when the prieſt ſings that verſe of the 91ſt pſalm: 'he that dwelleth in the ſecret 'place of the moſt High ſhall abide under the 'ſhadow of the Almighty, &c.'

Eſpouſals.

Matrimony alſo, it ſeems, is eſteemed a myſtery, or ſacrament by the Greek Church; and clandeſtine, or private eſpouſals are ſeverely prohibited: witneſſes are required to every contract of this nature; and ſometimes to ratify them, the contracting parties go to church, where the prieſt ſtanding before the middle door of the chancel makes the ſign of the croſs, and delivering lighted torches into their hands, goes down with them into the body of the church; where after ſome prayers, he gives a gold ring to the man and another of ſilver to the woman, (which had received a kind of conſecration before, by being laid upon the altar) ſaying three times, 'The ſervant of 'GOD A. B. eſpouſes the ſervant of GOD C. D. 'In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and 'of the holy Ghoſt.' Then the brideman takes

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the rings off their fingers and exchanges them, the prieſt joining their hands.

Marriage.

Marriages are always publickly celebrated, and crowns, or garlands of olive branches ſtitched with white ſilk, and interwoven with purple, are thought eſſential to this ceremony: theſe being the ſymbols, if not the completion of this myſtical rite: for here, the prieſt crowning the bridegroom with one of them, ſays, 'The ſervant of 'GOD A. B. is crowned for (or marries) the 'ſervant of GOD C. D. In the name of the 'Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghoſt:' and then crowns the bride repeating the like words, mutatis mutandis: then laying their hands a-croſs, he bleſſes them three times after this manner, 'O 'Lord GOD, crown them with glory and ho-'nour:' after which the epiſtle and goſpel being read with ſome prayers ſuitable to the occaſion, the new married couple drink out of the ſame cup which the prieſt hath bleſſed; and after two or three ſhort hymns the garlands are taken off their heads, and ſaluting one another, they are diſmiſſed with a bleſſing. Second marriages the Grecks have no opinion of, and thoſe who engage a third time they look upon to be guilty of incontinence; and the fourth is condemned as abſolutely ſinful, making no allowances for temper, or conſtitution; and if GOD hath taken away a ſecond wife by death, they ſay, every man ought to ſubmit to it, and reſtrain his inclinations. But to make the marriage vow more ſolemn, the bride and bridegroom receive the ſacrament. The man ought to be above fourteen, and the woman above thirteen when they enter into this ſtate: and the conſent of parents, or guardians, is deemed ſo neceſſary, that without it, it is ſaid, the marriage is accounted null. And ſpiritual affinity, ſuch as ariſes at the font, is an impediment to marriage with them; for one may not marry the daughter, or other near relation of his godfather.

Divorce.

Divorces are eaſily obtained among the Greek Chriſtians, and very frequently upon the moſt frivolous pretences: nor is the evil to be remedied, it ſeems; ſo prone are theſe people to revenge where they have been ill uſed; and ſo ready are they to make love to another after any diſguſt received from their former ſpouſe, that the denying them a divorce would probably be attended with worſe conſequences: another miſchief which may be apprehended from denying them this liberty, is their turning Mahometans, whom they ſee ſo much indulged in the article of women.

Creed of the Greeks.

The Greeks retain only the Nicene, or rather Conſtantinopolitan creed in their liturgies and catechiſms; and are wholly ſtrangers to that of St. ATHANASIUS, not troubling themſelves with nice diſtinctions, which, it is obſerved, as often confound as explain the myſtery; yet, it ſeems, they condemn ARIUS, NESTORIUS, and the other hereſiarchs, whoſe opinions, if any one favour in the leaſt, he is excommunicated: they differ from the Latins in their creed, however, as to the manner of the ſubſiſtence of the holy Spirit; and with great bitterneſs and paſſion affirm, that the Biſhops of the Roman Church without conſulting them, and without regard to the canon of the council of *Epheſus*, which forbid any additions under the penalty of anathema, have added the words Filioque, (and the Son) in the Nicene creed; and for proof of this appeal to the writings of the antient fathers, to acts of councils, to the beſt and moſt authentick manuſcript copies, and even to Rome itſelf; where that creed was engraven on two ſilver tables hung up in St. PETER's church by order of Pope LEO III. where this addition is wanting: nor is there any point of controverſy which the Greeks diſpute with greater learning or ſubtilty: ſo that the Greek Church deny that the holy Spirit proceeds from the Son eſſentially and eternally, as to his ſubſiſtence; but hold, 'That the holy Spirit 'proceedeth from the Father by the Son; declar-'ing that the holy Spirit proceedeth eternally from 'the Father, as the fountain and principle of the 'Deity: according to our Saviour's words; when 'the Comforter is come, whom I will ſend unto 'you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth, 'which proceedeth from the Father, he ſhall teſ-'tify of me, John xv. 26.' And the Greek Church, according to their Patriarch CYRILLUS, does therefore deny the proceſſion of the Spirit from the Son, fearing leſt they ſhould aſſert and introduce two diſtinct principles of the exiſtence of the Spirit of GOD in the Deity, which they look upon as an horrid impiety.

But to prevent all ſuſpicion of their entertaining any heterodox opinion about the third perſon of the Trinity, they declare, that they acknowledge the holy Spirit to be of the ſame ſubſtance with the Father and the Son; to be GOD from eternity, proceeding from the eſſence and nature of the Father, without beginning, and to be equally adored. So that they neither confound the perſons of the holy Trinity, nor take away the perſonal relations and properties of the Son and Spirit.

The ſtate of the dead.

As to the ſtate of the dead, the Greeks believe that the ſouls of the righteous do not go immediately to heaven, but to ſome third place, which is ſometimes called paradiſe, where they wait till the reſurrection: and though it is ſaid, they deny purgatory, they imagine however, that the ſouls of ſuch as are not ſufficiently purified to enter paradiſe are confined in ſome ſecret receſſes under ground, there to ſuffer grievous pangs; and that theſe may receive a mitigation of their torments from the prayers, oblations and ſacrifices of the living; for which reaſon at the celebration

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lebration of the ſacrament, the prieſt ſtanding at the protheſis offers ſeveral morſels, or rather particles of bread, one in honour of the bleſſed Virgin, which he places on the right ſide of the bread to be conſecrated: the reſt in honour of St. JOHN Baptiſt and other ſaints; and for the living and dead recommended to him, mentioning their names: 'And for all who ſleep in hope 'of the reſurrection to everlaſting life: to whom, 'O merciful GOD, give pardon.' Theſe are placed in the patin and carried to the altar of conſecration, and on account of their vicinity to the conſecrated bread are held to partake of the bleſſing and holineſs of it.

The modern Greeks alſo account it a pious action to viſit the graves of their deceaſed friends on a certain day every year; and there perform funeral rites, and pray for their ſouls; and when the prieſt has done his office, and the religious part of the ceremony is over, they ſpread their napkins, or handkerchiefs over the grave, and have a kind of feſtival entertainment, conſiſting of the colyba, or boiled wheat, and fruits abovementioned, and are exceeding merry on the occaſion.

The reaſon aſſigned for this practice by GABRIEL PHILADELPHIENSIS is, 'We offer '(ſays he) theſe morſels (or particles as they are 'termed) for our fathers, friends and relations, who 'ſleep in CHRIST: to the end that GOD would 'place their ſouls in a bright pleaſant place: in a 'place of reſt, whence grief and lamentation are 'baniſhed, and ſend them a relaxation and de'liverance from thoſe grievous things which at 'preſent afflict them, and give them freedom and 'redemption from the lamentations of hades and 'from tears.'

They ſay alſo a particular maſs for the dead, wherein they have an epiſtle and goſpel peculiar to the occaſion, and the dead perſons are named for whom it is intended, a ſingle particle, or morſel of the bleſſed bread being offered up at the ſame time in the behalf of every one of them. And on the Saturday before Pentecoſt a general maſs is celebrated for the dead; which day is ſacred to the memory of All Souls. And though they pretend to deny a purgatory, they hold however, that many ſinners are redeemed from the chains of hades (not upon account of any repentance, or confeſſions made in thoſe infernal regions) but by the good works and alms of the living, and the prayers of the Church offered up in their behalf; and chiefly for the ſake of that unbloody ſacrifice which the Church daily offers up for the living and dead. And to ſalve this, they ſay, that ſuch ſouls as receive benefit by theſe means went out of the world with good diſpoſitions, though they were prevented by death from completing their repentance.

Three times that year in which their friends die they celebrate their exequies, viz. on the third, the ninth, and the fortieth days after their deceaſe, repeating the ſame prayers for the repoſe of their ſouls. But the howlings of the women really concerned, of their ſlaves in complaiſance to their miſtreſſes, and of the mourners which are hired on theſe occaſions are not to be expreſſed.

They worſhip pictures

Notwithſtanding the Greeks ſeem to have engraved images in the greateſt abhorrence, and declaim againſt the Latins as little leſs than idolaters for worſhipping of them; they admit of pictures of our Saviour and the ſaints, and honour them by bowing, kiſſing, and offering up their devotions before them. With ſuch pictures the partition which ſeparates the body of the church from the chancel is adorned: and at certain times the prieſt before he enters the chancel makes three low reverences before the picture of CHRIST, and as many before the Virgin MARY, and frequently perfumes them with incenſe: upon ſome of their great feſtivals they expoſe to view on a table in the middle of the choir a picture of the ſaint they commemorate, bowing as they approach, and kiſſing it with great devotion; which practice they defend by the authority of the ſeventh general ſynod, being the ſecond held at Nice, affirming that in reality they worſhip the ſaint, not the picture, which only helps to form an idea of him in their minds; but theſe nice diſtinctions do not avail them with the Turks, who charge them notwithſtanding with downright idolatry.

Two kinds of adoration

They uſe two kinds of adoration, in which great part of their worſhip conſiſts. In the firſt they bow almoſt to the ground; the other is only a little inclination of the head and knee, which they perform when they come firſt into church, or when they happen to come within ſight of a church or chapel either by ſea or land, ſaying, 'GOD be merciful to me a ſinner,' or words to the ſame import forty times together, and more ſometimes, croſſing themſelves all the while, which they perform with the two fingers of the right hand and thumb, whereby they pretend to expreſs their belief of a Trinity of perſons in one Divine Eſſence.

They ſtill continue to perform their devotions with their faces towards the eaſt, and would chooſe rather to turn their backs upon a church than upon that point of the heavens when they pray: they ſeldom ſit at church, as has been obſerved already, and if they do, it is upon the floor when they are weary, for there are no ſeats, and they as ſeldom kneel except on the feaſt of Pentecoſt, or ſome ſuch ſolemn time: nor do they put off their caps in the church, except at the proceſſion above-mentioned, or when the goſpel is read,

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read, or at the celebration of the Euchariſt, but at theſe times they all ſtand uncovered, ſhewing a particular reverence.

Their vocal muſick, as has been obſerved, is very mean and artleſs, nor have they any inſtrumental muſick in their churches, that they may not give offence to their Governors the Turks, and this is the reaſon alſo that they have no bells in their churches: they bleſs and conſecrate water in much the ſame manner as the Latins do, of which they will drink plentifully, and waſh their eyes with it, but it does not ſtand in baſons at the church door, nor do they ſprinkle themſelves with it in the manner the Catholicks uſe to do. Upon a recovery from a fit of ſickneſs thoſe who are able offer up broad ſilver plates beat very thin, which are hung up in their churches, and ſometimes they are made to repreſent the part affected.

In their accounts of the creation they do not at all agree with the weſtern Chriſtians, making it to be 5508 years from the beginning of the world to our Saviour's birth, and have two era's, one from the creation, and another from our Saviour's nativity, in the laſt of which they agree with our accounts of that event. They acknowledge ſeven general councils, 1. The council of Nice, held anno 325, againſt ARIUS, who denied the Divinity of our Saviour. The 2d at Conſtantinople, anno 381, againſt MACEDONIUS, who denied the Divinity of the holy Ghoſt. The 3d at Epheſus, anno 431, held againſt the Neſtorians, who aſſerted CHRIST born of the Virgin to be a mere man, making the Son of GOD diſtinct from the Son of the Bleſſed Virgin, and therefore refuſed her the title of Θεοτόκος, or the mother of GOD. The 4th at Chalcedon, anno 451, againſt EUTYCHES and DIOSCORUS, who maintained only one nature in CHRIST. The 5th at Conſtantinople, anno 553, againſt the followers of ORIGEN, who held the pre-exiſtence and tranſmigration of ſouls; that hell torments were temporary, and that the devils in the end would be ſaved, &c. The 6th at Conſtantinople, anno 680, againſt SERGIUS, Pope HONORIUS, MACARIUS Biſhop of Antioch, and others, who held but one will in CHRIST, and were from thence called Monotholites. The 7th at Nice, anno 787, againſt thoſe who exploded the worſhip of images or pictures.

7 General councils.

The ſeveral hereſies they condemn.

The latinizing Greeks, it ſeems, call the council of Florence, held anno 1439, under Pope EUGENIUS, the eighth general council, at which were preſent the Greek Emperor JOANNES PALÆOLOGUS, JOSEPH Patriarch of Conſtantinople, and ſeveral Metropolitans and Biſhops of the Greek Church, who were urged by their Emperor to ſubſcribe many Romiſh tenets, in hopes to have procured the aſſiſtance of the Latins againſt the encroaching Turk, who was upon the point of making an entire conqueſt of their country: but on their return to Conſtantinople this ſubmiſſion had like to have occaſioned an inſurrection at Conſtantinople, and over the whole empire; and the ſubſcribers were looked upon as the betrayers of the Eaſtern Church, as appears by a letter publiſhed by CHYTRÆUS, ſent from Conſtantinople to the Bohemians, about two years before the taking of that city by Sultan MAHOMET. This letter was ſubſcribed by SYLVESTER SYROPULUS, who was preſent at the council of Florence, and wrote the hiſtory of it, and by many others.

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The Greeks yet abſtain from blood and things ſtrangled, nor can the ſharpeſt hunger tempt them to taſte any fleſh, where the blood was not poured out upon the ground, being governed by that determination of St. JAMES and the other Apoſtles aſſembled at Jeruſalem, Acts xv. 20. and by the practice of the primitive Chriſtians, it appearing to have been made a teſt by the Pagan magiſtrates, whether they were Chriſtians or not, according to an apology of TERTULLIAN; nor are they content to follow this rule themſelves, but reproach the weſtern Chriſtians with the violation of this apoſtolical conſtitution: they abſtain in like manner from the fleſh of any animal which dies of itſelf, becauſe the blood remains in it; and if through inadvertency they happen to eat ſuch food, they hold themſelves obliged to confeſs and do penance for the involuntary tranſgreſſion: but fiſh ſeems to be an exception to this rule, which frequently die of themſelves. Indeed their caloyers or monks are ſo tenacious of this precept, that they never eat any kind of fiſh which has blood in it.

The Greeks eat no blood.

When they are brought upon their oaths, they lay their right hands upon the croſs, afterwards kiſſing it, and putting it to their foreheads, from whence the word σαυροπάτης or σαυροπατῶν, a form of much diſgrace, is uſed for a perjured perſon, who tramples as it were upon the croſs, and ſtamps it under his feet.

Oaths.

Great part of their divine ſervice in the monaſteries conſiſts in repeating the pſalms and hymns of the Old and New Teſtament, which they divide into twenty ſections, or καθίσματα, each ſection into three parts, which they call στάσεις, at the end of which they repeat the gloria patri, ſtanding all the while, and there is ſcarce a monk but has the whole pſalter by heart: that hymn which our Church retains in the communion ſervice, viz. 'Glory be to GOD on high, 'and on earth peace good will towards men, '&c.' makes a neceſſary part of their morning devotion upon Sundays and other ſolemn feſtivals, and indeed on common days, but then it is only ſaid and not ſung as it is in their ſolemn prayers

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after ſupper, before they go to ſleep, and is called by them ἡ μεγάλη δοξολογία, or the great doxology, to diſtinguiſh it from the other, which they call ἡ δοξολογία μικρὰ or the leſſer, being the gloria patri, ſomething different from that of the Latins, viz. 'Glory be to the Father, and 'to the Son, and to the holy Ghoſt, both now, 'and always, and for ever, or to eternal ages.' This they repeat at certain times preſcribed by their liturgy, and at the end of every ſtation of the pſalms. But Mr. SMITH rightly obſerves, that there is a great deal of ſuperſtition intermixed with their divine offices, as the perfuming their churches, the pictures of their ſaints, the holy table, and the people with incenſe, their frequent croſſing themſelves, the extravagant reſpect they pay to the unconſecrated elements, and their concluding many of their prayers with theſe words, viz. 'For the interceſſion of our Lady 'the ſpotleſs Virgin, mother of GOD,' adding ſometimes, 'and of all ſaints,' the oblation of the particles or morſels of bread above-mentioned, and their prayers to the ſaints after the offering of the particle in honour of the Virgin, &c. the choir ſinging as follows, 'It is meet indeed to praiſe 'thee, the mother of GOD, who art always to 'be bleſſed; free from all blemiſh, the mother of 'our GOD; more to be honoured than the che-'rubims, and beyond all compariſon more glo-'rious than the ſeraphims, who broughteſt forth 'GOD the Word, without any diminution of 'thy virginity: we magnify thee who art truly 'the mother of GOD;' and frequently make their prayers directly to her, as, 'O mother of 'GOD, holy above all, ſave us.' Again, 'In 'thee, O mother of GOD, have I put all my 'truſt; ſave me by thy interceſſion, and grant 'me pardon of my ſins.' And in another part of their ſervice, 'O bleſſed mother of GOD, 'open to us the gate of thy mercy; let not us 'who hope in thee go aſtray, but let us be de-'livered from dangers by thee, for thou art the 'ſafety of all Chriſtians, &c.'

I come now to ſhew the practices of the Church of Rome, to compel the Greeks to ſubſcribe to the doctrines of the Latin Church; in the example of the famous CYRILLUS LUCARIS, Patriarch of Conſtantinople, who had the honeſty and courage to oppoſe their encroachments, which ended in his deſtruction. He was born in the iſland of Candia, but had his education at Venice, whither it was uſual for the youth of that iſland to be ſent, who were deſigned to receive a liberal education: having finiſhed his ſtudies here, he travelled into other parts of Chriſtendom, where he came acquainted with the reformed Churches, and began to expreſs his diſlike of the Roman ſuperſtitions; and returning home extremely well accompliſhed by his travels and ſtudies, he was taken notice of by MELETIUS Patriarch of Alexandria, a Candiot alſo by birth, who conferred on him prieſt's orders, and afterwards made him archimandrite, or prior of a convent: and in the year 1600 diſpatched him with a letter to SIGISMUND III. King of Poland and Sweden; the occaſion of ſending which letter was this, ſeveral Biſhops of Lithuania and Ruſſia Nigra, who had hitherto continued of the Greek communion, wrought upon by ſome temporal advantages and honours which they propoſed to gain in the diet and government of Poland, ſent two of their number to Rome, in the year 1595, in order to their being reconciled to that Church, and to make their ſubmiſſion to CLEMENT VIII. the then reigning Pope; but their tranſacting this in the name of all the Ruthenick Churches, was proteſted againſt, and a publick act made of it by CONSTANTINE, Duke of Oſtorovia and Palatine of Kiovia, and ſeveral others, who diſapproved of this intended union: however, upon return of the two Poliſh Biſhops from Rome a ſynod was held at Breſſa, by the authority of King SIGISMUND, to which the Duke of Oſtorovia and his party, who determined to remain ſubject to the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, were ſummoned, and refuſed to ſubmit to the propoſed union, being ſupported by CYRILLUS and NICEPHORUS, who were ſent thither by the Patriarchs of Conſtantinople and Alexandria, to diſſuade their ſubmiſſion to the Pope; and ſuch was the rage of the Latins againſt thoſe Greek fathers, that they procured NICEPHORUS to be murdered, and CYRILLUS very hardly eſcaped with his life: ſo zealous was King SIGISMUND in the cauſe of Rome, that he publiſhed an edict prohibiting the propagating of the Greek religion in his dominions, and wrote to MELETIUS the Patriarch of Alexandria, adviſing him to ſubmit to the Pope; which the Patriarch anſwered in another letter ſent by CYRILLUS LUCARIS, who was ſo terrified by the Romiſh emiſſaries at the Poliſh court, that (as the Jeſuits ſay) he was induced to ſign a confeſſion of faith agreeable to the Romiſh doctrine: but however that was, the patriarchal ſee of Alexandria becoming vacant ſoon after his return, he was choſen to ſucceed MELETIUS; in which ſee he continued nineteen years, but coming to Conſtantinople to conſult that Patriarch on ſome affairs of their Church in the year 1612, a caloyer, a Neapolitan born, in a lenten ſermon, according to his inſtructions from the Jeſuits, ſaid many things in behalf of the Romiſh doctrines, in which he was oppoſed by our CYRILLUS, and the Patriarch of Conſtantinople dying, the Anti-Romaniſts nominated CYRIL to ſucceed in that patriarchate; to prevent which the oppoſite faction offered the Turkiſh miniſters a ſwinging bribe; and procured TIMOTHEUS Biſhop

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ſhop of Marmora to be declared Patriarch: for money, as has been obſerved, does every thing in Turkey, and without the Grand Seignior's approbation no man can take the office of Patriarch upon him, nor durſt the Greeks refuſe the perſon he has appointed, tho' never ſo unfit for the poſt: the new Patriarch, as is common, made uſe of his intereſt with his Maſters the Turks to proſecute all *who oppoſed him*, and eſpecially his competitor CYRILLUS, who was obliged to retire for the preſent; but TIMOTHEUS dying not long after, CYRIL was unanimouſly choſen to ſucceed him, anno 1621. The Roman Miſſionaries knowing him to be an active zealous man, and one who had declared himſelf againſt their innovations, reſolved to gain or ruin him; and the firſt not ſucceeding, they laboured with the French Ambaſſador to get him depoſed, and to prefer GREGORIUS Biſhop of Amaſia to the patriarchate, who had already ſubmitted to the Pope: CYRIL's intimacy with the Engliſh and Dutch Ambaſſadors gave them a pretence of charging him with hereſy, with which he was ſo incenſed, that he proceeded to excommunicate his competitor. This enraged the Jeſuits to that degree, that they accuſed CYRILLUS to the Vizier, of a deſign of delivering up an iſland in the Arches to the Duke of Florence, whoſe gallies uſed to row in thoſe ſeas; whereupon he was apprehended and depoſed, and baniſhed to Rhodes, and the excommunicated Biſhop advanced to the patriarchal dignity, on promiſe of paying twenty thouſand dollars for his promotion: the Greeks hereupon grew diſcontented, and refuſed to contribute towards the ſum, and no ſupplies coming from Rome, GREGORIUS after ſix weeks ſitting reſigned the patriarchate to ANTHIMUS Archbiſhop of Adrianople, who was very rich, and whom the Romaniſts had prevailed on to accept of it. This gentleman upon his advancement paid down part of the ſum demanded; and being ſupported by the Vizier's authority, compelled the Greeks to levy the remainder amongſt them, This ſervice done the Catholick cauſe, chiefly by the influence of the French Ambaſſador at the Porte, the Count DE CESI was wonderfully magnified, and afterwards taken notice of by Pope URBAN VIII. in a letter from Rome ſoon after his exaltation to the pontificate, and dated July 1624, in which letter he ſtyles CYRILLUS, ſon of darkneſs and champion of hell.

In the mean time Sir THOMAS ROWE, the Engliſh Ambaſſador at the Porte, having received orders from King JAMES to ſupport the oppreſſed Greeks, and oppoſe the French Ambaſſador, and the Popiſh emiſſaries, the Ambaſſador by his conduct procured the baniſhed CYRIL his liberty, and leave to return to Conſtantinople: whereupon, it is ſaid, ANTHIMUS, conſcious of his ſimony and uſurpation, waited upon CYRIL privately, and ſubmitted himſelf to him, acquainting him with his readineſs to reſign the patriarchate. This ſo alarmed the French Ambaſſador, that he ſent for ANTHIMUS to his houſe, aſſuring him of the Pope's and his maſter the French King's protection; and that he would ſpend forty thouſand dollars to ſupport him in the patriarchate; but threatned him with the utmoſt reſentment if he reſigned, and by his threats or promiſes prevailed on him to promiſe to hold it. But ANTHIMUS notwithſtanding ſubmitted himſelf a ſecond time to CYRILLUS, and begged his abſolution for the miſcarriage he had been guilty of, abſolutely diveſting himſelf of the patriarchal dignity; and CYRILLUS was thereupon reſtored to the patriarchate; being obliged, however, to pay a conſiderable ſum to the Turkiſh miniſtry for his re-eſtabliſhment.

Three emiſſaries came ſoon after from Rome, to endeavour the depoſing of CYRIL, or corrupting him; one of them was directed to inſinuate himſelf into the Patriarch, and perſuade him to excite the Coſſacks againſt the Porte, over whom he had a mighty influence, theſe being of the Greek communion; and if they could have drawn him into this ſnare, they were ſure of having him taken off. Another was inſtructed to charge him with hereſy among his clergy, with his diſcouraging the invocation of ſaints, denying tranſubſtantiation, (or the real preſence in the ſacrament, as it was then called; for the word *μέλκσίωσις*, or tranſubſtantiation, was ſcarce known among the Greeks at that time). He was charged alſo with his denying the authority of the councils, free-will, and the neceſſity of auricular confeſſion, and ſending ſeveral ſtudents to the univerſities of England and Germany, to be inſtructed in the northern hereſies, and to propagate them all over the eaſt; and with his diſtributing catechiſms full of the ſame errors, in compliance with the Proteſtant Ambaſſadors at the Porte. On the other hand, Father ROSSI the jeſuit propoſed to him a union with Rome: that he would admit the council of Florence, and condemn the errors of the Lutherans and Calviniſts. To which the Patriarch, by the advice of the Engliſh Ambaſſador, returned no anſwer: which his enemies looked upon as ſuch a piece of contempt that they could not bear it; and therefore incited ſome of the Greek Biſhops to dethrone him, offering twenty thouſand dollars to effect it, and fix one of them in his place: and they raiſed ſuch a ſpirit againſt CYRIL, that he was obliged to retire till the government was appeaſed by a preſent of ten thouſand dollars. And now CYRILLUS was looked upon to be pretty well eſtabliſhed: but the Pope, to diſturb him, diſpatched an antipatriarch from Rome, with the title

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title of Apoſtolical ſuffragan, with full powers to act as he ſaw fit, for the advantage of the Roman Church. This Father arrived at the iſland of Naxia in December, 1626, whither the French Ambaſſador ſent his chaplain, the titular Biſhop of that place, to compliment him; and having brought him to Scio, he met with as much reſpect as if the Pope himſelf had come amongſt them; with which this pretended Patriarch was ſo exalted, that he began to place and diſplace, and act in the ſame arbitrary manner he had obſerved at Rome. The Greeks, ſeeing the liberties of their Church invaded, repreſented to the Vizier the ill conſequence theſe proceedings might be to the government. Whereupon the Roman Patriarch fled, but left ſome ſuffragan Biſhops he had brought with him behind, who were apprehended and impriſoned, notwithſtanding the French Ambaſſador uſed all his intereſt to prevent their diſgrace. But CYRIL's troubles, however, were again renewed by the following accident.

A certain caloyer, or Greek monk, named MATAXA, a native of Cephalonia, having travelled into England, where he reſided ſome years, and learned the art of printing, arrived in the harbour of Conſtantinople, in the month of June, 1627, bringing with him a preſs and types, in order to the publiſhing ſome books for the inſtruction of the poor ignorant Greeks, in the principles of their religion. This good man was brought to the Engliſh Ambaſſador by the Archbiſhop of Corinth, being recommended by the Patriarch, who deſired the Ambaſſador to own the goods, which were otherwiſe in danger of being ſeized; which accordingly he did, and they were brought on ſhore without examination. But the greateſt difficulty was to ſet the preſs on work, without giving umbrage to the Turks; for they could not but expect they ſhould be repreſented to the magiſtrates and imaums, or Mahometan prieſts, as if they were about printing books againſt their religion; eſpecially ſince the Ambaſſador did not think it proper that the preſs ſhould be ſet to work in his own houſe: he adviſed them, however, to take a houſe in the neighbourhood, and he would give them what protection he was able.

The jeſuits underſtanding that the preſs was ſet up, became very apprehenſive that the deſign was principally to print catechiſms, and other books againſt the Church of Rome, which would probably ruin their projects. Theſe gentlemen having eſtabliſhed a ſeminary in one of their convents, where they taught the children of the Greeks gratis; and ſometimes ſo far inſinuated themſelves into the parents thereby as to make them their proſelytes: whereupon the jeſuits endeavoured, in the firſt place, to bring over the printer MATAXA to their intereſt. But MATAXA being proof againſt corruption, they called him heretick and Lutheran, and began to threaten his life; inſomuch that he begged of the Ambaſſador he might be permitted to lye in his houſe in the night-time, apprehending he ſhould be murdered in his own. The Patriarch CYRILLUS, in the mean time, in order to take off the aſperſions of the jeſuits, as if he was about to introduce new doctrines into the Greek church, ſent a little book to the preſs, in vindication of his doctrine, and the faith of the Greeks; which he dedicated to King CHARLES I. Whereupon the jeſuits were determined to deſtroy the preſs at all hazards, and to ſacrifice both author and printer. And having procured the copy of a book which the Patriarch printed in England, in defence of our Saviour's divinity, which he chiefly intended againſt the Jews; and finding ſome paſſages in it which reflected on the Mahometan doctrine; they gained a buffoon, a cunning raſcal who had the Vizier's ear, by a promiſe of twenty yards of ſattin, to inſinuate to the Vizier that MATAXA the printer was a ſoldier and a ſpy, and ſent to Conſtantinople to incite an inſurrection among the Greeks; and that under pretence of printing books for the inſtruction of children, he had diſperſed others of a different nature, and which reflected on the ſacred alcoran; pointing at this little book of CYRIL's, great numbers of which were ſent into the Ukrain, to incite the Coſſacks to attack the Turkiſh empire in the abſence of the Sultan, who was then preparing for an expedition into Aſia. The Vizier hereupon, without examining into the truth or probability of the charge, as is uſual among the raſh precipitate Turks, ſent a Captain with an hundred and fifty janizaries to apprehend MATAXA; but the printer being at Galata with the Engliſh Ambaſſador's ſecretary, came home as the ſoldiers were ſearching his houſe, and imagining what the matter was, paſſed by them unknown, and got into the Ambaſſador's. The Captain, miſſing the perſon he was ſent to ſeize, rifled the houſe, and carried away with him all his boxes, trunks, and houſhold ſtuff, together with the printing preſs and types, to the value of ſeven thouſand dollars: and the Patriarch believing himſelf in no leſs danger than the printer, concealed himſelf in the Ambaſſador's houſe.

The next day the book was examined, and the paſſages relating to MAHOMET were interpreted by two Greek renegadoes, in the preſence of the Vizier and ſeveral eccleſiaſticks: but the Turk not apprehending there was any thing very obnoxious in them, CYRILLUS ventured to appear, againſt whom the jeſuits had prepared a farther charge, but without the leaſt ſhadow of proof. Whereupon the Engliſh Ambaſſador demanded

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manded audience of the Vizier, and expoſtulated the matter with him, repreſenting how groſs an affront he had put upon his maſter, by ſeizing upon his effects, as he had claimed them to be on their coming aſhore, and this without evidence of any practices againſt the ſtate. The Vizier acknowledged he had been too credulous, and wondered at the impudence of thoſe who had abuſed him with theſe miſinformations, and promiſed the goods ſhould be reſtored. Their Ambaſſador alſo waited on the Mufti to remove any prejudices the Turkiſh clergy might entertain by the inſinuations of the jeſuits: and the Turkiſh miniſtry were ſo juſt as to lay Father ROSSI and the jeſuits in priſon, who had ſpirited up this proſecution, and would have ſtrangled them, if the Engliſh Ambaſſador had not interpoſed in their behalf; but they baniſhed them and their whole order out of the dominions of the Grand Seignior, as diſturbers of the publick peace.

CYRIL for ſome few years remained unmoleſted; however, the Popiſh emiſſaries underhand made ſeveral attempts to depoſe him, particularly they incited JOSEPH, Biſhop of Philippopoli, to invade the patriarchate; but the deſign proved abortive. Afterwards they offered the Turks twenty thouſand dollars to advance ISAAC Metropolite of Chalcedon, who had eſpouſed the Roman intereſt, and was a popular man; but they could not carry their point: however, the Miniſtry would not loſe the ſum which was offered by CYRIL's enemies, but made him advance it on their confirmation of him in that office. But the Patriarch CYRILLUS proceeding to tranſlate his confeſſion of faith, and publiſh it in ſeveral languages, the Latins were out of all patience, and reſolved not to let him reſt till they had deſtroyed him: accordingly two fugitive Greek Biſhops were diſpatched from Rome to get him diſplaced, and being recommended to the protection of the French Ambaſſador, they had lodgings aſſigned them in his palace. They began with reviling the Patriarch with the terms of heretick and Lutheran, and threatned to purchaſe the office of the Grand Seignior. The Metropolites of Adrianople, Lariſſa, Chalcedon, and others, conſpired alſo againſt their Patriarch: inſomuch that it coſt him ten thouſand dollars to weather the ſtorm. In the year 1633, the Metropolite of Berea, formerly a ſcholar of the jeſuits, made uſe of the money he had collected in ſeveral provinces on the Patriarch's account, to ſupplant his patron; being diſguſted, it ſeems, that he was not preferred to the Archbiſhoprick of Theſſalonica; and had actually agreed with the Miniſtry to pay fifty thouſand dollars for his advancement: but not being able to make good his agreement, after a week's domineering he was baniſhed to the iſland of Tenedos. Six months afterwards ANASTASIUS, Archbiſhop of Theſſalonica, purchaſed the patriarchate for ſixty thouſand dollars, by the aſſiſtance of the Latins; but CYRILLUS was reſtored the ſame year, paying however the ſum the uſurper had contracted for, with an overplus of ten thouſand more, the raiſing whereof almoſt ruined the poor Greeks. About the year 1635, the Popiſh emiſſaries prevailed to have CYRIL depoſed, and baniſhed to the iſland of Rhodes, where, it ſeems, they intended to have ſurprized him by ſome of their corſairs, and carried him to Rome: but CYRIL having notice of it procured himſelf to be removed to a place of greater ſecurity. And in July, 1636, he was again reſtored to the patriarchate; but not without the powerful interceſſion of his friends, and great ſums of money, which influences all things in Turkey.

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The Patriarch's enemies not being able to accompliſh their deſigns, while the Sultan remained at Conſtantinople, the Prime Vizier being his friend, and foreſeeing the removal of the court from that capital; they prevailed with one BAIRAM BASSA, a great favourite at court, on whom the Grand Seignior principally depended to conduct his forces towards Perſia, to effect the buſineſs for them: this General meeting with great ſucceſs in that expedition, had gained a mighty aſcendant over the Sultan, and as they were upon the march to the ſiege of Babylon, in the year 1638, he took an opportunity of repreſenting to his maſter the great influence that CYRILLUS had over his Greek ſubjects, inſinuating that he had lately occaſioned an invaſion of the Empire by the Coſſacks, and that it might be dangerous at this juncture to leave ſo dangerous a man behind them in Conſtantinople, where the Greeks were numerous: and by ſuch diſcourſes as theſe having worked up the Sultan's jealouſy againſt the unfortunate CYRILLUS, he ſigned an order to ſtrangle him, which was immediately diſpatched away by a courier to the Caimacan, or Governor of Conſtantinople, who, purſuant to his orders, ſent his officers to apprehend the Patriarch, and carry him priſoner to one of the caſtles on the Boſphorus: on the 27th of June in the evening they brought him from thence, and put him into a boat, telling him that they were commanded to carry him on board a ſhip lying at Santo Stephano, a ſmall port in the Propontis a little below the Seven Towers, in order to his being tranſported to ſome of the iſlands; however, the boat was no ſooner put off but he perceived they intended to murder him, whereupon he fell upon his knees and prayed with great fervency, preparing himſelf for death; and having received ſome reproaches and ill uſage from the Turkiſh officers, they were not long before they faſtened the bow-ſtring about his neck, and diſpatched him, after which they ſtripped him, and threw his

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his naked body into the sea, which being taken up by the fishermen, his friends buried it on the shore. But the resentment of the jesuits, it seems, did not end with his death; for they procured an order from the Caimacan to have his corps dug up and thrown into the sea again: but the Greeks recovered it a second time, and buried him in one of the islands that lye over-against the bay of Nicomedia. Thus fell the great CYRILLUS LUCARIS, says my author, who for his piety and sufferings, which were wholly upon account of religion, I shall not be afraid to esteem a martyr, notwithstanding the passionate censures of Monsieur ARNAUD. He had been Patriarch of Alexandria almost twenty years, and near as many Patriarch of Constantinople, with some interruptions and invasions of his office, through the influences of the French Ambassador, and other Popish emissaries.

The dissentions between the Greeks and Latins in Turkey continue still much the same as in the last century; but were it not that the Turk is apprehensive of the Pope's setting up an independent government in his dominions, by virtue of that supremacy his Holiness claims over all his votaries, the Latins had probably by this time prevailed, and compelled the Christians of that empire to have subscribed the Roman doctrines, having spared no money to induce the Turkish Ministry to connive at their gaining proselytes among the Greeks and Armenians; for as to the Mahometans, the boldest Missionaries dare not attempt their conversion; the very proposing a change of religion to a Mussulman being attended with certain death. None of the treasure advanced by the holy see, therefore, towards making proselytes in that empire, is employed in converting Infidels; the fatigues and hazards the jesuits boast of in the cause of Christianity, is only in order to prevail with one denomination of Christians to declare themselves of another, perhaps more superstitious and idolatrous than that they leave.

These practices of the Missionaries are evident from certain edicts lately made against them by the Sultan, one whereof is as follows, viz. 'We 'have been informed of the seditious behaviour of 'the Frank priests, who are not only agents of 'the Roman Pope, but spies in our empire; and 'have seduced, and are still endeavouring to seduce our Christian Ragas, both Greek and Armenian, from their allegiance to our most sublime Porte, to their religion: we are assured that 'they have got, for this clandestine purpose, passports, by divers indirect practices, for the free 'exercise of their religion through our empire, 'and go with such passes from province to province, in Europe and Asia, engaging our said 'subjects publickly to profess the Roman religion, 'of which many grievous complaints have been 'made to our sublime Porte. We command 'therefore our Bassas, and other Magistrates and 'Officers, to compel all such of our said Ragas 'as have abandoned their religion and antient 'rites, whether Greeks, Armenians, or Maronites, &c. to return to their former religion 'and rites, opposing and punishing such disturbers 'and seducers of our said Ragas. Given at our 'court at Adrianople, &c.'

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MOTRAY relates, that about the year 1700, one SOUPY, a creature of the Pope's, being declared Patriarch of the Armenians at Constantinople, to the prejudice of two other Bishops, who were deposed to make room for him; they declared a kind of spiritual war against him and his followers, styling them schismaticks, and deserters of the true orthodox Church: they charged SOUPY also with receiving money of the Pope by the hands of the Jesuits, to purchase the patent for his advancement, and with concurring with the jesuits to seduce the Armenians, and disturb the peace they enjoyed under the protection of the Porte; and EPHRAIM Bishop of Adrianople, one of the deposed Patriarchs, drew up a formulary or confession of his faith, in which he condemned the council of Chalcedon, and anathematized the Pope; which three of his priests refusing to subscribe, he deprived them of their benefices. On the other hand, Patriarch SOUPY wrote a letter to the Pope acknowledging the council of Chalcedon to be orthodox, and his Holiness to be Patriarch of Patriarchs, and visible head of the universal true catholick Church; and went down to Adrianople himself to reinstate the three priests in their livings, who had been deprived by EPHRAIM. This exasperated the Anti-Latins, and renewed the clamour against him, and the Armenians of his party; and it is certain that for two or three years past the jesuits had made great numbers of proselytes among them, and nothing seemed wanting but the countenance of the Porte, to bring about a general conversion; for the poor Armenians had long complained of the excessive duties they were compelled to pay, for the maintenance of their priests, while the rich began to grow uneasy at their frequent rigorous fasts, which the Latins represented as unnecessary, proposing much more indulgence on their coming over to them.

The Armenian Bishops and Doctors hereupon applied themselves to the Kiaca, or principal officer of the Vizier, and with Bishop EPHRAIM at their head, acquainted him that the Patriarch SOUPY, and his party, were very active in forming divisions between the Sultan's Armenian subjects, and perverting them to the Catholick religion; to which the Kiaca answered, 'What is 'that Catholick? Is it not an Infidel?' (the

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name they give to Christians;) to which Father EPHRAIM answered in the affirmative. The Kiaca replied, 'If a hog is white, black, or 'red, is it not still a hog? so infidel Armenian, 'or infidel Catholick, he is still but an Infidel, 'about which the sublime Porte will not concern 'itself.' Father EPHRAIM, without being discouraged at the barbarous expression, cunningly replied, I do not design to trouble your ears with the difference between an Armenian Christian and a Roman Catholick; but come to implore your protection against the cara papas, or black priests, (a name the jesuits are distinguished by, from other Frank priests) who draw away many Armenian families from our churches, to the great damage of the Porte as well as ourselves, since their proselytes send their children into Christendom for education, where some of them remain, and others return clothed in Frank habits, passing for Franks, and protected as such by Catholick Ambassadors, and consequently pay no taxes to the government; and our churches being impoverished by their desertion, we are unable to pay the duties required of us; and the Patriarch SOUPY, who ought to have opposed these practices, is a pensioner of the Pope's, concurring with the Missionaries, and fomenting these divisions amongst us. Whereupon the Kiaca promised to represent the matter to the Vizier; and not long after, guards were placed by the government at the doors of the Roman Catholick churches, to seize such Armenian subjects as attempted to enter them; and by bastinading some of the poor, and fining the rich, they put a stop to the jesuits conversions for that time. Patriarch SOUPY was apprehended and deposed, and several Doctors of his party were imprisoned with him: Father EPHRAIM was upon the point of being restored; but Father AVIDICK, who had a better purse, was at last preferred to the patriarchate. This gentleman also declared himself against the Catholicks, to the great disappointment of the Missionaries, who had advanced considerable sums, to prevent Father EPHRAIM's mounting the patriarchal throne again.

The jesuits not long after found means of gratifying their revenge upon Patriarch AVIDICK, by insinuating into the party which deposed Sultan MUSTAPHA, that he was in the interest of the Mufti, their declared enemy, and entrusted with some of his treasure; whereupon the unhappy Patriarch was imprisoned. Some time after, in the year 1707, the jesuits managed their matters so well, that they engaged both the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople and the Patriarch of Jerusalem in their interest, and procured the liberty of preaching in the Armenian churches, which the anti-catholicks being exasperated with, they charged the two Patriarchs above-mentioned with being devoted to the Pope, who obliged all his disciples to vow perpetual war against the Mahometan name. They insinuated also to the government, that they had advices from Scio, Messina, and Genoa, that the jesuits had procured the Patriarch AVIDICK to be spirited away, and sent on board a French vessel to Messina, and put into the hands of the inquisition; and afterwards procured him to be sent to the gallies at Marseilles. Whereupon the government threatned to extirpate the jesuits if he was not brought back again: the Vizier demanded him of the French Ambassador, as a subject of the Grand Seignior's: to which his Excellency answered, he was perfectly ignorant of the matter, and believed it was a story invented by his enemies. The Vizier, however, by way of reprisal, caused the present Patriarch, who was in the Roman interest, to be deposed and sent to the galleys. What became of the Patriarch AVIDICK was never known; but the Porte issued the following edict against the Latins on this occasion, viz.

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'Most eminent in honours, virtue, wisdom,
'and prudence, Bassas and Cadies, defenders
'and administrators of justice in the empires
'and kingdoms under our obedience.

'BE it known unto ye, by this Imperial com-
'mand, that certain Frank priests, especially
'the jesuits, among several others, who by our
'Imperial favour and clemency, have their habi-
'tations and churches in some of our best cities,
'to exercise their sacerdotal functions, for Am-
'bassadors, Consuls, Frank merchants, and o-
'thers of the Popish religion; do disturb, divide,
'and seduce our subjects, especially the Arme-
'nians; and the jesuits, not content to enjoy
'the toleration we allow, as well to strangers as
'our own people, whether Armenians, Greeks,
'or others, to perform their functions in our ci-
'ties, and even in the prisons where our slaves
'of their persuasion are kept, with pernicious
'designs, full of sedition, go about in our Eu-
'ropean and Asian provinces, and with promises
'of money, honours, &c. Incite our said sub-
'jects to embrace the Popish religion, which
'they call the Latin Church, and have already
'perverted one Patriarch and several Vertabiets,
'(Doctors). Whereupon several Armenian priests,
'and others who continue in their own profes-
'sion, and in the fidelity they owe us, and ab-
'horring all sovereignty but ours, have often
'complained to our sublime Porte of these trou-
'bles, seducements, and divisions; but hitherto
'little notice hath been taken of their griefs: it
'being thought very indifferent whether the
'Christians worshipped JESUS in one manner or
'another, that nothing might be done contrary

'to

'to the toleration of worſhip which we permit 'through all our empire. Nevertheleſs, the 'grounds of theſe complaints encreaſing, and by 'the inconſtancy of many Armenians, and de- 'ceitful ſeducements of the Frank prieſts, ſeveral 'of the chief Vertabiets, or Armenian Doctors, 'who are conſtant in their profeſſion, and prize 'the liberty and ſweet tranquillity they enjoy by 'our Imperial favour, have made more lively 'and ſtronger remonſtrances to our ſublime Porte, 'and informed us, that ſeveral of the perverted 'Armenians have already ſent their ſons into 'Popiſh countries, where they are made to vow, 'as the Malteſe and others do, a perpetual and 'implacable war againſt us, and the deſtruction 'of our religion, (whoſe projects and deſigns 'GOD the protector of the true religion will 'confound) and that theſe perverted Armenians 'pretend to be Franks, and not under our do- 'minion, and already publickly frequent the 'Frank churches; and that the Armenian chur- 'ches are grown poor by their deſertion, which 'daily encreaſes, and will ſoon render divers Ar- 'menian prieſts incapable of paying us their ka- 'ratch (tribute), if we do not prevent theſe ſe- 'ducements and deſertions. We out of regard 'to their juſt complaints, and willing to continue 'our protection to our faithful ſubjects, and pu- 'niſh the rebellious, have already ordered in our 'capital city of Conſtantinople, that ſuch Arme- 'nians as ſhould be apprehended going into or 'coming out of the Latin churches, ſhall be ſent 'to the galleys; and thoſe who will not return 'to their profeſſion, but obſtinately adhere to 'the Pope, ſhall be put to death for perſiſting 'in their rebellion. We command you there- 'fore, to prevent and ſuppreſs theſe diſorders 'with all your power; and to hear the grievan- 'ces and complaints of our faithful ſubjects, Ar- 'menians, Cophtis, Maronites, Greeks, and all 'others who pay us karatch, and do them juſtice, 'taking ſpecial care above all things, that on pre- 'tence of puniſhing the guilty, ye do not ſeize 'their eſtates, or ſuffer yourſelves to be bribed 'to favour the rebellious, as you would not 'incur our Imperial indignation, and ſuffer the 'puniſhments due to oppreſſion and injuſtice. Gi- 'ven at our capital city, the firſt of the moon Se- 'fer, 1117.' (Being the beginning of February, 1707.)

The Armenian religion I have given an account of already, in treating of Perſia: they were originally of the Greek faith, but have taken up ſome opinions for which the Greeks denominate them hereticks: the jeſuits alſo charge them with many heretical tenets, particularly with the hereſies of EUTYCHES and DIOSCORUS; the allowing but one nature in CHRIST, &c. Nor do they mix water with their wine in the euchariſt, as the Greeks do; and there is ſome difference alſo in the make of their prieſtly veſtments, the Armenians wearing their ſtoles narrower than the Greeks; but whatever were the real occaſions of this ſchiſm in the Greek Church at firſt, they ſeem now to be at as great a diſtance as the Proteſtants and Papiſts in the weſt, and hate one another as heartily. And now having given ſo large an account of the *ſtate of religion*, it is time to proceed to a deſcription of the remaining provinces of Turkey, which are chiefly thoſe of antient Greece, and the iſlands in the Archipelago and Levant. I was apprehenſive that the reader might be wearied with a dry deſcription of the ſituation of the numerous towns and provinces of Turkey in Europe, if I had gone through them at once, and therefore choſe to break off before I had finiſhed them, and introduce a more entertaining ſubject: but I return now to the geographical part of the work.

CHAP. VII.

Treats of the provinces of Macedonia and Albania.

Macedonia. THE province of Macedonia is bounded by Romania and Servia towards the north, by ſome bays of the Archipelago towards the eaſt, by Theſſaly on the ſouth, and by Albania towards the weſt: the chief towns are, 1. Saloni- Theſſalonica chi, or Theſſalonica; ſituate at the bottom of a bay of the Egæan ſea, to which it gives its name, and is in the latitude of 41 degrees odd minutes north, between two and three hundred miles to the weſtward of Conſtantinople, and about two hundred to the eaſtward of the Adriatick ſea, or gulph of Venice. This town is generally held to have been built by CASSANDER and THESSALONICA, ſiſter to ALEXANDER the Great, and is famous for the preaching of St. PAUL in it, and the epiſtles he wrote to the natives: the antient name of the city was Thermia, and the bay on which it ſtands called Sinus Thermeticus. It is at preſent the ſeat of a Turkiſh Baſſa, and an Archbiſhoprick; a town of pretty good trade, being reſorted to by the Engliſh, and other weſtern nations of Europe: the preſent Conſul for the Engliſh here is Mr. STEPHENS. We import from hence raw ſilk, Turkey leather, cotton, beeswax, &c. Here are great numbers of Grecian and Jewiſh inhabitants, as well as Turks, inſomuch that ſome reckon in this city thirty Chriſtian churches, and as many ſynagogues. In the year 1180, Salonichi was taken from the Grecian Emperor, by WILLIAM, King of Sicily, and not long after recovered by ANDRONICUS PALEOLOGUS: it was ſold to the Venetians, anno 1313, from whom it was taken eight years after,

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after, by AMURATH the second, and has remained under the dominion of the Turks ever since. 2 Jamniza, antiently Pella, about thirty miles to the south west of Salonichi: this was formerly the residence of the Macedonian Kings, and the place of ALEXANDER's birth, now dwindled into an inconsiderable town; but there are pieces of marble pillars, and other noble ruins still dug up here, which discover its former grandeur. 3. Contessa, a small trading town, about eighty miles to the eastward of Thessalonica, which gives its name to a bay of the sea on which it stands; sometimes called the bay of Monte Santo, or the Holy Mount, as mount Athos is often styled, from the many Greek monasteries upon it; antient writers make this mountain of a prodigious height; some say it is above the middle region; and PLINY, that the evening shadow reaches as far as the isle of Lemnos or Stalimene, which is sixty miles from it; but the hill is certainly very high, being commonly covered with snow. 4. Cavalla, a little town over-against Contessa, on the other side of the bay, and which sometimes gives its name to it. 5. Philippi, so called from its being enlarged and beautified by King PHILIP, the father of ALEXANDER, being antiently called Dathus Thuassus; it lyes at the foot of mount Pangeus, on the confines of Thrace, near which town was fought that memorable battle between BRUTUS and CASSIUS on the one side, and AUGUSTUS and MARC ANTHONY on the other, in which AUGUSTUS and ANTHONY were victorious: here are still the ruins of a noble amphitheatre, and other magnificent buildings. 6. Amphipolis, or Empoli, situate on the river Strimon, about ten miles from the place where it falls into the bay of Contessa; it was antiently the capital of Macedonia, but is now an inconsiderable town: what rendered this country famous were the conquests made by their Kings PHILIP and ALEXANDER, who subdued Greece, and the best part of the then known world.

Albania.

Albania, or Arnaut, is bounded by Servia on the north, by Macedonia on the east, by Epirus on the south, and by the Adriatick sea, or gulph of Venice, towards the west; extending about an hundred and fifty miles from north to south, and an hundred from east to west: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Scutari, or Scodra, by the Turks called Iscodar, situate on a hill near the river Boiana, about five and twenty miles distant from the gulph of Venice: it is a large city, and thought to be the seat of the antient Kings of Illyricum, and is still a Bishop's see, though subject to the Turk. 2. Alessio, or Lissus, situate on the river Drino, near the place where it falls into the gulph of Venice, and forms a bay, now called the gulph of Drino: this town is famous for the sepulchre of Prince GEORGE CASTRIOT, generally called SCANDERBEG; who died here about the year 1467. He resisted the whole Turkish power for many years, with inconsiderable forces, and defeated them, as it is said, in two and twenty several engagements. 3. Dulcigno, a port seated on the gulph of Venice, about forty miles to the westward of Alessio. 4. Croya, by some esteemed the metropolis of Albania, situate on the river Lizane, thirty miles to the eastward of the gulph of Venice, and about thirty to the southward of Alessio; by SCANDERBEG made the place of his usual residence, but fell into the hands of the Turks soon after his death. 5. Durazzo, the Dyrachium of the Romans, a celebrated port on the gulph of Venice, to which they usually passed over from the south east parts of Italy in their way to Greece. It is now a village, but formerly a considerable city, famous for being the place of CICERO's exile, and for the retreat of POMPEY when he fled from CÆSAR, and transported himself hither from Brundusium in Italy. 6. La Valona, or Aulon, situate at the mouth of the gulph of Venice, about forty miles to the southward of Durazzo, and antiently a place of strength. As to Dalmatia, which lyes upon the gulph of Venice, to the northward of Albania, I shall defer giving a particular description of this province, and Bosnia, till I come to treat of the Imperial and Venetian territories.

Dalmatia.

Bosnia.

CHAP. VIII.

Treats of the provinces of Epirus and Thessaly.

Epirus.

EPIRUS, or Canina, is bounded by Albania on the north, by Thessaly towards the east, by Achaia on the south, and by the Ionian and Adriatick sea towards the west, and is in length from the south-east to the north-west about an hundred miles, and in breadth about sixty: the mountains Chimera, or the Ceraunian mountains, divide it from Albania; and the mountain Mezua, antienly Pindus, separates it from Thessaly: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Chimera, situate on the north part of Epirus, upon the sea-coast, being about eighty miles to the southward of Durazzo, and twenty to the northward of the island of Corfu; being a Bishop's see, and a place of some trade. 2. Butrinto, situate also on the sea, over-against the island of Corfu, and about thirty miles to the south-east of Chimera: it was formerly a good town, and a Bishop's see, but is now reduced to a village. 3. Arta, or Larta, formerly Ambracia, the seat of the antient Kings of Epirus, situate at the bottom of the gulph of Larto, or Ambracia, about sixty miles from Butrinto,

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trinto, and as many from Lepanto. 4. Preveza, which lyes at the entrance of the ſame bay, or gulph, about thirty miles ſouth-weſt from Larta; and ſaid to ſtand where Nicopolis once did, which was built by AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, in memory of the battle of Actium, where he defeated MARC ANTHONY's fleet. 5. Higalo, ſituate at the mouth of the ſame bay, where Actium once ſtood, formerly a conſiderable city, but now a poor place.

Theſſaly, now Janna, is bounded by Macedonia on the north, the Archipelago on the eaſt, by Achaia towards the ſouth, and by Epirus towards the weſt: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Lariſſa, called by the Turks Aſababa, ſituate near mount Olympus upon the river Peneus, about eighty miles to the ſouthward of Theſſalonica, and about fifty north-weſt of the iſland of Eubœa, or Negropont; famous heretofore for being the place of ACHILLES's birth. It is now a town of good trade, and an Archbiſhop's ſee. Doctor BROWN gives this deſcription of Lariſſa: it is ſeated, ſays he, on the river Peneus, the moſt conſiderable of the country, having the famous mountain Olympus on the north, and the plains of Theſſaly on the ſouth; and is inhabited by Chriſtians, Turks and Jews; the Chriſtians having ſeveral churches here: there are alſo ſome fair bezeſtins, or exchanges, and Turkiſh moſques. The ſituation is very pleaſant, being on a riſing ground, on the upper part whereof ſtands a palace of the Grand Seignior's, where he kept his court in the year 1669. to be nearer Candy during the war there, and for the conveniency of hunting and hawking; for which the country about Lariſſa is very proper: that ſummer being very hot, the Sultan retired from Lariſſa to mount Olympus for the advantage of the air, from whence there is a proſpect of the Egæan ſea. His removal thither proved deſtructive to many people, who were obliged to attend his court; for being heated with aſcending this ſteep mountain, they were ſtruck with the ſudden alteration of the air, from exceſſive heat to exceſſive cold, and died ſoon after, eſpecially ſuch as drank of a certain ſpring, whoſe waters were of a whitiſh colour: theſe were immediately ſeized with a coldneſs at their ſtomachs, and died in three or four days, and not only the men but great numbers of camels and horſes alſo periſhed, and the Sultan himſelf was ill for ſeveral days. But though the antient Greeks tell us, that mount Olympus reaches beyond the clouds, and therefore made it the reſidence of JUPITER and the Gods; our author was of opinion, that ſome of the Alps are higher land, and obſerves that there was no ſnow on Olympus in September; whereas on the Alps, the Pyrenean, and Carpathian mountains, &c. it lyes all the year. 2. Farſa, ſaid to be the antient Pharſalus, famous for the battle fought near it between Cæſar and Pompey, is ſituate thirty miles to the ſouthward of Lariſſa, though CLUVERIUS places thoſe plains much farther to the weſtward. 3. Tricala, ſituate on the river Peneus, about fifty miles to the weſtward of Lariſſa; where antiently ſtood a temple dedicated to ESCULAPIUS. 4. Janna, from whence this country at preſent takes its name, is a well built town, ſituate on a lake of the ſame name, forty miles to the northward of Lepanto. 5. Demetrias, fifty miles to the eaſtward of Lariſſa, ſituate on a bay of the ſame name, but frequently called ſinus Pelaſgicus. 6. Pegaſa, now Volo, ſituate on the north ſide of the ſaid bay, forty miles caſt of Lariſſa; and is ſaid to have a tolerable harbour. 7. Armiro, or Eretria, at the bottom of the ſame bay, ſituate twenty miles to the ſouthward of Demetrias, mentioned by STRABO, LIVY, POLYBIUS, and other antient writers, and reckoned by ſome to be the port from whence the Argonauts ſet ſail. 8. Zeiton, which gives name to a bay over-againſt Negropont, and ſtands about thirty miles from Armiro, and thirty miles to the weſtward of Negropont. Beſides mount Olympus, here are the mountains Perlion and Oſſa, which lye to the ſouthward of it, and between Olympus and Oſſa are the ſo much celebrated plains of Tempe, which the antient Greek writers repreſent as a perfect paradiſe. This country produces oranges, lemons, citrons, pomegranates, and grapes as large as damaſcens, of a luſcious taſte; alſo the largeſt and moſt delicious figs, and the beſt taſted melons. Their fields abound in almonds, olive-trees, evergreens, cotton, ſweet herbs, &c. And as to the perſons of the Theſſalians, Doctor BROWN relates, that they are generally well made, with black hair and eyes, and freſh ſanguine complexions; and that their women are celebrated for their beauty. The Macedonians who inhabit the hills to the northward of them, are much rougher and more weather-beaten; and the natives of the Morea to the ſouthward have ſwarthy complexions compared with them: ſo that this country, whether we conſider the ſweetneſs and temperature of the air, the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil, the variety and pleaſantneſs of its fields, or the beauty of the natives, ſeems preferable to any part of Greece, and may in ſome meaſure deſerve the character the antients gave of it.

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Treats of Achaia, Hellas, or Græcia Proper, now called Livadia.

THE province of Achaia, or Livadia, is bounded by Theſſaly on the north, by the Archipelago, Achaia.

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pelago, or Egæan ſea towards the eaſt, by the Morea, or Peloponneſus on the ſouth, (from which it is ſeparated by the gulf of Corinth, or Lepanto, the Iſthmus of Corinth and the gulf of Engia, or the mare Saronicum) and by the Ionian ſea towards the weſt: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Athens. Athens, ſtill called by the Turks, Atheni, ſituate near the gulph or bay of Engia, about forty miles to the eaſtward of the Iſthmus of Corinth, and about as far diſtant from cape Raphæi; the moſt eaſterly part of Achaia; and is in the latitude of thirty eight degrees odd minutes. It ſtands almoſt in the middle of a large beautiful plain, and what it wants in fruitfulneſs, according to Sir GEORGE WHEELER, is abundantly recompenſed by the healthfulneſs of its ſituation. Port Phalera lyes about four miles weſt-ſouth-weſt of it; and Port Leone, or Pyræas, five miles weſt and by ſouth. The river Iliſſus runs on the ſouth-eaſt of the city, and turning round it ſouth and ſouth-weſt, by the hill antiently called the Muſæum, paſſes about a bow-ſhot from the acropolis, or caſtle, where it joins its waters with another ſtream, and takes its courſe to the north-eaſt, watering in its way a wood of olive trees at leaſt ſix miles in length, which is now the greateſt wealth and ornament of the Athenian plain, ſays the ſame author; but whether this river be the antient Cephiſus, or Eridanus, our geographers are not agreed. The preſent town does not lye round the caſtle as formerly, but on the north-weſt ſide of it, extending in length along the plain about a mile and half, and in breadth ſomething more than a mile, being about four miles in circumference. The town is divided into eight quarters beſides the caſtle; the ſtreets are narrow, and it has at preſent no walls for its defence: however, Athens is not at this day a deſpicable place, though far inferior to what it was antiently, when it took up a conſiderable part of the plain, and was joined to the two ſea ports of Phalera and Pyræas by long walls, the one four and the other five miles in length; when it gave laws to other nations, and was the ſeat of the muſes, where wit, eloquence and learning, and all arts and ſciences were brought to a greater perfection than in any other part of the known world. The preſent town is ſuppoſed to contain about ten thouſand inhabitants, three parts of whom are Chriſtians; and though it is no longer the ſeat of the muſes, the natives are ſtill obſerved to retain a good ſhare of wit. A Cadi is appointed Judge of the place by the Turks; but the Chriſtians chooſe one of the graveſt of their number out of every one of the eight wards, or diſtricts the city is divided into, who decide all differences between the Chriſtians in an amicable way.

The uſual habit of the preſent Athenians is a long black veſt, and over it a looſe coat lined with furs, which they hang on their ſhoulders: on their head they wear only a skull-cap, and on their legs a thin black boot, which ſits in wrinkles, and never wear ſlippers as the Turks do. The women wear a long coat, or gown, which reaches to their feet, either of red or ſome other coloured cloth, not girded about them but looſe, and over this they have a ſhort veſt made of ſilk, or fine woollen cloth, lined with a rich fur, and adorned with plate buttons as big as walnuts: their hair is plaited and braided, and hangs down below the bottom of their backs, with bunches of ſilver buttons faſtned to the ends of their treſſes; but when they go to church they are covered with a thin linen vail.

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The Archbiſhop of Athens has four ſuffragans under him, and about the city are reckoned near two hundred churches and little oratories, whereof two and fifty have their particular prieſts belonging to them, wherein divine ſervice is performed, the reſt are ſeldom uſed but upon certain days in commemoration of their founders, or benefactors. Their cathedral is but a mean building, not much better than ſome of our ordinary pariſh churches. There are ſeveral convents of monks and nuns in the place. The Turks have five moſques here, one of which is in the caſtle, and was antiently the temple of MINERVA, which our author aſſures us, is without compariſon the fineſt in the world: he ſays, it is ſituated in the middle of the caſtle, and all built of admirable white marble, being two hundred and ſeventeen feet nine inches long, and ninety eight feet ſix inches broad, and hath an aſcent every way of five ſteps, which ſeem to be contrived to ſerve as a baſis to the portico, which is ſupported by channelled pillars of the Dorick order all round the temple. Theſe pillars are forty ſix in number, eight in the front, as many at the other end, and fifteen on each ſide, to which if we add the four corner pillars already reckoned in the front and the other end, there are ſeventeen on each ſide: theſe pillars are forty two feet high, and ſeventeen feet and an half in circumference, and the diſtance between the pillars ſeven feet and four inches. This portico bears up a front and frize round about the temple, charged with hiſtorical figures of admirable work and beauty: the figures in the front, which the antients called the eagle, appear of their natural bigneſs, notwithſtanding their height, being in entire relievo wonderfully well carved: what PAUSANIAS ſays of them is no more, than that they concern the birth of the goddeſs MINERVA: but Sir GEORGE WHEELER obſerves, that there is a figure ſtands in the middle of it, having its right arm broken off, which probably held the thunder; its legs ſtand at ſome diſtance from each other, where the eagle was

Miner-va's temple turned into a moſque.

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was placed; for it is evident from the Majeſty of its countenance that this figure was deſigned to repreſent JUPITER: he ſtands naked, as the Greeks generally drew him. On the right hand of it is another figure, with its hands and arms broken off, covered down half way the legs, in a poſture as coming towards JUPITER; which our author ſuppoſes was a victory, leading the horſes of the triumphant chariot of MINERVA, which follows it. The horſes are formed with ſuch art, that the ſculptor ſeems to have given them a more than ſeeming life, ſuch a vigour is expreſſed in each poſture of their prancing and ſtamping, natural to generous horſes. MINERVA is next repreſented in her chariot, rather as the goddeſs of learning than of war, without helmet, ſhield, or MEDUSA's head on her breaſt, as PAUSANIAS deſcribes her image within the temple. Behind MINERVA is another figure of a woman ſitting, but the head is broken off: there are alſo two other figures in a ſitting poſture at the corners, which it is evident were made for the Emperor ADRIAN and his Empreſs SABINA.

There are five or ſix other images on the left hand of JUPITER, which Monſieur SPON takes to be an aſſembly of the gods, where JUPITER introduces MINERVA, and owns her for his daughter. The back front was adorned with figures, expreſſing MINERVA's conteſt with NEPTUNE about the naming of the city Athens; but theſe are moſt of them fallen down: the architrave is alſo charged with a baſſo relievo at certain diſtances, being divided into ſquares of two or three feet broad, and three or four feet in height: that towards the ſouth is charged with a repreſentation of the wars with the giants who inhabited the narrow ſtreights of Thrace; the war of the Athenians with the Amazons; their victory at Marathon; and the conqueſt of the Gauls in Myſia. Within the portico on the outſide of the cella of the temple itſelf, is another border of baſſo relievo round about it, where are repreſented ſacrifices, proceſſions, and other parts of the Pagan worſhip: the cella of the temple without it is an hundred and fifty feet in length, and ſixty ſeven feet broad.

This, like moſt other Pagan temples, was perfectly dark in the inſide, having no other light than what it received by the doors, or lamps; but when it was conſecrated and made a Chriſtian Church, they let in the light at the eaſt end, and made a ſemi-circle for the holy place, or chancel, which the Turks have not much altered: this was ſeparated from the body of the temple by jaſpar pillars, two whereof on each ſide ſtill remain. Within this chancel is a canopy ſuſtained by four porphyry pillars, with beautiful white marble chapiters of the Corinthian order; but the holy table which ſtood under it is removed: beyond the canopy are three or four ſteps forming a ſemi-circle, where the Biſhops and Presbyters ſat at the time of the communion on ſolemn days: the Biſhop ſat in a marble chair above the reſt, which ſtands there yet above the ſteps againſt the window: towards the bottom of the window are thoſe ſtones ſo much the admiration of all that ſee them, and which GUILITER ſtyles miraculous; but, it ſeems, they are only a tranſparent marble, which PLINY in his thirtieth book of natural hiſtory, calleth phengites, which, he ſays, were found in Cappadocia in NERO's time, with which he built a temple to fortune, that continued light when the doors were ſhut, although there were no windows in it; by its natural tranſparency an obſcure light paſſes through this ſtone; and ſeveral holes being made deep in it, the light appears of a red or yellowiſh colour; but as to its ſhining and giving light in the night, this is a miracle never heard of till of late; as to this author's comparing it to the brightneſs of a carbuncle, this may paſs alſo for one of his hyperboles. The roof over the altar and choir, added to the temple by the Greeks, has the picture of the Virgin MARY on it in Moſaick work, which is yet left there by the Turks; becauſe, it is ſaid, the hand of a certain Turk who ſhot at it, immediately withered.

Temple of Erictheus.

Amongſt the buildings and ruins on the north ſide of the temple of MINERVA ſtands the temple of Erictheus, which is a double building; the leſſer, by which the entrance is to the larger, is twenty nine feet long, and one and twenty broad: the other is ſixty three feet and an half in length, and thirty ſix feet broad; the roof being ſuſtained by Ionick pillars channelled, but the chapiters ſeem to be a mixture between the Ionick and Dorick orders: on the left hand as we deſcend from the caſtle we come to the theatre of BACCHUS; upon the riſe of the rocks are the ſeats of the ſpectators, which comprehend ſome degrees above a ſemi-circle, whoſe diameter is two hundred and forty three French feet; and the whole body of the ſcene ninety one paces, of which the ſeats take up twenty five on each ſide of the ſcene, and the ſcene itſelf forty five: the ſcene is oblong, jutting out ſix paces more in the front than the ſeats of the ſpectators: the antient ſeats are ruined, but ſome diſtinct diſtances appear which ſhew where they have been; the ſemi-circular area below the ſeats, and the ſcene, are almoſt filled with their own ruins; that part which hath ſuffered leaſt is the front looking towards the ſea, where three ranges of arches remain one above another; the uppermoſt ſuppoſed to be deſigned for windows. This theatre was antiently adorned with the ſtatues of their tragedians and comedians, among whom were MENANDER, EURIPIDES, SOPHOCLES and ESCHYLUS, and the whole fabrick was of white marble.

There are ſome foundations of arches run along in the ſame line with the front of the theatre eaſtwards, which are ſuppoſed to be the remains of the portico of EUMENES, where the tragedians got their plays by heart, and was the place where the citizens moſt uſually walked: hither they came not only to take the air, but to converſe with men of learning, to hear news, and divert themſelves in the company of philoſophers and ingenious men: from whence it was that ARISTOTLE's diſciples were called peripateticks, from their diſputing as they walked.

Peripateticks.

Theatre of BACCHUS.

South eaſt from the caſtle are thoſe tall and beautiful pillars called HADRIAN's pillars, generally reputed to be the remains of his palace, and ſeem to be the greateſt ornament of it, and of the whole city; but our countryman WHEELER is not of the opinion of ſome others, who imagine that it was built on the tops of them; for then, ſays he, it would have been properly a caſtle in the air, theſe pillars with their chapiters and baſes being fifty two feet high: they are channelled and of the Corinthian order, and of admirable white marble, being ſeventeen feet nine inches in circumference: only ſeventeen of theſe pillars remain ſtanding upright, but by the plan it is evident there muſt have been ſix rows of them, and twenty in each row, in all an hundred and twenty of them, as PAUSANIAS relates, built by the Emperor HADRIAN of Phrygian marble: this portico, wonderful for its beauty and grandeur, as the ſame PAUSANIAS informs us, was incloſed with a cloiſter, in which were little rooms of the ſame materials, only the roofs were alabaſter gilded with gold; and the whole adorned with ſtatues and pictures. And here, our travellers obſerve, was that famous library the Emperor HADRIAN collected, and a gymnaſium bearing his name, where were celebrated the games called adrianalia, which were inſtituted by him, as is mentioned on ſeveral monuments there; particularly one, which declares that MARCUS TULLIUS of Apamea in Bithynia, citizen of Athens, Corinth and Smyrna, the only man among the Athleticks that overcame in all the following games, viz. panellenia, olympia, iſthmia, adriania and romia (with about one and twenty more marked upon urns and ſhields, whereof moſt of the names are defaced.) 'This man, ſaith the inſcription, having born away the prizes at all theſe games, and other the moſt difficult exerciſes, died in the two and thirtieth year and third month of his age; having this monument erected to him by his brother MARCUS TULLIUS EUTYCHES.' About this gymnaſium ſtood an hundred pillars of Egyptian marble.

Temple of Theſeus.

Deſcending the hill northwards without the town is the temple of Theſeus; a building in all reſpects like the temple of Minerva in the caſtle, as to its matter, form and order of architecture, but not ſo large; for the portico, which is raiſed ſix ſteps, is but an hundred and one feet in length, and forty four feet and an half broad, each ſtep fourteen inches and an half deep. The cella fifty four feet long, and twenty broad. This ſtructure, notwithſtanding the ſmallneſs of its dimenſions, ſtill remains a maſterpiece of architecture, not eaſily parallelled, much leſs exceeded by any other. Great part of the hiſtory of Theſeus is here expreſſed in relievo on the pronaus of the front and weſt end, where all the locks and arts of wreſtling ſeem admirably well expreſſed: there are alſo ſome figures in the habits of women, ſuppoſed deſigned to repreſent the war of the Amazons. This temple was built ſoon after the battle of Marathon.

Tower of Andronicus.

There is yet ſtanding alſo in Athens the tower of ANDRONICUS CIRRHESTES, which is an octagon with the figures of eight winds, of good workmanſhip, and the names of the winds remain legible in fair Greek characters, each wind placed againſt its quarter in the heavens. The roof is made of little planks of marble which meet all in a point at top, and make an obtuſe pyramid. Here is alſo a little round fabrick, which ſome call the temple of HERCULES, of nice architecture; but not more than ſix feet diameter: the pillars are of the Corinthian order, which ſupport an architrave and frize, whereon are wrought in relievo the labours of HERCULES, according to ſome; but travellers, I find, are not fully agreed what theſe figures repreſent. There are the ruins of many other noble buildings in Athens, which makes that the beſt worth viewing of any place in Europe, in the opinion of thoſe who have ſeen it; beſides thoſe already mentioned, there are yet ſtanding the gate of the Emperor ADRIAN, the noble aqueduct built by him, the ſtadium where their publick games were ſolemnized, the ruins of the arcopagus, of the odæum, or muſick theatre, and of the temples of AUGUSTUS and JUPITER OLYMPUS.

Adrian's pillar.

There are at preſent four publick bagnios in Athens, and the town is well ſupplied with water by aqueducts under ground, laid from the rivers Iliſſus and Eridanus, being diſperſed about the city to private houſes and the publick fountains. All proviſions alſo are cheap here, as corn, wine, oil, fleſh, fiſh and fowl; and hares and partridges abound in the neighbouring country. The preſent trade of Athens is not very conſiderable; what they chiefly export are raw ſilks, Turkey leather, oil, wool and wax.

Learning is now at a very low ebb with them, though formerly this city was one of the principal ſeats of the muſes; few of the natives underſtand either the antient Greek or Latin. The Athenians are however obſerved to be more polite and civilized

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civilized than their neighbours ſtill; and ſome travellers are of opinion, that the air of the place, contributes to the brightneſs of their parts.

As to the antient hiſtory of Athens, I ſhall but juſt touch upon it. CECROPS, an Egyptian, is ſaid to have been their firſt King, and founder of the city, ſoon after DEUCALION's flood, about eight hundred and thirty years before the building of Rome; ſo that it is now computed to be three thouſand three hundred years, or thereabouts, ſince the founding of it. Athens continued a monarchy about five hundred and fifty years, until the death of CODRUS, their ſeventeenth, and laſt King. They were afterwards governed by Magiſtrates, called Archontes, who at firſt held the government for life, then they were changed once in ten years, and afterwards every year. Under theſe they bravely defended their country and liberties for five hundred thirty four years, until the tyrant PYSISTRATUS uſurped the government, in whoſe family it continued forty years, when they were expelled by CLISTHENES ALCMEONIDES, who took the adminiſtration of the government upon him by the title of Archon, altering the number and names of their tribes. After this they were engaged in war with the Perſians, and defeated the numerous armies of DARIUS and XERXES, with very inconſiderable forces, under the conduct of MILTIADES and THEMISTOCLES; but they were not ſo ſucceſsful in their wars with the Lacedæmonians; for they took Athens, and impoſed on them thirty Governors or Tyrants, as they were called. From this diſgraceful ſtate they were ſoon after delivered by the conduct of THRASIBULUS; and their General EPAMINONDAS, with the aſſiſtance of the Thebans, defeating the Lacedæmonians at the battle of Leuctra, it gave ſuch a turn to their affairs, that they extended their conqueſts far and near, inſomuch that they became almoſt entire maſters of the Egæan ſea, or Archipelago, and the iſlands in it, and of the coaſts of Egypt. ARISTOPHANES relates that they had no leſs than a thouſand cities under their dominion. They held the ſovereignty of Greece threeſcore and ten years, when the Lacedæmonians and Thebans, emulating their grandeur, fomented a war againſt them, and the Athenians were obliged to quit great part of their conqueſts. A peace enſuing, it is obſerved, they began to degenerate and indulge in luxury and idleneſs, which gave opportunity to the Macedonians to lay the foundations of their monarchy. PHILIP broke the power of the Athenians by ſea, and made himſelf maſter of the Egæan iſlands; and his ſon, ALEXANDER the Great, completed the conqueſt of Athens, and the reſt of Greece.

The Romans were their maſters next, whoſe Emperors were ſome of them very indulgent to this city, ſuffering them to enjoy an appearance of liberty at leaſt, and to be governed by their own laws. They ſeemed proud of being eſteemed the friends and protectors of this famous city, which had produced ſo many great and learned men. The Emperor ADRIAN having in his youth been choſen Archon of this city, took a particular affection to the place; and being advanced to the Imperial dignity, reſtored it to its antient beauty. He granted them many privileges, and inſtituted publick games, which in honour of him, were called Adrianalia; and a thouſand wild beaſts were given them every year to be hunted in the ſtadium. He built him alſo a noble palace, a publick library, and ſchools for teaching the liberal arts, the temple of JUPITER OLYMPUS, &c. and ſo enlarged and beautified the city, that it was afterwards called new Athens. The Emperor VALERIAN permitted them to build their walls, which could not however ſecure them from the incurſions of the barbarous northern nations.

CONSTANTINE the Great was a conſiderable benefactor to them; and CONSTANTINE the ſecond gave them ſeveral iſlands in the Archipelago. In the reign of ARCADIUS they underwent the common fate of Greece and Italy, being plundered by ALARICK, King of the Goths, according to SYNESIUS; but ZOZIMUS relates, that ALARICK ſpared Athens, imagining he ſaw ACHILLES fighting for them on the walls. From this time there is little mention made of them in hiſtory, till the thirteenth century, when BAJAZET the Turkiſh Emperor took it, together with Bœotia; but it was ſoon after retaken by the Venetians, under the command of REINERIUS ACCIACLO, a Florentine. The Turks in the reign of MAHOMET II. made themſelves maſters of it again in the year 1455, for want of timely aſſiſtance from the Latins, who refuſed to ſend them any reinforcements, unleſs they would conform to them in their doctrine and ceremonies; and they remained under the dominion of the Turk till the year 1687, when the Venetians made themſelves maſters of the town again; but it ſurrendred to the Turks in the late wars with the Venetians, and the Grand Seignior now remains ſovereign of Athens.

About ſixteen miles north weſt of Athens, upon the ſea, ſtood the city of 2. Elenſis, now called Lepſina. This place antiently vied with Athens for empire, until it was reduced by THESEUS. There remains little of it at preſent but ruins; amongſt the reſt the ſtately temple of CERES now lyes proſtrate on the ground in a confuſed heap. The beautiful marble pillars and cornices are almoſt buried in rubbiſh, and lye in ſuch a rude diſorderly manner, that it is ſcarce poſſible to judge of the antient form. Our countryman WHEELER found here good part of the ſtatue of the goddeſs

Elenſis or Lepſina.

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CERES, viz. from the head down below the middle, made of very white marble of admirable work. It is a coloſſus, at leaſt three times bigger than the life. She has a girdle about her waiſt, and two belts croſſing each other on her ſhoulders. Her breaſts appear very natural, but the face is diſfigured. Her hair hangs down behind, and is tied back. Upon her head ſhe hath a basket carved on the outſide with cluſters of wheat ears, bundles of poppies, roſes, and veſſels; for ſhe it was, according to tradition, who firſt taught the Greeks to ſow corn at Elenſis, and poppies were dedicated to her. A little higher on the brow of the hill was found a large baſis, ſuppoſed to belong to the ſaid ſtatue, there being about it a ſmall baſſo relievo, repreſenting the proceſſion of CERES, which the Athenians uſed to make in memory of her going about the world in ſearch of her daughter PROSERPINA, ſtoln by PLUTO, after ſhe had lighted her torches at mount Ætna, the whole company carrying torches.

Megara. 3. Megara, once the capital of a conſiderable ſtate, lyes about five and twenty miles to the weſtward of Athens, near the bay of Engia or Saroni. The city was built upon two little rocks, ſtretching ſouth eaſt and north weſt, about two miles from the ſhore of the Saronick gulph; but it now ſtands upon one of thoſe rocks, and conſiſts only of three or four hundred poor cottages, inhabited by Chriſtians, though it ſtill retains its antient name.

Delphos. 4. Delphos, now Caſtri, ſituate in 38 degrees 50 minutes, about ten miles to the northward of the gulph of Lepanto, on a ruggid mountain, to which there is an aſcent of two or three leagues, and yet this is not half way up the mountain Parnaſſus, on the ſide whereof it ſtands. There is not now more than two hundred ordinary houſes in it, inhabited chiefly by Chriſtians, but was antiently a great city, famous for the temple of APOLLO, and the dark cave from whence the Pythian prieſteſs pronounced her oracles, ſitting on a tripos, ſwelling and foaming like one poſſeſſed.

Parnaſſus mountain. The mountain Parnaſſus, ſacred to APOLLO and the Muſes, whoſe high tops appear in two points at Delphos, though there are many other ſummits, occaſioned it to be called biceps Parnaſſus, between which the water falls down in ſuch a torrent after any great rain or ſnow, that it has almoſt worn them aſunder. Below the cleft riſes a ſpring, ſuppoſed to be the antient fons caſtratis, where the Pythian propheteſs and the poets, who pretended to inſpiration, uſed to bathe and drink its waters. There are marble ſteps to deſcend into it, and nitches for ſtatues cut into the rock. Not far from Parnaſſus ſtands Helicon, the other mountain conſecrated to APOLLO upon the confines of Phocis. It is not inferior to Parnaſſus, either in height or compaſs. They are both rocky mountains, the tops of them are perpetually covered with ſnow. This was the native country of the Poet HESIOD, who was born at Aſcra, a town which ſtood on that ſide of the mountain next the ſea.

Helicon.

5. Lepanto, antiently Naupactus, ſtill called Epactos by the Greeks, ſtands near the mouth of the gulph, to which it has of late communicated its name, formerly called the gulph of Corinth. It is ſituate on a very ſteep hill, cloſe to the ſea, with a deſcent every way; and that ſide next the ſea is built down to the ſhore. The higheſt point of the hill is crowned with a little caſtle, in aſcending which we paſs through four ranges of walls one above another. A little oval harbour on the ſouth ſide is no ſmall ornament to it, having a tower on each ſide of the entrance, on which are planted ſome braſs guns, and the mouth of the harbour is ſo narrow that it may be ſecured by a chain of fifty feet long; but is indeed too ſhallow for any veſſels to enter, but barks or gallies It is now the moſt conſiderable town upon the gulph, and ſtands between forty and fifty miles to the weſtward of Delphos, eighty to the weſtward of the iſthmus of Corinth, and about eighty leagues north of the oppoſite ſhore of the Morea. On each ſide the city are fruitful valleys; that to the weſtward is planted with olives, vines, and corn. The valley on the eaſt is laid out in gardens of oranges, citrons, and lemons, and watered with many little rivulets, which fall from the mountain. The trade of the place conſiſts in leather, oil, tobacco, rice, and corn, and the wine is as good as any in Greece. Three or four leagues to the weſtward of Lepanto is the mouth or ſtreight of the gulph, defended by two caſtles. The two promontories which make this ſtreight were antiently called Rheum and Ante-Rheum. Not far from hence the Venetians obtained a ſignal victory over the Turkiſh fleet, in the year 1571.

Lepanto, olim Naupactus.

Livadia. 6. Livadia, an antient town, which at preſent gives its name to the country, is ſituate on the gulph of Lepanto, about twenty miles to the weſtward of the iſthmus of Corinth. It is built round a pointed hill, on the top whereof ſtands an old caſtle. The river Hercyna riſes here, and has ſo plentiful a ſtream, that it turns twenty mills in the town, not a bow ſhot from its ſource, and forms a large river as ſoon as it hath paſſed the mills. There are four or five moſques in the place, and about as many Chriſtian churches. The town is populous, and has a pretty good trade in woollen ſtuffs and rice. It was formerly famous for the oracle of TROPHONIUS, which was in a cavern in the hill, and publick games were inſtituted in honour of this GOD.

Thebes. 7. Thebes, now called Thiva, antiently the capital of Bœotia, is ſituate in 38 degrees 22 minutes,

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nutes, about forty miles to the northward of the isthmus of Corinth, and 20 miles west of Negropont. It stands on a rising ground between two little streams, supposed to be the Ismenus and Dirce of the antients; only that part of it which was the castle, is now inhabited, antiently called the Cadmæa, from CADMUS its founder: and here, as the Grecian poets feign, it was, that AMPHION charmed the stones to march, and form the walls by the musick of his harp. The present walls seem very antient, and have square towers of well hewn stone, very exactly laid. The figure of the castle, or rather town, is oval, and the houses higher, and better built than is usual in this country, being about three miles in circumference, and containing three or four thousand souls, for the most part Christians. There are not so much as the ruins of the temples or publick buildings left, which are mentioned by antient writers, nor is it easy to discover where they stood. The natives of this country were not generally famous for their wit or valour, yet it produced some very great men, as PINDAR, EPAMINONDAS, and PELOPIDUS; HERCULES and BACCHUS also are said to be natives of this place. It is at present an Archbishop's see.

Marathon.

8. Marathon, situate about forty miles to the north east of Athens, near the gulph of Negropont, where that memorable battle was fought between the Athenians, commanded by MILTIADES, and the Persians, who were more than ten times their number, and yet lost the victory. This city is now reduced to an inconsiderable village. 9. Aulis a sea port over against Negropont, about twenty miles to the eastward of Thebes, where it is said the Grecian fleet rendezvoused when they went to the siege of Troy. 10. Platæa, situate between Thebes and Athens, where the Lacedæmonians, under the command of PAUSANIAS, obtained a signal victory over the Persians, which entirely ruined the enterprise of XERXES against Greece; but there are scarce any remains of that city to be discerned at present.

CHAP. X.

Treats of Peloponnesus or Morea.

Peloponnesus.

THIS country obtained the name of Peloponnesus, from PELOPS, the son of TANTALUS, who planted a colony here, and was for some time the Sovereign of it. Before that time it had gone under several names, being first called Argos Achaicum, to distinguish it from Argos Pelasgicum, in Thessaly. Afterwards Ægialia, from ÆGIALUS, King of the Sicyonians: and then Apia, from APIS, the third King of Argos. The present name Morea, is said to be derived from morus, a mulberry tree, either because it

Its name.

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resembles that leaf in form, or because of the great numbers of mulberry trees, which flourish here. It extends from 36 degrees odd minutes north latitude to 38 degrees some odd minutes, being a peninsula situate in the Mediterranean sea, to the southward of Achaia, from which it is divided by the gulph of Lepanto, the isthmus of Corinth, and the gulph of Engia, antiently called the Saronick gulph, and is about an hundred and eighty miles in length from east to west, and an hundred and thirty in breadth from north to south. The principal rivers are 1. Carbon or Orsea, antiently called Alphæus, to which the poets attributed a miraculous course, as that it passed under the Ionian sea, and rose again in Sicily, intermixing its waters with the fountain Arethusa. This river rises in the mountain Stymphalus, and running through Arcadia receives the rivers Celadon and Amarynth, with above an hundred other rivulets, and afterwards falls into the gulph of Castel di Tornese. 2. Eurotas, whose source being in Arcadia, passes through Laconia, and falls into the gulph of Pastel Rampani. 3. Planizza, antiently Inachus. 4. Pamissus, or Spirnazza, which falls into the gulph of Coran near Calamata. And, 5. Sty, whose waters are so excessive cold, that they are generally fatal to those that drink them, and is by the poets feigned to be one of the rivers of hell.

Situation.

Rivers.

Grand division.

The Morea is usually divided by geographers into four parts, or districts, viz. 1. Saccania, or Romania Minor, comprehending the antient Argya, Sicyonia and Corinthia, and bounded by the gulph of Engia on the north, the Egæan sea on the east, Napoli de Romania on the south, and the dutchy of Clarenza on the west.

2. Zachonia, or Braccio de Mana, comprehending the antient Arcadia and Laconia, and is bounded by Saccania on the north, the Egæan sea towards the east, the sea of Sapienza on the south, and the district of Belvidere towards the west.

3. Belvidere, bounded by Clarenza on the north, from which it is separated by the river Carbon, or Orsea, by Zochonia on the east, by the sea of Sapienza on the south, and by the Ionian sea towards the west.

4. The dutchy of Clarenza, containing Achaia Proper, and bounded by the gulph of Lepanto towards the north, by Saccania towards the east, by Zachonia and Belvidere towards the south, and by the gulph of Putras towards the west.

Napoli de Romania.

In Succania, or Romania Minor, the chief towns are, 1. Napoli de Romania, antiently Naupha, situate at the bottom of a gulph of the Egæan sea, to which it at present gives its name; but was antiently called Argolicus sinus: it stands on a promontory, or cape, which is divided in two parts, one side whereof shoots out into the sea,

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ſea, and forms a fine harbour, whoſe entrance is ſo narrow that more than one veſſel cannot eaſily enter it at a time, and the paſſage to it by land is almoſt inacceſſible, being by a narrow ſtony ſtreight between the mountain Palimida and the ſea: there is alſo a citadel about an hundred yards from the city, which, with its advantageous ſituation, renders it one of the ſtrongeſt towns in the Morea, of which it is generally reckoned the capital: it lyes ſouth of Corinth, and is ſaid to contain ſixty thouſand Grecian inhabitants, beſides others, and is the ſee of an Archbiſhop.

Argos.

2. Argos Peloponneſiacum, ſo called to diſtinguiſh it from Argos Pelaſgicum in Theſſaly, and ſome other towns of the ſame name in Greece, is ſituate on the river Inachus, now Naio, to the weſtward of Napoli, and about thirty miles ſouth of Corinth: it was antiently a magnificent city, and capital of a kingdom, till PERSEUS removed the regal ſeat to Mycenæ: it is ſtill a Biſhop's ſee, and has a citadel for its defence, but is otherwiſe a very poor place at preſent.

Corinth.

3. Corinth, or Coritho, called by the Turks Gereme, and antiently Ephyra, is ſituate in the latitude of thirty eight degrees fourteen minutes, and ſtands between the gulphs of Lepanto and Engia, about fifty miles to the weſtward of Athens, and about eighty to the eaſtward of Patias. As we go to the Morea from Achaia the town is on the right hand juſt within the Iſthmus, being diſtant from the gulph of Lepanto, or Corinth, about two miles, and from the gulph of Engia, or the Saronick gulph, between ſix and ſeven miles; part of the town ſtands in, or near the caſtle, and the other part below it on the north, upon an eaſy deſcent towards the gulph of Lepanto, being a mile diſtant from the caſtle: the buildings are not contiguous, but ſix, eight or ten houſes near together, with gardens, orchards and corn fields between one hamlet and another: the largeſt hamlet is that where the market-place is, conſiſting of about an hundred houſes; ſo that Corinth may rather be looked upon as a great village than a city at this day, were it not for the caſtle, and that it is ſtill an Archbiſhop's ſee. From the lower town to the caſtle, antiently called Acro Corinthus, is a very ſteep aſcent for about a mile, with ſeveral turnings and windings before we come at it; for the caſtle is ſeated on a very high rock, with a precipice on every ſide of it, but not ſo deep on the ſouth ſide, where the entrance is as on the other parts of it; for, from thence there runs a ridge of hills two or three miles to the ſouthward into the Morea, which is the only part by which an enemy can approach it. Moſt of the inhabitants of the lower town have houſes alſo within, or near the caſtle, where they ſecure their beſt effects, being frequently viſited by Turkiſh, or Chriſtian rovers, and hither they run upon every alarm; ſo that though their houſes and vills in the lower town are extremely pleaſant, the grounds about them being planted with orange, lemon and cypreſs-trees; yet nothing is more inſecure, it ſeems, than theſe delightful abodes. There are three or four moſques and five or ſix ſmall churches in the caſtle, and two or three of each in the lower town; but travellers obſerve, that Chriſtianity is at a very low ebb here, and that no people can be more ignorant of the principles of their religion than the preſent Chriſtians about Corinth.

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From the caſtle on every ſide there is the fineſt proſpect imaginable, for on the one hand you ſee the Saronick gulph, with all the little iſlands diſperſed about it; and beyond, the iſlands of the Archipelago, which ſeem to cloſe up the mouth of the gulph: on the other hand you ſee the gulph of Lepanto as far as beyond Sicyon, and on the north the ſight is bounded by thoſe famous mountains in Greece, Parnaſſus, &c. already mentioned, which the antient poets have ſo beautifully deſcribed. The plain of Corinth towards Sicyon is watered by two rivulets, well manured, and planted with olive-yards and vine-yards, and having many little villages ſcattered up and down in it, is none of the leaſt ornaments of this proſpect: the town alſo, which lyes to the northward of the caſtle, in little knots of houſes ſurrounded with groves, gardens and vineyards, intermixed with corn fields is no ſmall addition to the proſpect. This valley produces great plenty of the beſt oil, good wine, and ſuch abundance of corn, that it ſupplies the barren countries about it. The Corinthians ſeem to want nothing to make them a wealthy people, but more ſecurity from the rovers, and a milder government; but where people are ever in danger of an enemy from abroad, and their properties are precarious at home, what pleaſure can the fineſt country, or the moſt fruitful fields afford?

The Iſthm

The narroweſt part of the iſthmus is about ſix miles north-eaſt, or according to Sir GEORGE WHEELER, almoſt directly eaſt of Corinth; but nearer to Corinth, there is a village called Heximila, where it is ſix miles over, and here ſome Princes antiently began to cut a channel in order to join the two ſeas together, but were deterred from that enterprize, as it is ſaid, by the oracle: near this place were celebrated the iſthmian games on part of mount Oneius, where may ſtill be ſeen the ruins of a town, and the remains of the iſthmian theatre, with the ruins of ſeveral temples dedicated to NEPTUNE, to the Sun, to DIANA, to PLUTO, to Plenty, to BACCHUS, &c. and there are yet remaining ſome foundations of the wall built by the Lacedæmonians, from one ſea to the other, to ſecure the peninſula from the incurſions of the Athenians and

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and other enemies of their ſtate; which the Venetians repaired when they were in poſſeſſion of the Morea. 4. Sicycon now Baſilica, once the capital of the kingdom of Sicyona, ſituate on the river Aſopus, about twenty miles ſouth-weſt of Corinth, and four from the ſea of Lepanto. The town is now utterly deſtroyed, but there are abundance of ruins, both antient and modern, and particularly of a theatre and ſtadium, the wall of the caſtle, and of ſeveral churches and moſques. 5. Nemæa, famous for its grove, where antiently games were celebrated in honour of HERCULES. It ſtands about five and twenty miles ſouth of Corinth, and is now a little village. 6. Mycenæ or Charia, once the capital of a kingdom, about ten miles north of Argos, now alſo reduced to a village.

Sicyon.

Nemæa

In the diſtrict of Zachonia or Braccio de Mana are the following towns, viz. 1. Lacedæmon or Sparta, on or near the ruins of which the preſent Miſitra ſtands in the ſouth-eaſt part of the Morea on the river Eurotas, about thirty miles from the place where it diſcharges itſelf into the ſinus Laconicus; now the gulph of Colochine, and about forty miles to the ſouthward of Napoli de Romania. Lacedæmon is ſuppoſed to be founded a thouſand years before the building of Rome; the form of the city was round, and about ſix miles in circumference; few cities arrived to greater military glory: LYCURGUS left them their rules of government, their two chief Magiſtrates had the title of Kings, but little of their prerogatives, being in truth ſubject to their Senate; and afterwards they were governed by five Magiſtrates called the Ephori, CLEOMENES depoſed the Ephori, and uſurped the government, but was himſelf conquered by the Macedonians, and his country added to that monarchy. The modern town of Miſitra is an epiſcopal ſee, and conſiſts of four diviſions, (viz.) the town, the caſtle, and two large ſuburbs; the caſtle is advantageouſly ſituated on mount Taygetus; within its walls formerly ſtood the temples of DIANA, LIPATHERIA, and MINERVA PENACHAIDE. The town lyes at the foot of the caſtle, and conſiſts of two ſpacious ſtreets with ſeveral others croſſing them. The old market place is beautified with a noble fountain, and a church built out of the ruins of MINERVA's temple: here are alſo the ruins of the gallery or portico, built in memory of the victory over the Perſians at Platæa, the temple of HELEN, the temple of HERCULES, and the temple of VENUS ARMATA; which were all built of marble: in the town alſo ſtands the cathedral called panagia, or the all holy, the roof whereof is ſupported by fine marble pillars, and covered with ſeven domes or cupolas; the pavement being a curious piece of Moſaick work: and in the moſochorion, or middle ſuburb, is another church extremely fine: without the walls are ſtill to be ſeen, the platon or grove of plane-trees, with the dromas, where the Spartans had their races, wreſtlings, and other exerciſes.

Zacho-nia. Lacedæmon or Miſitra.

2. Malvaſia, or Napoli de Malvaſia, antiently Epidaurus, ſituate on a rock in the ſea, in the eaſtern part of the Morea, about forty miles to the eaſtward of Miſitra: it has a communication with the continent by a wooden bridge, and is a place of ſtrength: here is a tolerable harbour defended by a citadel, and though it be founded upon a rock, is well ſupplied with ſprings of freſh water, and gardens, and vineyards about it, and is the ſee of an Archbiſhop.

Malvaſia.

3. Zarnata, a town of ſome ſtrength, about thirty miles ſouth-weſt of Miſitra, and but a little way from the gulph of Coron. 4. Chielefa, a ſtrong town ſituate on a high rock, about two miles from the ſea, and fifteen from cape Matapan, in the place where the antient Vitulo ſtood. 5. Colochina, only remarkable for giving name to the bay antiently called ſinus Laconicus. 6. Megolopolis, antiently the metropolis of Arcadia, called Leontari, a ſmall city at the foot of a mountain on the river Alpheus, forty miles north-weſt of Lacedæmon, and ſtands about the center of the Morea.

The chief towns in Belvidere are, 1. Modon or Mutum, antiently Methone, a Biſhop's ſee, ſituate on the ſouth coaſt of the Morea, over-againſt the little iſland of Sapienza, a wealthy trading city, and a place of great ſtrength, with a commodious harbour. 2. Corone, about twenty miles to the eaſtward of Modon, gives name to a bay formerly called Sinus Meſſinaicus, and is a town of great importance. 3. Moſſeniga, the antient Meſſine, ten miles to the north of Corone. 4. Calamata, an unwalled town, ſtands on the confluence of the rivers Aris and Camiſſus, about ten miles from the bottom of the gulph of Coron. 5. Navarina, or Pylus Meſſeniaca, one of the moſt antient towns of the Morea, ſituate near the ſea, on the weſt ſide of the promontory which Modon and Coron ſtands on; being about thirteen miles north of Modon, eſteemed the beſt and moſt capacious harbour in the Morea, for which reaſon it was appointed by Sultan IBRAHIM for the rendezvous of his fleet in the enterprize upon Candia. 6. Caſtle Torneſe, a ſmall town on the weſt ſide of the Morea, near cape Torneſe, between the gulphs of Arcadia and Patras, about three miles from the coaſt: it is advantageouſly ſituated on an eminence in a pleaſant country. 7. Belvidere, which gives name to the duchy, the Elis of the antients, is a large town ſituate on the river Peneus, fifteen miles to the eaſtward of the Ionian ſea, and about ten to the northward of Caſtle Torneſe, and was named by the Greeks Calloſcopium, and by

Belvidere. Modon.

Corone.

Navarina.

Caſtle Torneſe.

Belder

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by the Italians Belvidere, on account of its agreeable ſituation. 8. Arcadia, formerly Cypariſſa, once a conſiderable city on the weſtern coaſt of the Morea, is not remarkable for any thing at preſent, but giving its name to a large bay, 9. Langanico, formerly Olympia, ſituate on the river Alpheus, not far from the place where it diſcharges itſelf into the gulph of Arcadia, about fifty miles to the ſouthward of Patras. It was famous antiently for the games inſtituted by HERCULES, and celebrated every fifth year in the adjacent fields, where the young nobility of Greece contended for the prize, and eſteemed a victory here almoſt equal to one obtained in war. And from hence came the computation of time by Olympiads.

Arcadia. Olympa.

In the duchy of Clarenza the chief towns are, 1. Patras, ſituate on a hill half a mile from the ſea, over-againſt the iſland of Cephalonia, and about ten miles to the ſouthward of the ſtreights at the entrance of the gulph of Lepanto. AUGUSTUS CÆSAR bringing his fleet into this harbour conferred many privileges on the place, and commanded the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns to remove thither, giving it the name of Colonia Auguſta Arva Patrenſis. It is ſtill a place of ſome trade, and an Archbiſhop's ſee. The caſtle ſtands upon the higheſt point of the hill, having a deſcent every way into a fruitful valley, well planted with oranges, lemons, and citrons: taken notice of by travellers for their delicious flavour: this city gives name to the ſea which flows between the Morea and the iſland of Cephalonia. 2. Clarenza or Chiarenza, which gives name to the duchy, the antient Cylene, the country of MERCURY, from whence he was ſirnamed CYLENIUS; at preſent a heap of ruins; ſuch vaſt maſſes of wall, ſays Sir GEORGE WHEELER, there are turned upſide down and joined together with ſo hard a cement, that they are not much broken, and ſo large that nothing but gunpowder or an earthquake could have removed them from their foundation; the port alſo is now filled up with ſand. 3. Caminitza, a little town upon the river Evenus, about twelve miles ſouth of Patras, ſuppoſed to be the antient Olenus, at preſent a Biſhop's ſee under the Archbiſhop of Patras.

Clarenza, Patras. Clarenza.

I proceed now to enquire into the ſtate of the iſlands under the dominion of the Turk, in the Archipelago and Levant ſeas.

CHAP. XI.

Treats of the iſland of Candia.

Candia, olim Crete, its ſituation, and extent.

CANDIA, antiently Crete, called alſo Hecatompolis from its hundred cities, is ſituate in the Mediterranean, and extending from the 35th to the 36th degree of north latitude, and from the 23d to the 27th degree of longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London, being about ſixty miles in breadth from north to ſouth, and upwards of two hundred in length from eaſt to weſt; it hath the Archipelago on the north, the Morea to the north-weſt, and Aſia Minor on the north-eaſt: there are no conſiderable rivers in this iſland, though there are many little ſtreams of which Lethe is one of the largeſt; Gortyna, once the capital of the iſland, was ſituate upon it: as to mountains, the famous mount Ida covers great part of the middle of the iſland; but whatever fine things the Greek poets or hiſtorians may have ſaid of it, there are ſcarce any trees or herbage to be found upon this hill, it is only a huge barren rock without any agreeable landskips, pleaſant grottos, fountains or rivulets, except one poor well which ſerves to keep the half ſtarved cattle that brouze upon the ſhrubs from periſhing: on whatever ſide we turned our eyes, ſays Monſieur TOURNEFORT (who was lately a ſimpling on mount Ida) we ſaw nothing but quagmires and deep abyſſes covered with ſnow, except the ſea which we diſcovered at a diſtance both on the ſouth and north: when we came to the foot of the mountain, indeed, ſays our author, we entered a large open valley planted with orange trees, olives, pomegranates, mulberries, cypreſs, wallnuts, myrtles, bays and all kinds of fruit, where the villages ſtand thick, and their waters are admirable. The chief towns of the iſland are 1. Candia or Matium, antiently Crete, the capital of the iſland, and an Archbiſhop's ſee, ſituate almoſt in the middle, of the north ſide of it, in a plain at the foot of a mountain: the harbour, which was once a very good one, travellers who have lately viſited the iſland tell us, is now choaked up, and can admit of no veſſels larger than boats; ſhips of burthen lye under the iſle of Dia; almoſt oppoſite to the town: Candia, ſays TOURNEFORT, is now but the carcaſe of a large city, well peopled when under the dominion of the Venetians, of a flouriſhing trade, and remarkable for its ſtrength, but at preſent little better than a deſert except the market place, and ſome few of the principal ſtreets, the reſt are but rubbiſh, and have remained ſo ever ſince the laſt ſiege, which was the moſt obſtinate that has happened within the memory of man, and of more than twice the duration of the ſiege of Troy: the Turks inveſted it in the beginnning of the year 1645. and after ſeveral fierce attacks, in which they loſt great numbers of their troops, they were obliged to remove to a greater diſtance. They continued the blockade of the place however to the year 1667. exerciſing the garriſon with perpetual alarms, and intercepting their proviſions, and then renewed their

Rivers. Mount Ida. Candia.

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their attacks again: but the Turks not being ſtrong enough at ſea to block up all the avenues, freſh ſupplies were continually thrown into the place; ſo that the garriſon held out till the latter end of September 1669, and ſurrendered at laſt upon honourable terms, after they had been ſtormed ſix and fifty times. The Venetians loſt upwards of thirty thouſand men; and the Turks above an hundred and eighty thouſand, during the ſiege. The city was almoſt entirely demoliſhed; the bells and ornaments of their churches and houſes were carried off by the beſieged; and ſcarce ten Venetians remained in the place when the Turks took poſſeſſion of it.

Canea. 2. Canea, the antient Cydon, the ſecond town in the iſland, is a ſea port, near an hundred miles to the weſtward of Candia. The body of the place makes a good appearance. Its walls are faced with ſtone, and there is one gate to the landward. The port is expoſed to the north wind, but otherwiſe would be a pretty good one, if it was taken care of. There is ſtill to be ſeen the ruins of a noble arſenal, towards the farther end of the baſon, which was built by the Venetians. All that remains of it are the arches of the workhouſes, where they fitted up their gallies. The Turks here, as at Candia, and indeed every where elſe, neglect the repairs both of the walls and publick buildings, and even the caſtle is entirely ruined, poſſibly relying upon their ſuperior force, they do not think it worth while to lay out their time and money in repairing their fortifications; and there may be this farther advantage of their lying in a defenceleſs condition, that if they ſhould happen to be ſurprized they would be the more eaſily retaken: but though this may be a rule with them, in their frontier places which lye next the Venetians, they are forced to keep their towns in better repair, which lye next the Emperor's dominions in Hungary, for the Imperialiſts ſeem to be as much ſuperior to the Turks in the field, as they are to the Venetians.

Retimo. 3. Retimo, ſituate upon the ſame northern coaſt of the iſland, almoſt in the midway between Candia, and Canea. It had a tolerable harbour, and a citadel built for the ſecurity of it, but the walls of the town, ſays TOURNEFORT, are fitter to encloſe a park, than to defend a town, and the port being utterly neglected is now choked up.

Spina Longa. 4. Spina Longa, ſaid to have a good port and caſtle for its defence, towards the north eaſt part of the iſland.

The architecture of the private houſes in the largeſt towns of the iſland is but indifferent: they have uſually two floors, and terraſſed roofs, but inſtead of a ſtair caſe, they aſcend from one floor to another by a ladder, but there are no where better materials for building. They make uſe of white marble in building cottages in their villages, only becauſe that ſtone is more eaſily come at than any other, but as they ſeldom give themſelves much trouble in hewing or poliſhing it, they plaiſter over the beſt marble to make the walls appear white and ſmooth, and ſeldom have more than one floor in their country tenements. Inſtead of windows they leave a little opening in the roof, to let in the light. But in ſpeaking of the towns and buildings of Candia, we muſt not forget Gortyna, once the capital of the iſland, whoſe ruins are ſtill magnificent. It was ſituated upon the river Lether, about ſix miles to the ſouthward of mount Ida, at the foot of ſome low hills, as you enter the plain of Meſſaria, the moſt fertile of the whole iſland; it is impoſſible, ſays TOURNEFORT, to look upon theſe ruins without concern. They plow, ſow, and feed their cattle among the wrecks of a prodigious quantity of marble, jaſper, and granate ſtone, exquiſitely wrought. Here is part of one of the city gates ſtill remaining, with a multitude of pedeſtals ranged two and two in parallel lines, which ſupported the columns in the frontiſpiece of ſome temple, with abundance of fine capitals and architraves; but the Turks have carried many of them to patch up very indifferent buildings, particularly at a village about two musket ſhots from the place, are ſet up two fine antique columns at a garden gate, with a poor hurdle between them. At the north weſt end of the ruins are ſeen the remains of the Metropolitan church, and of a monaſtery near it. And not far from thence, the reſidue of an aqueduct, the arch whereof is between ſix and ſeven feet high; and it ſeems there are yet medals extant of Gortyna, ſtruck with the heads of GERMANICUS, CALIGULA, TRAJAN, and ADRIAN.

Gortyna.

A labyrinth. Three miles from Gortyna, under a little hill at the foot of mount Ida there is a ſubterranean paſſage, or labyrinth, which by a thouſand intricacies and windings, without the leaſt appearance of regularity, runs quite through the hill: the entrance into it is by a natural opening ſeven or eight paces broad, but ſo low that it cannot be paſſed without ſtooping in ſome places: the floor is very ruggid and uneven, but the roof flat, made by beds of ſtone laid horizontally: the principal alley, which is not ſo difficult to paſs as the reſt, is in length about twelve hundred paces, and reaches to the end of the labyrinth, which terminates in two large beautiful apartments, where people reſt themſelves, who have the curioſity to venture ſo far: the moſt dangerous part of the great alley is about thirty paces from the mouth of it; if a man ſtrikes into any other path he is immediately bewildered among a thouſand turnings and windings, from whence it is almoſt impoſſible to find his way out again: travellers therefore always provide themſelves with guides and torches: TOURNEFORT ſays, the guides led him, and

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his company, through the middle alley; that they poſted one of their people at the mouth of the cavern to call help from the next towns in caſe they ſhould not return in time, and at every turning they paſted up ſcrolls of paper numbered; the guides alſo ſcattered ſtraw on the ground that they might be the better enabled to trace their way back again, and with theſe precautions they arrived at the two rooms at the farther end; which were almoſt round, cut out of the rock, and about four fathom wide: here they diſcovered ſeveral inſcriptions and dates of years cut in the ſtone by thoſe who had been there before: and among theſe, Mr. TOURNEFORT ſays, he met with ſome which confirmed him in his opinion of the vegetation of ſtones, for the engravings which had been made inſtead of being hollow and concave, as they were at firſt, were become convex, and ſtood up like baſſo relievo: the matter of them, he obſerved, was white, though the ſtone they iſſued from was greyiſh. This baſſo relievo (as he calls it) he imagines to be a kind of calloſity formed by the nutritious juice of the ſtone, extravaſated by little and little into the channellings made by the graver. After a thorough examination of the ſtructure of this labyrinth, Mr. TOURNEFORT and his company were all of opinion it could not have been a quarry, as BELONIUS and ſome other moderns have ſuggeſted, out of which the towns of Gortyna and Gnoſſus were built: for, ſays our author, is it likely they would go for ſtones above a thouſand paces deep? neither is it to be conceived how they ſhould draw them through ſo ſtreight a place as ſome part of the paſſage is, where our travellers were forced to go on all four for an hundred paces together: he thinks it much more probable therefore that this labyrinth is a natural cavity enlarged, and reduced into better order than it was originally by ſome curious people, who had a fancy to try what they could make of it; and the reaſon why they did not meddle with that narrow neck above mentioned, might be to let poſterity know how the reſt was naturally formed, for beyond that place the alley is as beautiful as on this ſide of it. The whole cavern is extremely dry, not the leaſt water, or moiſture to be diſcerned about it, and many rocks there are in the iſland, which have their caverns and openings, ſuch our author thinks as theſe originally were. He does not however imagine this to be the labyrinth the antients mention in this iſland, for that was made after the model of the Egyptian labyrinth, one of the fineſt fabricks in the world.

Perſons of the natives.

As to the preſent inhabitants of this iſland, they conſiſt of Greeks, Armenians, Turks, and Jews, of which the Greeks are moſt numerous, but the Turk is the ſovereign. The natives are generally tall perſonable men, vigorous and robuſt, and exerciſe themſelves in hunting, hawking, and ſhooting with the bow, for the laſt of which the inhabitants have been long famous. As for their morals, both ſacred and prophane writers have born very hard upon them. The impurity of their amours, their lazineſs and want of truth and probity, ſeem to have been very notorious: but Mr. TOURNEFORT is of opinion, the preſent generation is not ſo bad. There are not, he aſſures us, any robbers, cut-throats or beggars, to be found in the iſland at preſent.

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Habits.

The habit of the Turks is the ſame here as in other parts of Europe. The Greek peaſants wear a red leather cap, a pair of blue callico drawers and veſt, and are uſually very neat about the feet, having red leathern ſlippers or buskins. The women have alſo their veſt and drawers much of the ſame make, and a vail thrown over all when they appear abroad; but the Jewiſh women in Candia our author admires much. People of condition here keep beautiful Barbary horſes in their ſtables, thoſe of the iſland are a ſmall ſort, but very uſeful in climbing their rocks; they tread ſure and firm upon the moſt frightful precipices and deſcents, it is ſaid, if you give them their heads; if they fall, it is by the rider's holding too tight a rein. When I happened to be upon the edge of a precipice therefore, ſays TOURNEFORT, inſtead of pretending to regulate my horſe's motions, I ſhut my eyes while I was out of danger.

Animals.

As to other animals, they have oxen, ſheep, hogs, hares, rabbets, poultry, pigeons, woodcocks, wheat-ears, &c. but no deer or wild beaſts whatever.

Corn, &c.

The country alſo produces corn, wine, oil, ſilk, wool, honey, wax, and laudanum, and ſome cotton. Their wheat is good, and yet their bread is ſcarce eatable, being only thin dough cakes. Their wines, both red and white, are exquiſitely good. The wines of this country, ſays our author, have juſt tartneſs enough to qualify their ſweetneſs, and thoſe who have once taſted them, muſt deſpiſe all other wine. JUPITER never drank any other nectar, when he was King of the iſland.

I ſhall conclude the deſcription of Candy with the account Mr. TOURNEFORT gives us of the country about Canea. You ſee, ſays that author, groves of olive trees, diverſified with pleaſant fields, vineyards, gardens, and cryſtal ſtreams, ſhaded with myrtle and laurel. The Governor's garden is a little wood of orange trees, lemons, and cedars, intermixed with plumbs, pears, and cherries, neither regularly planted, or pruned and looked after as they ought to be, and notwithſtanding they are burthened with dead or ſuperfluous branches, yet do they put forth their bloſſoms with profuſion. Every man is content with what he finds in his garden, as nature produces it, without

without care or pains; but we are not to think that the whole island thus abounds in delicious fruits. More than one half of it is taken up with barren rocky mountains, which produce nothing that afford either delight or food.

CHAP. XII.

Treats of the islands of Cyprus and Rhodes.

THE island of Cyprus is situate in the most easterly part of the Levant between the 34th and 36th degrees of north latitude, sixty miles south of the coast of Caramania or Cilicia, thirty west of the coast of Syria, and about three hundred miles to the eastward of Candia, and is supposed to have obtained the name of Cyprus, from the great number of cypress trees, which flourish here. The island stretches from the south west to the north-east, being about an hundred and fifty miles in length, and seventy in breadth in the broadest part, but much wider on the south west, than on the north-east. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Nicosia, the capital of the island, being at present the seat of the Beglerbeg or Viceroy, and formerly the residence of their Kings. It stands near the middle of the country, and is about three miles in circumference, but much fallen to decay since it has been in the power of the Turks. The cathedral which went by the name of St. Sophia is converted into a Turkish mosque; there are however three or four Greek churches in the place, and it is still an Archbishop's see, who has three suffragans under him, viz. The Bishops of Batto, Larneza and Cerenes. The Latins and Armenians have also their several churches here. 2. Famagusta, antiently Salamis, a port town on the east part of the island, almost over against Tripoli in Syria, once a good harbour, and a place of strength, but vessels of any burthen cannot enter it at present. 3. Paphos or Baffo, the antient Paphia, situate at the west end of the island. 4. Serines, on the north. 5. Salines or Larneca which stands on the south side of the island, not far from cape de Gate: and 6. Lymisso or Amathus to the south, being now esteemed the best port in Cyprus. The most remarkable mountain here is called, Olympus, about 18 leagues in circumference, and well planted with trees. As for rivers there are none, but what are made by the rains, which failing them for almost thirty years together, in the time of CONSTANTINE the Great, it is said the inhabitants were obliged to remove to other countries. The air of this country is for the most part hot and dry, and not very healthful; the soil however produces corn, wine, oil, cotton, wool, salt, and some silk; their best wine grows at the foot of mount Olympus, and they have not only enough for their own use, but serve the neighbouring countries with it, and they have great plenty of flesh, fish and fowl, there is also a pretty considerable trade drove here. The Europeans have their consuls and factors in the island, particularly the Turkey company of England. Whilst Cyprus was under the dominion of the Christians, it was well peopled, having no less than eight hundred or a thousand villages in it; their towns also made a good appearance, but as the Turks bring ruin and desolation with them wherever they come, it is now so thinly inhabited, that half the lands lye uncultivated, and the noble buildings the Venetians erected when they were masters of it, are most of them demolished; the present inhabitants are Turks, Jews, Greeks, Armenians, Maronites, and some few Latins, the Greek Christians are most numerous; many of their best churches were taken from them when the Turks conquered the island, and turned into mosques; the people are very heavily taxed and rigorously used by their Mahometan masters, which occasions many of them to apostatize, and outwardly at least embrace the Turkish faith, especially the loose and profligate who can find no advantage in professing a religion, which is attended with so much reproach and oppression as Christianity is here.

There are several kinds of earth here fit for the painters use, particularly red, yellow, and black; they are said also to have a stone or mineral of which the antients made a kind of thread, which would not consume in the fire, and the linen made of it, was cleaned and purified by burning: there have been some pretty experiments of this kind, of a modern date, but if it have the durableness of stone or iron, probably it wants the softness of other linen, and will scarce ever be introduced in the room of it; but one great inconvenience, not yet mentioned, which Cyprus is subject to, is those swarms of locusts which visit them in the hot season, appearing like clouds at a little distance, and were they not driven into the sea, by a north wind which happens about that time, would devour all the fruits of the earth.

This island was antiently consecrated to VENUS, from thence called Venus Cypria and Dea Cypri, and the natives are charged with being a loose lascivious people, suitable to the Goddess they adored, insomuch that their women would prostitute themselves to any foreigners who visited their shores; and what could be expected better from a generation who looked upon the gratifying their inclinations to be an act of religion: this country has however produced some considerable poets and philosophers, and the Apostle BARNABAS also was a native of this island, who with St. PAUL first planted Christianity amongst them,

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them, and their Archbiſhop on this account was made independent of the ſee of Antioch, to which all the reſt of the eaſtern Biſhops were formerly ſubject.

Summary of their hiſtory.

This iſland, like moſt others, was at firſt governed by ſeveral petty ſovereigns or heads of families, who were afterwards brought under the dominion of the Egyptians, and next of the Phœnicians their neighbours; at leaſt each of theſe nations had their colonies here upon the ſea coaſt, and kept the inland natives in ſubjection to them: CYRUS the Perſian Emperor afterwards invaded the iſland, which he found under the dominion of nine ſeveral Sovereigns, whom he ſuffered after his conqueſt to retain the name and authority of Kings, but obliged them to pay him an annual tribute. ALEXANDER the Great, next made a conqueſt of it, and in the diviſion of his empire it fell to the ſhare of PTOLEMY King of Egypt, under whoſe ſucceſſors it remained till the Romans caſting an eye on the wealth of the country, without any colour for invading it, ſent PORCIUS CATO to reduce it under their power, which he effected, bringing back with him to Rome the ſpoils of the iſland, which amounted to ſeven thouſand talents: the Saracens afterwards plundered it, but it returned to the obedience of the Greek Emperors again, to whom it fell on the diviſion of the empire. About the year 1191. RICHARD I. King of England, putting in here for freſh water in his voyage to the Holy-land, met with a very unhoſpitable reception, whereupon he ſubdued the iſland, and transferred his right to it, to GUY LUSIGNAN the titular King of Jeruſalem, in whoſe family it remained till the year fourteen hundred twenty three; when the Sultan of Egypt invaded the iſland, taking JOHN the King priſoner, whom he admitted to ranſom for a great ſum of money, and permitted him to enjoy his kingdom again, under a tribute of forty thouſand crowns per ann. and about the year 1473, one of theſe tributary Princes made the Senate of Venice his heir, who held it about an hundred years, under the like tribute. When SELIMIS the Turkiſh Emperor, as Sovereign of Egypt, claimed a title to Cyprus, and his Grand Vizier MUSTAPHA, ſitting down before the city of Famaguſta, then the ſtrongeſt town in the iſland, obliged the Governor Seignior BRIGANDINO to ſurrender upon honourable terms in the year 1570. But the perfidious Turk having taken poſſeſſion of the place, barbarouſly murdered the principal inhabitants in cold blood, and the Governor who had bravely defended the place to the laſt extremity he ordered to be flea'd alive and hanged up at the yard arm of his ſhip, and having afterwards reduced the city of Nicoſia, all the other towns in the iſland ſurrendered at diſcretion; the principal inhabitants being cut off, the peaſants and artificers were permitted to follow their ſeveral religions and profeſſions paying ſuch a tribute as the Sultan thought fit to impoſe on them: but it is reported of a Cyprian Lady, whom the Grand Vizier had ſent as a preſent to his maſter, with two large ſhips loaded with the plunder of the iſland, that the Lady to avoid the embraces of the Sultan, found means to blow up one of the ſhips, and thereby deſtroyed herſelf and all the people in both the veſſels, which ſeems to be applauded by all our hiſtorians as a very heroick action: but if all the mariners and paſſengers periſhed, it muſt be very difficult methinks to know how the accident happened; and were the ſtory true, the Lady ſeems to have rated her virginity a little too high, to think that the deſtruction of ſome hundreds of ſouls was not equivalent to the loſs of it, and after all, her Ladyſhip's chaſtity might have been as well ſecured in the Grand Seignior's haram as in a cloiſter, for he cannot be ſuppoſed to know a tenth part of the beauties there, and they are pretty ſecurely guarded from the violence of others in his place.

Rhodes. Situation and extent.

The moſt conſiderable iſland in the Mediterranean, next to Candia and Cyprus, is Rhodes, ſituate between the 36th and 37th degrees of northern latitude, about ſixty miles north-eaſt of the iſland of Candia; and two hundred and fifty to the weſtward of Cyprus, and not more than twenty ſouth-weſt of the continent of Aſia Minor: it is about fifty miles in length from north to ſouth, and half as much in breadth, or rather leſs. It has formerly gone under the names of Aſteria, Ethræa, Corymbia, and many others; as for the name of Rhodes, ſome are of opinion that it was ſo called by the Grecians from the abundance of roſes the ſoil produces, Rhodes in that language ſignifying a roſe. While the poets feign it received this name from RHODA, one of the daughters of APOLLO by VENUS. The chief towns are, 1. Rhodes ſituate on the north-eaſt part of the iſland, having a tolerable good harbour, and as ſome ſay three harbours, but two of them will receive only very ſmall veſſels: the city ſtands part of it on the riſing of a hill, and is three miles in circumference. the ſtreets broad, ſtraight and well paved, and the largeſt is paved in the middle with marble from one end to the other. In this ſtreet are ſtill to be ſeen the apartments of the Knights of St. JOHN of Jeruſalem, and the palace of the Grand Maſter, but very much decayed; for as the Turks did not demoliſh them upon their taking the place; ſo neither will they do any thing towards the repairing of the moſt beautiful buildings whatever: the Grand Maſter's palace is ſeated on the higheſt part of the hill, now converted into a priſon for the Chams of Tartary, whoſe the Grand

Name.

Rhodes.

The priſ of the Ta tar Prin

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Grand Seignior baniſhes hither when he depoſes them, and he has almoſt always one of the Royal Family of that Prince here to ſet up againſt him if he diſputes his orders: the church of St. JOHN, which adjoins to that palace, is now a moſque: the city is defended by three walls, and as many ditches, and eſteemed one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in the Sultan's dominions: the inhabitants conſiſt of Turks, Jews, and Chriſtians, but the Chriſtians have only ſhops within the walls, and are obliged to have their dwellings without the city, whither they retire every night. Lindus and Camirus were antiently conſiderable towns in the iſland; but I do not find there are any worth obſervation at preſent, except Rhodes.

The air of this iſland is very healthful, and the country exceeding pleaſant, clothed with trees and herbage always green, and a day ſcarce ever happens, it is ſaid, wherein the ſun does not ſhine upon them; their wines are much admired, and the country affords ſuch plenty of all things beſides, which can render life agreeable, that it gave occaſion to the fiction of golden ſhowers. Indeed they do not abound in corn, but then they are well ſupplied with it from the neighbouring continent of Natolia. At the mouth of the harbour of Rhodes, which is fifty fathoms wide, it is ſaid, ſtood that great coloſſus of braſs, eſteemed one of the wonders of the world; one foot placed on one ſide of the harbour, and the other upon the other, ſo that ſhips paſſed in between the legs of it: the face of the coloſſus repreſented the ſun, to whom this image was dedicated; the height of it was ſeventy cubits, and every part proportionable, the thumb being as thick as a man could graſp in his arms, and every finger of the ſize of an ordinary ſtatue, and it carried in one hand a lighted-houſe for the direction of veſſels into the harbour: this prodigious ſtatue was thrown down by an earthquake, fifty or threeſcore years after it was erected, and lay there till the Saracens made themſelves maſters of Rhodes, who having beaten it to pieces, fourteen hundred years after the making of it, ſold it to a Jew that tranſported it to Egypt, and there loaded nine hundred camels with the braſs. CHARES, of Lyndus, a town in the iſle of Rhodes, is reported to have been the ſtatuary who framed this mighty image, which he was twelve years in making. But after all theſe particulars, and though it is ſaid to have remained fourteen or fifteen hundred years entire, part of which time Rhodes was a univerſity whither the Romans ſent their young gentlemen for education, I find it doubted by ſome of our moderns whether there ever was ſuch a ſtatue as the coloſſus above-mentioned, and indeed the extravagant dimenſions aſcribed to it, would tempt the moſt credulous to doubt the truth of this relation, were it not mentioned by ſo many writers of reputation, and at a time when learning was at the height, and there were ſo many ingenious men among the Greeks and Romans, who would infallibly have contradicted the ſtory if it had been altogether a fiction; what I am inclined therefore to believe of this coloſſus is, that there was at Rhodes an image dedicated to the ſun of a prodigious ſize and dimenſions, but that from ſome hyperbolical or figurative expreſſions uſed by ſome writers, which others have taken to be literally true, the dimenſions have been conſiderably magnified beyond the real ſize.

The coloſſus of the ſun.

There is another ſtory of a monſtrous dragon in this iſland, killed by one of the Knights of Rhodes, which I ſhould not have thought worth mentioning, if ſome modern writers, particularly DU MONT, did not ſeem to give credit to it. There is, ſay they, ſet over the water-gate of Rhodes, the head of a dragon which was thirty three feet long, and waſted all the country, till it was killed by DEODATE DE GOZON, a Frenchman, one of the Knights of St. JOHN: the head of it, they tell us, reſembled that of a hog, but was much larger, and the teeth ſharp like thoſe of a fiſh, that it had two little wings on its back like thoſe of a dolphin, and its claws and tail were like a lizard's: the Knights of Saint JOHN attacked it frequently, but the ſcales being proof againſt their arms, it deſtroyed ſo many of them, that the Grand Maſter forbid their attacking of it any more. However, GOZON, by the aſſiſtance of a couple of dogs, afterwards deſtroyed the monſter: I ſhall not amuſe the reader with every circumſtance of this pretended combat, becauſe I am pretty well convinced, it ought to be ranked with that of Saint GEORGE and the dragon, and others of the like ſtamp. If they had not clapped a pair of wings upon the monſter's back, the deſcription given of it might have inclined us to have taken it for a crocodile, and as Egypt is not very far diſtant, the ſtory would then have carried ſome probability with it; but the wings ſpoil all, eſpecially when they liken them to thoſe of a dolphin's, which every one who hath ſeen that fiſh knows hath nothing like wings about him, unleſs his fins are miſtaken for wings; and indeed the flying fiſh which the dolphins purſue, and prey upon, have two fins which reſemble wings, with which they will ſpring out of the water, and fly near a furlong, when they are wet, to avoid their enemies, the dolphins and albecores. And it is merry enough to obſerve how our Author and thoſe he tranſcribes from, have taken the wings of the flying fiſh and given them to the dolphin's, and then tell us, that the wings of their dragon reſemble thoſe of the dolphin.

The dragon.

Dr. HEYLIN will have this iſland to be firſt peopled by DODANIM, the ſon of JAVAN, and grandſon

Summary of their hiſtory.

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grandſon of JAPHET, whom the Greeks, he ſays, corruptly called RHODANIM, and that the iſland was afterwards named Rhodes from him. This reverend writer (from whom moſt of our modern hiſtorians have tranſcribed their accounts of the firſt peopling of nations) gives us as particular an account of the planting almoſt every nation by the poſterity of NOAH, as if nothing was leſs intricate in hiſtory. What authority the Doctor has beſides the reſemblance of the names of the reſpective countries to ſome of NOAH's deſcendants, does not appear to me, and ſome of theſe ſeem to be very much ſtrained, and even altered to make them agree. Thus far indeed we muſt acknowledge that the earth was planted by the ſons of NOAH, becauſe we have the authority of the ſacred writings for it. But ſurely nothing is more obſcure and uncertain, than the very branch, from whence any people ought to derive their pedigree; but however that be, the Rhodians ſo improved the advantage of their ſituation, that they became the moſt conſiderable maritime power in the Mediterranean, and preſcribed laws for the regulation of navigation and commerce, afterwards called the Rhodian laws, by which maritime cauſes were decided in all the provinces of the Roman empire. Being apprehenſive of coming under the dominion of the Macedonians, they entered into an alliance with the Romans, whom they aſſiſted againſt PHILIP the father of PERSEUS, and afterwards againſt ANTIOCHUS, for which laſt ſervice the provinces of Lycia and Caria, in the Leſſer Aſia, were conferred upon them. They remained ſo faithful to Rome, that when all the other iſlands in the Mediterranean and Egæan ſeas revolted to MITHRIDATES, King of Pontus, they ſtill refuſed to ſubmit to that Prince: but afterwards behaving themſelves inſolently towards the Roman ſtate, they loſt their independency, and were made a province of that empire, continuing ſubject to it, at leaſt to the Grecian Emperors, until the year 1124, when it was reduced by the ſtate of Venice, but recovered again by the Emperor JOHN DUCUS in the year 1227. The Turks made a conqueſt of it in the year 1283; but the Knights of St. JOHN of Jeruſalem, being driven from the Holy-land, made themſelves maſters of it about the year 1308, where they reſiſted the whole Turkiſh power for the ſpace of two hundred years and upwards. It was however at length taken by SOLYMAN the magnificent, the Knights, after a brave defence, retiring to Malta, and has ever ſince been under the Ottoman dominion.

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CHAP. XIII.

Contains a deſcription of the iſlands of Scarpanto, Stampalia, Coos, Samos, and Patmos.

Scarpanto.

SCarpanto, antiently called Carpathus, from whence the ſeats about it obtained the name of the Carpathian ſeas, is ſituate between the iſlands of Candia and Rhodes. It is about ſixty miles in circumference, a mountainous rocky ſoil, but has ſeveral good quarries of marble. The chief town is of the ſame name with the iſland, and lyes on the weſtern coaſt of it, having a tolerable harbour. It is chiefly inhabited by Greek Chriſtians, but under the dominion of the Turk.

Situation and extent.

Stampalia.

To the northward of Scarpanto, between thirty and forty miles ſouth weſt of Natolia lyes the iſland of Stampalia, antiently Aſtypalæa. It is about fifty miles in circumference, inhabited by Greek Chriſtians, who have but one town on the ſouth part of the iſland, with a pretty good harbour belonging to it.

Longo, Coos or Stanchio.

Iſola longo, or Stanchio, formerly Coos, lyes to the north weſt of Rhodes, not twenty miles diſtant from the ſouth weſt part of the continent of Natolia, and about ſeventy miles ſouth of Samos, of a longiſh figure, and about eighty miles in circumference. It has one large town in it of the ſame name with the iſland, eſteemed a good harbour, and defended by a caſtle. The Turkiſh gallies frequently lye here, and their ſhipping touches here in their paſſage from Conſtantinople to Egypt. This iſland affords a pleaſant proſpect as we approach it, being for the moſt part a fine level country, but riſing gradually into hills towards the eaſt, from whence there falls ſeveral little rivulets into the plain, which make it extremely fruitful. The wines of Coos we find long ſince admired by the gentlemen of a nice taſte at Rome. Here are alſo great plenty of cypreſs and turpentine trees, and many other beautiful and medicinal plants. Antiently there ſtood a temple dedicated to ESCULAPIUS in this iſland, and it was famous for being the country of HIPPOCRATES, ARISTON, and ſeveral other eminent phyſicians and philoſophers; but particularly of APELLES the painter, who drew that celebrated picture of VENUS riſing naked out of the ſea, which being hung up in one of the principal temples in the iſland, was from thence conveyed to Rome and dedicated to CÆSAR, as being the mother of the JULIAN family: and the Coans, it is ſaid, on this account, had a great part of their annual tribute remitted to them. The preſent inhabitants are moſt of them Greeks, as in the other iſlands, except the garriſon of the town and caſtle, who are Turks.

The

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Samos.

The iſland of Samos is ſituate over againſt Epheſus, not two leagues from the continent of Natolia, in 37 degrees odd minutes north latitude, fifty miles to the ſouthward of Smyrna, being about thirty miles in length, and fifteen in breadth. The air of this iſland is generally healthful, except in ſome low marſhy grounds; and it is obſerved here, as in moſt other iſlands of the Levant, that they ſeldom have any rain, thunder, or tempeſtuous weather, but in the winter; whereas in our climate, we have moſt thunder in ſummer, and the heavieſt ſhowers. A great chain of mountains runs through the middle of the iſland from eaſt to weſt, formerly called Ampelos, being moſt of them of white marble, but covered with a ſtrata of vegetable earth, producing trees and plants, and full of fine ſprings. The moſt conſiderable ſtream is that of Metelinous, which runs by JUNO's temple, and takes its courſe ſouthward, falling into the ſea on the ſouth ſide of the iſland. The port of Vati on the north is much the beſt in the country, being capacious enough to receive a large fleet. The port of Seitan lyes on the weſt part of the iſland, and that of Tigani on the ſouth, the laſt of which was the port to the antient city of Samos, but neither of theſe are ſo ſecure as Vati. JUNO, and SAMIA the ſybil, are ſaid to be natives of this iſland, as well as PYTHAGORAS and POLYCRATES.

It is computed that the preſent inhabitants of Samos, who are all Greeks except the Cadi, the Aga, and his Lieutenant, amount to twelve thouſand men. The Turkiſh officers abovementioned are chiefly concerned in levying the Grand Seignior's duties, for as to the civil government and adminiſtration of juſtice, the Greeks of the reſpective towns and villages are permitted to chooſe a magiſtrate among themſelves, according to the largeneſs of the place, who decide all differences amongſt them. The Samians, travellers obſerve, live at their eaſe, and are leſs tyrannized over than the Chriſtians are in other parts of Turkey. There are about two hundred papas or prieſts here, and a much greater number of monks, who poſſeſs ſeven monaſteries. The Biſhop of the iſland, who is alſo Biſhop of Nicaria, reſides at Cora, the chief town, whoſe revenue is about two thouſand crowns per annum, and the people ſeem to be in a great meaſure under the government, or influence of the eccleſiaſtics. Beſides the monaſteries abovementioned, there are four nunneries, and above three hundred private chapels in the iſland.

Cora town.

The chief towns are, 1. Cora on the ſouth ſide of the iſland, within two miles of the ſea, adjoining to the ruins of the antient city of Samos, in a fertile pleaſant country, but not very healthful at preſent, on account of the waters ſtagnating in the plain, which formerly diſcharged themſelves into the ſea. The town contains about ſix hundred houſes, but many of them uninhabited. 2. Vati, already mentioned, lyes on the north ſide of the iſland, on the deſcent of a mountain, within a mile of the port, in which there are about three hundred houſes, and five or ſix chapels, all very ill built, though this be one of the moſt conſiderable places in the iſland. Beſides theſe there are ſeveral other large villages, the chief whereof are Paleocaſtro, Carlovaſſi, Caſtania, Maratrocampo, Fourni, Platano, Pyrgos, and Comaria. This iſland is incumbered with mountains, rocks and precipices, but the plains are fruitful and pleaſant, eſpecially the plain of Cora. The mountains are covered with two ſorts of pine trees, the one a beautiful kind, which riſe to a great height, being fit for maſts of ſhips, and yield abundance of turpentine. The others are the common ſort of pines. They have alſo in the iſland a ſufficient quantity of wines, olives, pomegranates, mulberry trees, figs, corn, honey, wax, ſcammony, apples, roſe trees, &c. Their muſcadine wine is much admired by travellers, and their ſilk is fine. They have conſiderable herds of cattle, oxen, ſheep, goats, deer, wild hogs, hares, partridges, and other game in great plenty. The mules and horſes of the iſland are ſerviceable, but not admired for their beauty. Their wool is ſo good, that the French export ſome every year from thence. And from Turkey, I find it is, that the French procure great part of the wool they work, and therefore ſtand leſs in need of Engliſh wool on that account than formerly. There are ſome iron mines in Samos. The emeri ſtone alſo is found here, and oker is common about Vati, which takes a fine yellow, if put into the fire; and it is ſaid there is good jaſper near Platano, but what the mountains chiefly afford is white marble, as has been obſerved already. For the comfort of winebibbers, Mr. TOURNEFORT relates, that he met with a monk in this iſland, an hundred and twenty years old, who had never drank any other liquor than wine and brandy.

Vati.

Fruits and plants.

Animals.

As to the antiquities in this iſland, though the city of Samos is entirely deſtroyed, yet from the ruins may be diſcovered, that it ſtood on the ſouth ſide of the iſland, near the ſea, not far from the preſent town of Cora. The north part of the town ſtood upon a hill, and the other ran along the ſea ſhore from port Tigani (two miles from Cora) to cape Juno. Tigani, which is the galley port of the antients, in the form of a half moon, on the left horn whereof was the famous jettee, which HERODOTUS reckons among the three wonders of Samos, being twenty fathom in height, and carried above two hundred and fifty paces into the ſea. From port Tigani we aſcend an eminence, thick ſet with marble tomb ſtones, but without either ſculpture or inſcription, and from this place begins the walls of the upper

Antiquities.

Ruins of Samos.

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town, on the declivity of a rugged mountain, continuing the whole length of it. These walls from what is left seem to have been very magnificent, being ten or twelve feet thick, with marble towers at proper distances. Monsieur TOURNEFORT says, he saw nothing in the Levant to compare to them. The brow of the mountain towards the south, which face the sea, was covered with buildings in form of an amphitheatre, and a little lower may still be discerned the place where the theatre stood. Going down from the theatre to the sea, we see abundance of broken pillars, either channelled or in pannels, lying in such order, as plainly intimates, they once supported some temples or portico's, and the like are seen in several other other parts of the island. The city appears to have taken up in breadth all that fine plain, between Cora and the sea, being upwards of two miles, and to have extended as far as the river, which runs beyond the ruins of JUNO's temple. Water was brought to the city from the head of the river Metelinous, by a noble aqueduct cut through a mountain, being a work of great labour and art. Five hundred paces from the sea, and about the same distance from the river Imbrasus, towards cape Cora, are the ruins of JUNO's temple, the protectress of Samos. Strabo calls it a great temple, filled with pictures and antique ornaments, among which were the loves of JUPITER and JUNO represented so naturally, that ORIGEN reproaches the Gentiles with it. There were also in the court of the temple three colossus-like statues, standing on the same base, representing JUPITER, HERCULES, and MINERVA, which MARK ANTHONY carried to Rome.

Patino, or Patmos.

The isle of Patino or Palmosa, antiently Patmos, lyes forty miles south-west of Samos, and is about twenty miles in circumference: if some of the antients have made it much more, it is because they took in all the turnings and windings of the shores. This is one of the barrenest islands in all the Archipelago, full of rocks and stony mountains, without either trees or herbage on them, the highest whereof is that of St. ELIJAH. There are no rivers, and scarce any springs in the island, but what are dried up in summer. The port la Scala, on the north side of the island, is one of the finest harbours in the Archipelago; those of Sapsila and Gricon, to the westward of it, are very good ones. Thus Patmos is considerable for its ports, but so infested with pirates and rovers, that the inhabitants are forced to quit the shores, and retire to the most inaccessible parts of their mountains. The convent of St. JOHN is situate on a precipice, about three miles to the southward of the harbour of la Scala, and may very well pass for a castle, being a strong building, with several irregular towers. The chapel is small and ill painted, after the Greek manner, but the convent has a revenue of six thousand crowns per ann. belonging to it, and their church plate is considerable; but what is most observable are two large bells, which hang in the gate-way, nothing of this kind being suffered by the Turks in many parts of their dominions, but it seems they have a particular veneration for the memory of St. JOHN, and therefore allow the monks of Patmos this privilege. There are about an hundred monks belonging to this monastery, and about sixty of them generally resident, the rest of them are employed in manuring their farms in the neighbouring islands.

Ports

Convent of St. John.

The building called the hermitage of the apocalypse, depending on the convent of St. JOHN, makes but a poor appearance. It is situate on the side of a mountain, between the convent and port la Scala, the way to it is rugged and narrow, cut through a rock. The chapel is not above eight or nine paces long, and five broad. On the right is St. JOHN's grotto, the entrance whereof is about seven feet high, with a square pillar in the middle. In the roof they shew a crack in the rock, through which, according to tradition, the holy Ghost dictated the revelations which St. JOHN wrote, and indeed, according to the sacred writings, St. JOHN received his revelations in this island, in the time of his banishment, which happened in the reign of DOMITIAN, about the year of CHRIST 95, but authors I find are much divided about the time of St. JOHN's continuance in the island, for some hold that DOMITIAN dying soon after his banishment, he returned to Ephesus in eighteen months, others not till after five years, and others again make it fifteen years that St. JOHN resided here. There are not above three hundred men upon the isle of Patmos at present, according to TOURNEFORT, but to one man, he says, there are at least twenty women, who are beautiful enough, but disfigure themselves intolerably with paint, by which however they endeavour to render themselves more desirable, and are ready to go along with any strangers, that make them an offer of their service. There are no Turks or Latins live in the island, but the Greek inhabitants are visited by an officer annually, who collects the poll tax, and other duties, and the civil government is administred by two magistrates, chosen from among themselves. The Bishop of Samos is usually reckoned their diocesan, but their papas frequently receive ordination from other Bishops.

Hermitage of the apocalypse.

Inhabit

Govern ment

The inhabitants of Patmos have some corn and wine of their own growth, but import much more which they vend again to foreigners. They have also great plenty of partridges, pigeons, quails, snipes and other game; and are in no want of fish: but I don't find there are any cattle

Prod

CHAP. XIV.

cattle upon the iſland, and indeed there ſeems to be but very little for them to live on.

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Treats of the iſlands of Nicaria, Claros, Lero, Scio, Mitylene, or Lesbos, and Tenedos.

SIxteen or eighteen miles to the weſtward of Samos lyes the iſland of Nicaria, formerly called Icaria, from ICARUS the ſon of DEDALUS, who is ſaid to have been drowned in this ſea; while ſome derive the name Icaria from the Phœnician word icaure, which ſignifies full of fiſh: Nicaria is a long narrow iſland, ſixty miles about, a chain of rugged mountains running thro' the middle of it from one end to the other; but they are covered with wood, and ſupplied with good ſprings; the inhabitants chiefly live by the ſale of their pines, and oak timber, and firewood which they carry to Scio and Scala Nova, and are moſt of them ſo very poor that they are not aſhamed to beg in whatever country they come; but their poverty, it is ſaid, is occaſioned more by their own ſloth, than the barrenneſs of the country, which would bear corn and fruits if it was well manured; their bread is only half baked dough cakes without leaven, of which they make no more at a time than ſerves them from one meal to another; and the character which Mr. TOURNEFORT gives of the Nicarians, in ſhort is, that they are a brutiſh ſavage ſort of people. This iſland was not well peopled antiently, any more than it is at preſent: the two largeſt villages have about a hundred houſes each, and there are not above a thouſand ſouls in the whole iſland; but they have this advantage, by ſtrangers not mixing with them, that their language comes nearer the antient Greek, than it does in thoſe iſlands which have been more frequented.

The iſland of Calamo, formerly Clarus, and the iſland of Lero or Illeron, lye to the ſouth of Patmos; but travellers do not think them worth any particular deſcription.

The next conſiderable iſland to the northward of Samos is Scio, or Chios, called by the Turks, Saki Sadaci; lying near the coaſt of Ionia, about fourſcore or an hundred miles weſt of Smyrna, being upwards of an hundred in circumference: it ſtretches north and ſouth, and is narrow in the middle; the country is rocky and mountainous, without any rivers or ſprings, but what are dried up in a hot ſummer, when Turks, Jews, and Chriſtians, frequently go in proceſſion, to obtain rain from heaven: nor is this iſland much leſs ſubject to earthquakes than Smyrna.

The city of Scio, the only one in the iſland, is ſituate about the middle of the eaſtern coaſt, on the edge of the ſea, and is better built than the towns generally are in the Levant, having formerly been in the hands of the Genoeſe, whom they endeavour to imitate; and have ſtill ſome conſiderable Genoeſe families amongſt them; it is defended by an old caſtle, built by the Genoeſe, which ſtands cloſe to the ſea: a wall with round towers, and a ditch ſurrounds the city: the garriſon conſiſting of about fourteen hundred men. The port of Scio is the rendezvous of all ſhipping going from Conſtantinople to Syria, and Egypt, or coming from thence; but is however an indifferent harbour, the entrance narrow and dangerous, on account of ſome rocks which are juſt covered with water: there is frequently a ſquadron of Turkiſh gallies in the port: the iſland is populous, and contains about fifty or ſixty villages, beſides little farms or plantations diſperſed all over the country; and Mr. TOURNEFORT computes, that in the year 1701, there might be about ten thouſand Turks, three thouſand Latins, and an hundred thouſand Greeks in the iſland: in the year 1694, the Venetians made themſelves maſters of this iſland in five days, but the next year quitted it as eaſily to the Turks; whereupon the Turks entered it as a conquered country; but the Greeks had the addreſs to throw the whole blame of the revolt upon the Latins, and the Turks hanged up four of the moſt conſiderable Latin inhabitants; they prohibited the Latins wearing hats alſo, as they uſed to do here, obliging them to ſhave themſelves, and quit the Genoeſe habits; they were ordered alſo to light off their horſes on entring the city gate, and reſpectfully to ſalute the meaneſt Turk they met.

Number of the inhabitants. Revolutions in Scio.

The publick exerciſe of the Roman Catholick religion was allowed here through the interceſſion of the French King, but on pretence of the Latins being concerned in the late revolution, they were deprived of their privileges; divine ſervice before was performed with the ſame ceremonies as in the Pope's territories; the prieſts carried the hoſt to the ſick at noon day, the proceſſion of Corpus Chriſti was performed with the utmoſt ſolemnity; the clergy walking in their proper habits under canopies, and bearing cenſers in their hands, inſomuch that the Turks uſed to call Scio little Rome: but the cathedral of the Latins is now turned into a moſque, with the church of the Dominicans; the jeſuits church is made an inn of, and thoſe of the capuchins and recollects pulled down; the Latin Biſhop was forced to fly to the Morea, and the prieſts who remained behind were made ſubject to the capitation tax, but were exempted afterwards on the application of the French.

The Greek Biſhop remains in the ſame circumſtances he was before the enterprize of the Venetians, having no leſs than three hundred churches under him; and the iſland is full of chapels; their mona-

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monaſteries and nunneries alſo enjoy large revenues; the moſt conſiderable convent is that of Neamoni, or the New Solitude, ſituate about five miles from the city, which pays five hundred crowns capitation tax annually to the Turks; there are in the houſe about an hundred and fifty Greek monks, who eat together only on Sundays and holidays, and provide for themſelves the reſt of the week, the houſe allowing them only bread, wine, and cheeſe; many of them however, being men of ſubſtance, live very voluptuouſly. This cloiſter is ſo large, that it looks more like a town than a convent, and is endowed with an eighth part of the revenue of the whole iſland, and ſome ſay, much more, having no leſs than fifty thouſand crowns paid them in money annually, beſides what they receive by gifts and legacies continually; for not a member of the ſociety but helps to enrich the monaſtery, they pay down an hundred crowns on their admiſſion, and at their deaths give two thirds of what they are worth to the houſe; nor can their relations enjoy the other third, without admitting themſelves of the ſociety: the convent ſtands on a little hill in a very ſolitary place, ſurrounded by rugged diſagreeable mountains and precipices; and indeed the Greek monks conſtantly pitch upon ſuch ſituations for their religious houſes, quite contrary to the Catholicks, who make choice of the moſt deſirable ſituations they can meet with to build their monaſteries on. The church of this convent, however, is eſteemed one of the beſt in the Levant: the painting indeed, as in the reſt of the Greek churches, is very barbarous, but the columns and chapiters are of jaſper, dug in this very iſland, and PLINY obſerves, that jaſper was firſt diſcovered here.

Manners of the Chiots.

Learning is in no reputation in Scio, a profound ignorance reigns over the whole iſland; the natives however are reckoned men of wit, which they don't fail to make uſe of in overreaching thoſe they deal with. Drunkenneſs is an ordinary vice, and no people ſeem to be more given up to pleaſure; on Sundays and holidays in the evening you will ſee both men and women dancing in a ring, which they frequently continue till morning, as well in the city as villages, and they never refuſe to admit a ſtranger who deſires to partake of the diverſion. It was an obſervation of PETER DE LA VALLE, a Roman gentleman who travelled hither, that he never ſaw ſuch a mixture of mirth and ſlavery in any people: but others ſay, they are only ſlaves in name, there being no part of Turkey where the Greeks enjoy greater liberties. The

Their perſons.

natives are generally tall, well-ſhaped men, but of no very agreeable aſpect, it is ſaid; their women however are reckoned extremely beautiful. THEVENOT ſays, in all his travels he never met with women ſo exquiſitely handſome; that their habit contributes much to ſet off their charms, being exceeding neat and pretty: but above all, their vivacity, wit, and good humour, render them the moſt agreeable women in the world; but they are not altogether deſtitute of that vanity which is inſeparable from the ſex: he ſays, there is not much difference between the manners of the Chiots and the Genoeſe, but that the former retain nothing of the Italian jealouſy; the women here enjoy their full liberty, both in the city and country, they ſpend their time in converſation or play, in ſinging or gazing at their doors and windows, and a ſtranger may ſtop and addreſs himſelf to them without offence; they will entertain him, and laugh as freely as if they had been acquainted many years: even their nuns, it ſeems, allow of great liberties: I went, ſays Mr. THEVENOT, into one of their nunneries, where I ſaw both Chriſtians and Turks, and having entered the chambers of one of the ſiſters, I found her kind even beyond the bounds of Chriſtian charity. Theſe nuns purchaſe a chamber on their being admitted into the houſe; they go abroad when they pleaſe, and may leave the convent if they think fit. Their uſual buſineſs is embroidery in gold, ſilver, or ſilk, in which the Greeks are very ſkilful; the flowers they work upon their handkerchiefs and purſes are exceeding pretty.

Govern-ment.

In time of peace, the whole country is under the government of a Cadi, or civil magiſtrate; but in war, a Baſſa commands the forces; an Aga of the janizaries with an hundred and fifty men of that body, alſo reſides here in time of peace, and double that number in time of war: there are three degrees of Greeks in this iſland who are differently taxed, thoſe of the firſt rank pay ten crowns a head annually, the next three crowns, and the meaneſt people pay two crowns and a half per head. They allow the Greeks to chooſe twelve of their own number in the city, to regulate the other taxes, and preſide over the community; and in each village there are ſix choſen, who decide moſt of their differences: it is very ſeldom they go before the Cadi.

Produce of the country.

This country does not produce corn enough for the uſe of the inhabitants, but they import a great quantity from the coaſt of Natolia, and this is the reaſon, it is ſaid, that the Chriſtians can never maintain this iſland, or any other in the Archipelago long againſt the Turks, unleſs they are in poſſeſſion of the Morea, or the iſland of Candia, from whence they may ſupply them with proviſions; for the Turk need only prohibit corn being imported into the iſlands, and they muſt ſubmit of courſe; as Sultan BAJAZET formerly did, and by that means reduced many of them. As to wine, Scio has great plenty of it, OENEPION the ſon of BACCHUS, it is ſaid, firſt taught the Chiots

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Chiots the culture of the vine, and the firſt red wine was made here: VIRGIL and HORACE mention it as the beſt wine in Greece; and CÆSAR regaled his friends with it in his triumphs, and ſacrifices to JUPITER and the other gods: ATHENÆUS commends it as helping digeſtion, and making thoſe that drink of it grow fat, and exceeding all other wines in taſte. The vineyards in moſt eſteem are thoſe of Meſta, from whence the antients had their nectar, this quarter formerly going under the name of Ariuſa. They plant their vines here on the hills, and the vintage is in Auguſt, they let the grapes lye in the ſun ſeven or eight days to dry after gathering them, and having preſſed them, let the liquor ſtand in tubs in a cloſe cellar to work. With their black grapes they mix ſome white, which ſmell like a peach kernel, when they make their beſt wine.

Olives they have ſome in Scio, but their beſt crops do not produce above two hundred hogſheads of oil, and they make every year about thirty thouſand pounds weight of ſilk, which is moſt of it uſed in the iſland, in the manufactures of velvet or damask, which are exported to Natolia, Egypt or Barbary, and with ſome of their ſtuffs they mix gold and ſilver. Notwithſtanding great part of the iſland is a barren rock, yet in ſome places there are abundance of orange, citron, mulberry, pomegranate, and turpentine trees; and here is the beſt maſtick in the world. The lentisk or maſtick tree ſpreads wide and circular, and is ten or twelve feet high, the largeſt trunks about a foot diameter, and covered with a rugged grayiſh bark, the leaves are about an inch long, half an inch broad in the middle, and narrow at each end; from the juncture of the leaves grow flowers in bunches like grapes, as the fruit alſo does, and in each berry is a white kernel; the tree blows in May, and the fruit is ripe in autumn, or near winter: but what occaſions ſo particular a deſcription of this plant, and what renders it ſo very valuable, is the gum which iſſues from it: they begin to make inciſions in this tree the firſt of Auguſt, cutting the bark of the trunk croſſways, but do not meddle with the branches; next day the juice diſtils in ſmall tears, which by little and little form the maſtick grains, which harden on the ground, and are there ſwept up and ſifted, but if it happen to rain the tears are all loſt. The height of their harveſt is in the middle of Auguſt, they do indeed make other inciſions in September, but the tree affords a much leſs quantity of maſtick then: the Grand Siegnior's officers have the refuſal of all the maſtick, the husbandman having no property in the trees, and but a ſmall part of the gum for his labour; and either the cuſtom-houſe officers receive it of the peaſants, or there comes an Aga from Conſtantinople on purpoſe, who ſends to the reſpective towns and villages to bring in their quota required by the government, and thoſe who happen not to have as much as is expected from them, are forced to borrow of their neighbours: if they have any overplus, they muſt ſell it to the officers at an under rate, for if a perſon be caught diſpoſing of his maſtick elſewhere, he is ſent to the gallies; but ſo beneficial is this kind of husbandry eſteemed to the publick, that the planters of the lentisk tree, who are Greek Chriſtians, pay but half the capitation tax, and are ſuffered to wear white in their turbants like the Turks; the Ladies of the ſeraglio conſume the greateſt part of this gum, chewing it by way of amuſement to ſweeten their breath, or becauſe it is reckoned a preſerver of the teeth and gums.

The turpentine tree grows here without culture on the borders of the vineyards and by the high-way ſide, it is about as tall as the lentisk tree, and hath a reddiſh leaf; they wound the trunk of theſe with a hatchet between July and October, and the turpentine runs down on flat ſtones ſet under the trees to receive it: this liquor is an excellent natural balſam and a ſovereign ſtomachic. But among their fruits I had almoſt forgot to mention their figs, of which they make brandy, and tranſport great quantities to the neighbouring iſlands. The partridges of this iſland are much taken notice of by travellers, and may here be reckoned tame fowl, for every village has a ſervant, who leads a great many hundred brace of them into the fields in a morning, and upon his call they come together again in the evening, and return to their reſpective maſters.

Great men natives of this iſland.

This iſland has produced ſome great men, particularly ION the tragick poet, THEOPOMPUS the hiſtorian, THEOCRITUS the ſophiſt, and above all HOMER was a native of this country, as the Chiots pretend, and to this day ſhew a place which they call his ſchool, at the foot of mount Epos, by the ſea-ſide, about four miles from the city of Scio. It is a flat rock, wherein has been hewn a kind of round baſon, twenty feet diameter, the brims of it made to ſit on, and in the middle of it is a ſquare ſtone, about three foot high and as many broad, where the maſter was ſuppoſed to ſit in the midſt of his pupils. But it is very uncertain whether HOMER was a native of Scio, for ſeven great cities contended for the honour of his birth, which he ſeems induſtriouſly to have concealed, becauſe, perhaps, the obſcure place he was born at could derive no honour to him; or rather, becauſe he was not ſo conſiderable in his day, or ſo vain to think it was material to the world where he received his breath. A little diſtance of time, when a man's infirmities are forgot, perhaps is as neceſſary towards acquiring the reputation of a great poet, as

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to form a complete hero or a ſaint; the world is generally ſo good to forget a man's failings when he is dead, their enmity ſeems to be buried with him; they uſually remember only the bright ſide of his character, and what in his life time might be looked on as blemiſhes, may paſs for beauties when he lyes in his grave.

Mitylene, or Lesbos, the ſituation and extent.

Mitylene, antiently Lesbos, is ſituate in thirty-nine degrees odd minutes north latitude, but a few leagues to the weſtward of Elea, in the Leſſer Aſia: it is about fifty miles in length, and five and twenty broad; part of it is mountainous and barren, but there are many fruitful plains which produce plenty of corn. The chief town

Towns.

is Caſtro, antiently Mitylene, ſituate on a rocky promontory in the north part of the iſland, having two ports belonging to it: the town is not large or well built, but has a caſtle with a ſtrong garriſon, for the defence of the iſland againſt pirates, who are very buſy in theſe ſeas; and there are above an hundred villages in the country, one of which is called Eriſſo, ſuppoſed to be the Eraſſas of the antients; of which town

Great men natives of the iſland.

THEOPHRASTUS and PHANIOS, eminent diſciples of ARISTOTLE, were natives: the famous ARION alſo was a native of this iſland, whoſe skill in muſick was ſuch, that he is ſaid to have charmed the dolphin with it, which carried him on ſhore: EPICURUS alſo read lectures at Mitylene two years, and ARISTOTLE, it ſeems, reſided here as many; PITTACUS, one of the ſeven wiſe men, and SAPPHO the poeteſs were natives of this place. Few iſlands have produced men of a greater genius: but all the grave lectures of philoſophy which were delivered amongſt them, it ſeems, could not reform their morals; for it was a proverbial ſpeech in Greece, when they ſpoke of a profligate fellow, that he lived like a Lesbian.

Product of the iſland.

This iſland does not only produce good corn, as has been obſerved already, but is ſtill remarkable for its excellent wines, as it was antiently; HORACE and STRABO admired them, and ARISTOTLE with his dying breath pronounced in favour of the wine of Lesbos. It being propoſed, it ſeems, who ſhould ſucceed this great philoſopher, that might keep up the reputation of the peripatetick ſchool; and MENEDEMUS of Rhodes and THEOPHRASTUS of Lesbos being candidates for the poſt, the philoſopher called for a glaſs of wine from each iſland, and having deliberately taſted them, ſaid, 'They are both excellent wines, but this of Lesbos is the more deſireable of the two.' Intimating thereby, ſays my author, that THEOPHRASTUS excelled MENEDEMUS as much as the wine of Lesbos was preferable to that of Rhodes. The ſoil alſo produces excellent oil, and the beſt figs in the Archipelago, and there are pine trees which yield a black pitch.

A Cadi and a janizary Aga reſide at Caſtro or Mitylene, who have the government of the iſland.

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Tenedos, the ſituation and extent.

Tenedos lyes about ſixty miles to the northward of Mitylene, and not above two leagues to the weſtward of the coaſt of Natolia. This iſland is computed to be about fifty miles in circumference, and is ſaid to be the ſame which the Grecian fleet retired behind, when they pretended to raiſe the ſiege of Troy, and afterwards ſurprized that city. This country is famous at preſent for their excellent muſcadine wines. The iſlands above deſcribed are generally reckoned to belong to Aſia; but there are many others in the Archipelago, which lye between Europe and Aſia, which geographers ſometimes aſſign to the one, and ſometimes to the other. I proceed now to enquire into the ſtate of thoſe iſlands called the Cyclades.

All the above-ſaid iſlands in Aſia.

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Treats of the iſlands of Delos, Mycone, Naxos, Paros, and Antiparos; being part of the Cyclades.

THE Cyclades are ſo called, becauſe they lye in a circle about Delos, and are ſaid to be in number fifty-three; in a clear day twenty of them may be ſeen at once. The chief of the Cyclades are Delos, of an oblong figure, near twice as long as it is broad, and about ſix miles in circumference; it hath the ſouth part of Mycone, on the caſt, the channel between Mycone and Tinos on the north, and the iſland of Rhenia on the weſt: it is called little Delos, or Zdeli in the plural number, including the iſle of Rhenia. The reaſon it was ſo celebrated by the antients was becauſe they held it to be the place of APOLLO's and DIANA's nativity. The iſlands about it therefore ſent thither, by publick order, prieſts, ſacrifices, and choirs of virgins; inſtituting there great and publick feſtivals in honour of APOLLO. The number of theſe ſuperſtitious Cyclades, as Sir GEORGE WHEELER obſerves, were at firſt but twelve, but afterwards comprehended moſt of the iſlands in the Egean ſea, and the humour diffuſed itſelf at length through all Greece, and the countries to the northward of it, who annually ſent preſents hither. Upon the deſtruction of Corinth by the Romans, the wealth and trade of that city ſeemed to be removed hither: the merchants chooſing to frequent it, on account of the goodneſs of its ports; the convenience of its ſituation between Europe and Aſia; but eſpecially on account of its immunities, and freedom from cuſtoms and impoſitions: and it remained in great wealth and power till it was deſtroyed by MITHRIDATES. Both the iſlands of Delos and Rhenia are now utterly

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terly deſerted, and only ſerve as a retreat to pirates.

Antiquities remaining there.

The preſent ſtate of them have been very particularly given us by Sir GEORGE WHEELER and Monſieur SPON, who viſited them together, and ſince by Mr. TOURNEFORT. Our countryman WHEELER relates, that landing on the north-weſt part of the iſland, the firſt thing they met with was a ſquare foundation, with eleven granate pillars then ſtanding about and within it. This place the natives of the neighbouring iſlands called the ſchools, from a tradition that the ſchools were antiently there; and a ſtone's caſt from thence, in a large oval foundation, they diſcovered a pedeſtal of a ſtatue, dedicated to MITHRIDATES EVERGETES, in the time that SELEUCUS of Marathon was gymnaſiarch, or chief governor of the ſchools: but as they found another inſcription of the ſame purport, at a great diſtance from this place, he thinks it very uncertain whether the ſchools were here; and rather believes this oval foundation to have been a naumachia, or place where they held mock naval fights: it is about three hundred paces in length, and two in breadth, and the wall about it five feet deep within, but even with the ſurface of the ground without. There were ſome pillars remaining on the brink of it, which made them conclude that it was antiently ſurrounded by a portico.

Proceeding eaſtward they came to a vaſt heap of ruins of white marble, which they were ſatisfied belonged to the temple of APOLLO, becauſe they found the trunk of his ſtatue amongſt them. The temple itſelf is ſo entirely deſtroyed, that it is not poſſible to judge of the form of it; and the God himſelf has been ſo rudely handled, that they have left him neither hands, feet, nor head; but his locks hanging round his ſhoulders are yet to be ſeen, having marks in each curl, where our travellers imagined jewels were ſet: his girdle alſo ſeemed to have been richly adorned, and on his left ſhoulder he had a light mantle. The ſtatue was above four times bigger than the life, for the ſhoulders were ſix foot broad, and the reſt of the body proportionable. The beauty of it is ſuch, ſays WHEELER, that if MICHAEL ANGELO had ſeen it he would have admired it as much as he did that trunk in the vatican of Rome. It ſtood upright upon its pedeſtal three years before WHEELER was there, when the maſter of a ſhip endeavoured to carry it away, but finding it impoſſible, broke off the head, hands, and feet, and took them with him. Among the ſame ruins our travellers found half the body of a woman, the drapery about which was carved ſo well that it ſeemed to be the work of as great a maſter as the former; and juſt by it was the body and forepart of a centaur, ſo admirably well cut that life and vigour appeared in every vein and muſcle. A great many other fragments of imagery they found, which ſeemed to have been the ornaments of the walls of the temple. Near the weſtern ſhore they diſcovered the ruins of a wonderful portico of marble, whoſe vaſt architraves, pillars, and other beautiful parts, lye in as great confuſion as is poſſible: by an inſcription on one of its architraves it appears, that PHILIP of Macedon was its founder. The pillars were angular towards the baſe, and channelled upwards, of the Corinthian order. Near the ſouth end of this portico, and on the weſt ſide of a little rocky mountain, which they were aſſured was mount Cinthus, were the ruins of a theatre: it is ſomething more than a ſemicircle, whoſe diameter, comprehending the ſeats and utmoſt wall, is about two hundred feet: the whole fabrick is of white marble, and each ſtone on the outſide cut in form of a diamond: in the place of the ſpectators are ſome ſeats ſtill remaining: the whole theatre leans on a hill, part of which ſeems to be dug away to make room for it. From the theatre eaſtward, paſſing over a world of ruins, they began to aſcend the rock called antiently mount Cynthus, which is very craggy and ſteep, but not ſo high as the hills in the neighbouring iſlands: it conſiſts of granate marble of ſeveral colours, ſome reddiſh mixed with black, other parts of it yellowiſh with black ſpots, and ſome of a light gray, but does not ſeem ſo durable as the Egyptian marble; for the pillars which were made of it were very much ſcaled by the weather: and WHEELER was of opinion, that a great many pillars, which paſſed for ſuch, were not the granate of Egypt. On the ſides of the hill were ſeveral landing places, wonderfully beautified by porticos, and other ſtructures; as the multitude of pillars, pedeſtals, architraves, and other fragments of excellent marble, ranging ſtrait and parallel to each other demonſtrate. Among theſe ruins our travellers found an altar dedicated to SERAPIS, ISIS, ANUBIS, HARPOCRATES, and the Dioſcori, and one dedicated to LATONA, the mother of APOLLO and DIANA.

Soil.

The iſland is a rocky barren ſoil, with ſcarce any trees or herbage, ſo very deſtitute of water, and the neceſſaries of life, that our travellers being detained here by tempeſtuous weather were in danger of periſhing in it; but at length they did find a well of freſh water, and ſome game. Though Mr. TOURNEFORT, who was there ſince, obſerves, that their diſtreſs proceeded more from the want of good guides than any thing elſe; for that he found a conſiderable lake, and ſome ſprings in the iſland which were never dry, and one of them he takes to be the fountain Inopus, which he ſays had four and twenty feet of water in the ſummer time. The Greater Delos, which

goes

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goes by the name of Rhenia, is ſeparated from the Leſſer by a channel about five hundred paces broad, and is eighteen miles in circumference: the mountains here are not very high, and afford excellent paſturage: the valleys would produce corn and wine, if they were cultivated, but this iſland, like the other Delos, is perfectly deſerted, except that the people of Mycone ſend over ſhepherds hither, who feed herds of cattle, horſes, oxen, ſheep, and goats, which they are frequently forced to tranſport to their own iſland, to preſerve them from the rovers who infeſt theſe ſeas. In this iſland alſo are abundance of magnificent ruins. Monſieur TOURNEFORT relates, that he ſaw above ſix ſcore altars amidſt the ruins of buildings, which to that time looked very ſtately. Moſt of the altars are cylindrical, adorned with feſtoons, with heads of oxen or rams: theſe altars are uſually three feet and a half high, and about three feet diameter. One of them, which this gentleman hath given us a cut of, he ſuppoſes was dedicated to BACCHUS, from a bunch of grapes which hangs below the feſtoons. The beſt port of this iſland is called the Maſtick port, from the great numbers of maſtick trees which grow about it.

Rhenia, or the Greater Delos.

Mycone lyes about three miles to the eaſtward of the Leſſer Delos, and is between five and twenty and thirty miles in circumference. There is a large harbour in the weſt part of the iſland, within which ſtands their only town, without any fortifications about it. One great baſon, or reſervoir, ſerves the town with water. There is ſcarce a well in the country, and very little wood. Their mountains are of no great height, the higheſt of them is that of mount Elijah. The ſoil produces corn, wine, and figs, and ſome few olives. They make twenty-five or thirty thouſand barrels of wine every year. In the whole country there may be about five hundred ſea-faring men, who have many of them the reputation of pirates or rovers. They compute that there are three thouſand ſouls in the town: but you ſee four women to one man, probably becauſe the men are many of them at ſea. Hither our countryman WHEELER obſerves, the rovers uſually bring their plunder; and here they keep their wives and children, and their wenches: the women in general have a greater reputation for beauty than chaſtity. The captain of the veſſel, our countryman was in, had ſeveral temporary wives in this country, he tells us; but not content with them, he purchaſed a young virgin of her father at this time, who with weeping, and a ſeeming reluctance, ſuffered herſelf to be carried on board the ſhip by the boat's crew, being followed by a multitude of women of the place to the water ſide, not to prevent the rape, but rather in hopes of being run away with too: for he obſerved above an hundred girls on the ſhore, from eleven to fifteen years of age, who held their coats as high as their middles, to intimate what ſtamp they were of. The next day the captain made an entertainment for his officers, as if it had been his wedding, having dreſſed the girl in a rich Venetian habit: for the dreſs of the women of Mycone is a very odd one, their coats coming but a little below their knees, and about their waiſt they have a kind of farthingale.

Mycone, ſituation and extent.

Product of the iſland.

Inhabitants.

The inhabitants are moſt of them Chriſtians of the Greek Church, and have magiſtrates of their own religion; but an officer of the Turks comes annually to collect the taxes they pay to the Porte. A Cadi alſo viſits them ſometimes, and holds a court here, as they do in ſome other of the little iſlands, giving notice that thoſe who have any controverſies to decide ſhould come before him, with their evidence and witneſſes; and the Greeks, it ſeems, are frequently ſo fooliſh as to come before his tribunal, and refuſe to ſubmit to the determination of the papas and magiſtrates choſen among themſelves. There are no leſs than fifty Greek churches in Mycone, every one of which has its papa, or prieſt; and there are alſo ſome monaſteries and a nunnery in the iſland, particularly the nunnery of Paleo Caſtro, which ſtands upon a hill in the middle of the iſland, near which is the church of St. MARINA, where they annually celebrate one of their great feſtivals on the 17th of July, and afterwards drink and dance all night, after their manner, till morning. Some of their monaſteries are quite deſerted, and indeed the people ſeem not very fond of a monaſtick life; thoſe convents that are inhabited, not having above five or ſix brothers or ſiſters apiece in them, except the great monaſtery, as it is called, where there are a dozen.

The iſland of Naxia, or Naxos, lyes to the ſouthward of Mycone, and two or three leagues to the eaſtward of Paros, being ninety or an hundred miles in circumference, the form almoſt oval. It is pleaſantly diverſified with mountains and valleys, woods and campaign, and well watered, having a variety of ſprings and ſtreams, ſome of which turn mills, though their courſe can be but ſhort. There are no good ports in the iſland, and only one great town, beſides villages, of which there may be forty or fifty. The town is ſituate on the ſouth ſide of the iſland, and the caſtle in the moſt elevated part of it, flanked with great towers. In the middle of it is a ſquare, which was the palace of the Dukes of the Archipelago; and the deſcendants of thoſe Latin gentlemen who ſettled in this iſland under thoſe Princes, are ſtill in poſſeſſion of the ſcite of this caſtle. The Greeks who are much more numerous, enjoy all that part of the town, from the caſtle down to the ſea. The enmity between the



Habit of a Grecian Man
In the Islands of the Archipelago

Habit of a Grecian Woman

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the Greek and Latin gentry here is not to be conceived: a Latin of quality would ſooner marry the meaneſt peaſant than a Greek Lady; and upon this account have procured diſpenſations from Rome to marry with their firſt couſins. But the Turks, it ſeems, uſe all theſe gentlemen alike, and on the arrival of the commander of the leaſt galliot, neither Latins nor Greeks dare appear with any thing elſe on their heads but a red cap, like the pooreſt galley ſlave, and tremble before the meaneſt officer; but as ſoon as the Turks are withdrawn, the Naxian nobility reſume their former pride and contentions. You ſee none of them without their velvet caps, and ſcarce hear them diſcourſe of any thing but their families and pedigree, ſome deriving themſelves from the Paleologi, or Comnenii, and others from the Juſtiniani, the Grimaldi, &c. Nor has the Grand Seignior any occaſion to fear an inſurrection here, for ſuch is the antipathy of the Latins and Greeks to each other, that ſhould either of them form a conſpiracy againſt the ſtate, the other would infallibly give notice of it. The Ladies alſo are full as vain as the men. You will ſee them returning from the country, after the vintage, with a train of thirty or forty females, ſome mounted on aſſes, and ſome on foot, one carrying a towel, another a pair of ſtockings, a third a diſh; and thus you have almoſt all the miſtreſſes clothing and furniture of the houſe expoſed to view. The Lady, poorly mounted, makes her entrance into the city at the head of them, the children being in the middle of the cavalcade, and the husband brings up the rear.

The gentlemen of Naxia keep for the moſt part in their country houſes, viſiting one another but ſeldom, and hunting is their uſual employment, having plenty of deer and other game. The villages are not very populous, there being not above eight thouſand ſouls in the iſland: they have however two Archbiſhops, one of the Latin and the other of the Greek Church. The Latin Biſhop is nominated by the Pope, and his church, which was built and endowed by the firſt Duke of the iſland, called the metropolitan. The chapter conſiſts of ſix canons, a dean, a chanter, a provoſt, and a treaſurer, with nine or ten aſſiſtant prieſts, which make up the reſt of the clergy. There are alſo of the jeſuits ſeven or eight prieſts, employed in educating young gentlemen, and in miſſions to the other iſlands of the Archipelago. The capuchins have alſo a ſettlement in Naxia, and apply themſelves with the ſame zeal to make proſelytes to the Latin Church among the Greeks; for as to the converting Mahometans, notwithſtanding the Roman miſſionaries ſwarm all over the eaſt, there is no inſtance of their attempting to bring any one Muſſulman over to Chriſtianity, as has been obſerved already; ſo ſevere and ſo ſpeedy is the puniſhment the Turks inflict on thoſe who endeavour to make proſelytes amongſt them. The Latin Fathers in general practiſe phyſick here. As to the Greek Archbiſhop of Naxia, he has a very handſome revenue, and the iſlands of Paros and Antiparos are both within his juriſdiction. Beſides the churches in the city and villages, there are a great number of chapels diſperſed about the iſland, and ſeven or eight monaſteries.

The people elect their governors from among themſelves here, as in moſt of the other iſlands, but are, however, viſited by a Cadi, or Mahometan Judge, ſometimes, to whom they may appeal, as to the laſt reſort. There comes alſo annually an officer to collect the taxes, which amount to ten thouſand crowns per annum, and upwards; and, as has been hinted already, the meaneſt Turkiſh officer who comes upon the iſland but occaſionally, is in a manner governor while he remains there, and will order whom he pleaſes to undergo the baſtinado. At theſe times all the controverſies of the iſlanders about their quality and precedence ſeem to vaniſh: every one officiouſly makes his court to the haughty Turk, and endeavours to inſinuate himſelf into his favour. As for the common people, they ſeem to lead as merry a thoughtleſs life here, as in the other iſlands: they derive themſelves from BACCHUS, and have plenty of good wine; and if they are ſlaves they are the merrieſt in the univerſe. Among their antiquities there is ſtill ſtanding, upon a little rock in the ſea, about a musket ſhot from the caſtle, a beautiful marble gate, in the middle of a heap of magnificent ruins of marble and granate. This they ſay was the palace of BACCHUS; but Mr. TOURNEFORT is of opinion, they are the remains of a temple dedicated to that God. Dia, the higheſt mountain in the iſland, which ſignifies the mount of JUPITER, formerly gave name to the iſland. Towards the bottom of it, on a rough block of marble, is an inſcription in Greek, ſignifying that this is the mountain of JUPITER, the preſerver of flocks. And there is a grotto ſhewn to ſtrangers, where they pretend the Bacchantes celebrated the Orgies.

Paros, the ſituation and extent.

To the weſtward of Naxia, ſix or ſeven miles, lyes the iſland of Paros, being about forty miles in circumference. The chief town of the iſland is Parechia, built on the ruins of the antient Paros. In the walls are ſeen fine marble columns lying at their length, and all over the town we find architraves, pedeſtals, and other noble pieces of carved marble, the remains of the antient city. The Parian marble was in great eſteem among the antients; not but that there is as good at Naxia and Tinos, according to Monſieur TOURNEFORT, but they had not thoſe ſkilful ſtatuaries

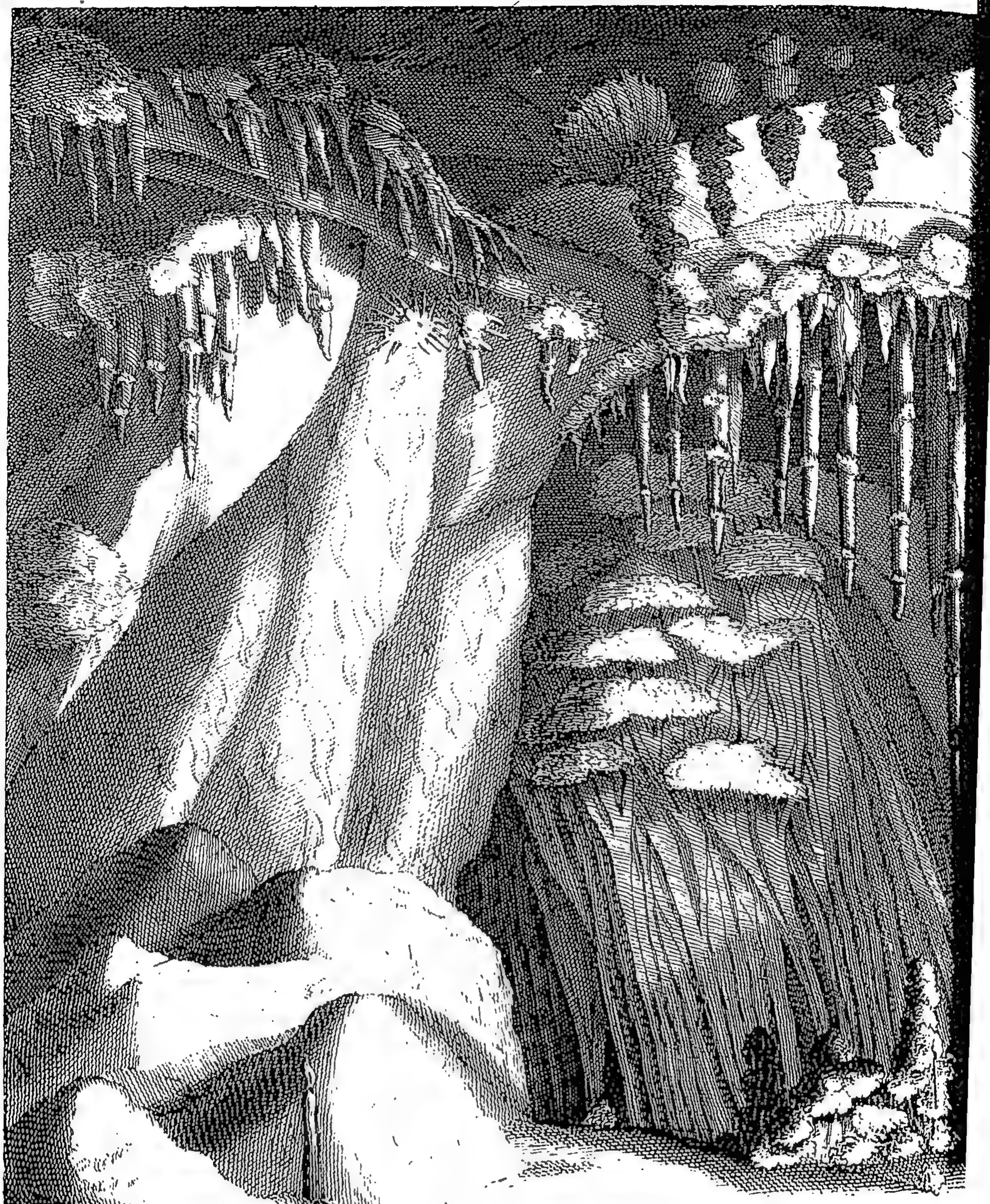
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ſtatuaries and ſculptors which this iſland produced, and made even the materials they worked upon thought more valuable than they really were. Nay, ſuch a veneration had the antients for this marble, proceeding from the exquiſite workmanſhip of PHIDIAS and PRAXITILES, who ſeemed to give life to the ſtatues they wrought, that of ſtones they became the object of divine worſhip. Paros was dedicated to BACCHUS, on account of the excellent wines it produced.

It is computed that there are at preſent in this iſland about fifteen hundred families, who manure and cultivate their lands ſomething better than their neighbours, and have plenty of corn and wine, as they had of oil before the Venetians burnt their olive yards: they feed alſo abundance of cattle, and are well ſtocked with game. Their meat of all kind is generally good; but they have little mutton, which is fed in their houſes with fruits and bread, much admired by our travellers. The Turks have ſo much confidence in the Greeks of this iſland, and ſome others, that they entruſt one of their number with the adminiſtration of juſtice, and do not ſend a Cadi to receive appeals from him. There are ſeveral good ports in the iſland; in that of St. Mary's a great fleet may ride ſecure; but the Turks uſually come to an anchor in that of Drio, which is on the weſtern part of the iſland. Beſides the town of Parechia there are ſeveral conſiderable villages in the country, and the churches and chapels ſtand pretty thick. The panagia, or madona, without the city, is the largeſt and moſt beautiful church in the Archipelago. The arches and roof are better finiſhed than could be expected among the modern Greeks; but as the columns were taken out of the ruins of the antient city, and are of different orders and models, it appears to be a piece of patchwork at laſt. The ſculpture of the frontiſpiece is very indifferent, and the painting of the choir worſe. The inhabitants of the Archipelago, however, who ſee nothing better, admire it as a very elegant building. There are ſixteen or ſeventeen monaſteries in the iſland, but almoſt deſerted. The nobleſt antiquity diſcovered here was a piece of marble, whereon was engraven the moſt noted Greek epochas, from the reign of CECROPS, the founder of the Athenian monarchy, to DIOGENES the magiſtrate, being the ſpace of thirteen hundred years, which was purchaſed by the Engliſh, and now remains in the theatre at Oxford; from this monument it is we are acquainted with the foundation of the moſt famous cities in Greece, and when their greateſt men lived who were the ornaments of that country.

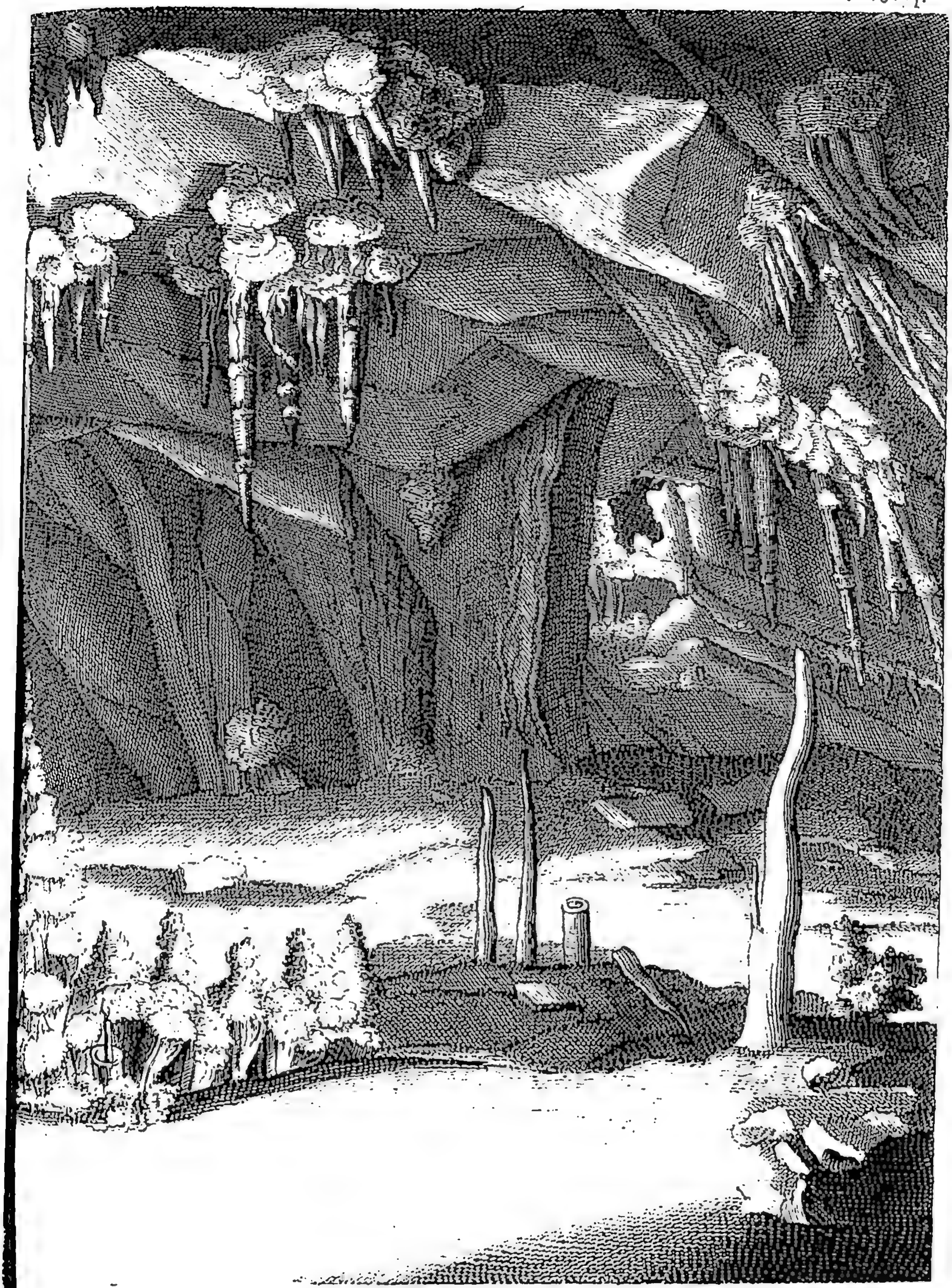
Antiparos. About a mile from Paros lyes the iſland of Antiparos. It is a flat rock, about ſixteen miles in compaſs, covered in ſome places with a ſtrata of vegetable earth, which produces corn enough for three or fourſcore families, who inhabit a poor village, about a mile from the ſea; and there is very little here that deſerves our notice, unleſs it be a grotto, which the Marquis of NOINTELLE formerly, and of late Monſieur TOURNEFORT, have taken the pains elaborately to deſcribe, as one of the greateſt curioſities in nature. The entrance to it was ſtraight and troubleſome, but when they were got into it they diſcovered, by torch-light, one of the moſt pleaſing ſcenes that ever they beheld, and what rendered it the more ſurpriſing was, that it was the pure workmanſhip of nature. Monſieur TOURNEFORT, who has a very poetical vein, after he has deſcribed the danger and difficulty of the entrance, tells us that the grotto is about forty fathoms high, and fifty broad; that the roof is a pretty good arch, embelliſhed with variety of natural fretwork, and that in ſome places they ſaw bunches of grapes, feſtoons, and lances of a ſurpriſing length, or ſomething which he apprehended reſembled them; on the right and left were formed ſeveral little cloſets or cabinets: but among other things there was a large pavilion, formed by productions, which ſo exactly repreſented the roots, branches, and heads of collyflowers, as if nature intended to ſhew how ſhe operates in the vegetation of ſtone. All theſe figures are of white marble, tranſparent and cryſtallized, and many of them covered with a white bark; if you ſtrike them they ſound like copper: there were alſo ſeveral columns of marble, planted like trunks of trees, on the tuft of a little rock. Theſe ſtems of marble, ſays Monſieur TOURNEFORT, certainly vegetate; for not a ſingle drop of water ever falls into the place, and if it did, it is not conceivable how a few drops falling from an height of twenty-five or thirty fathoms, ſhould form cylindrical pieces, terminating like round caps. In the farthermoſt part of the grotto appears a pyramid, on which the Marquis of NOINTELLE cauſed maſs to be ſaid, in the year 1673. It ſtands by itſelf, and is about twenty-four feet high, adorned with ſeveral chapiters fluted of a dazzling whiteneſs, as is all the reſt of the grotto. This pyramid he thinks the fineſt plant of marble in the world, for it is impoſſible, he again inſiſts, that this ſhould be done by the droppings of water; it is much more probable, he conceives, that theſe congelations, and ſome others, which hang downwards in the grotto, like monſtrous iſicles, were produced by vegetation.

The Marquiſs of NOINTELLE, the French Ambaſſador to the Grand Seignior, paſſed the three firſt days of the Chriſtmas holidays, anno 1673, in this grotto, being attended thither by above five hundred perſons, conſiſting of his own retinue, the natives of the iſland, or ſea-faring people.



The Marble Grotto in the

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Ind. of Antiquaries

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ple. An hundred large torches of wax, and four hundred lamps were lighted at the ſame time, and burnt night and day; being ſo well placed in the grotto that no church was ever better illuminated, and when the hoſt was lifted up in the celebration of the maſs, fire was given to twenty four patereroes, placed at the entrance of the cavern, which in this hollow gave a report more terrible than the loudeſt thunder, the trumpets, hautboys, and other *inſtrumental muſick*, ſounding at the ſame time: and thus, ſays TOURNEFORT, the Marquis conſecrated this magnificent grotto, and the pyramid above-mentioned has ever ſince been denominated the altar. The top of the mountain over this grotto is paved, as it were, with tranſparent cryſtallizations, like common talc: the reſt of the mountain is covered with cretan thyme, cedars, and lentisk trees. But was it not for this ſurpriſing grotto, Monſieur TOURNEFORT ſays, this iſland would not be worth the viſiting.

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Treats of the iſland of Cerigo and Melos.

THE iſland of Cerigo, antiently Cytheria, lyes two or three leagues diſtant from the ſouth-eaſt part of the Morea; this was ſaid to be the country of VENUS, and the place of fair HELEN's nativity, whoſe rape occaſioned the ſiege of Troy: it is forty or fifty miles in circumference, a mountainous rocky country, and produces very little corn, wine, or oil, and is but thinly peopled; ſheep and poultry are plentiful enough however, and they have good ſtore of game. The chief town is on the ſouth ſide of the iſland, and hath a caſtle of ſome ſtrength towards the ſea, being ſituate on a precipice; but the harbour underneath it is expoſed to the ſouth winds.

Melos, or Millo, lyes between forty and fifty miles to the eaſtward of the ſouth-eaſt part of the Morea, and as much to the northward of Candia, being of a round form, and ſixty or ſeventy miles in circumference. It is ſaid to be named Melos by the Greeks, from the abundance of honey it produced. The face of the iſland is mountainous and rocky, but interſperſed with pleaſant fruitful plains. Here is one of the beſt harbours in the Levant, facing the north-weſt, two miles from whence, up in the country, ſtands the town of Millo, the only conſiderable place in the iſland; the town contains about five thouſand ſouls, and is prettily built, but abominable naſty, according to TOURNEFORT; for their hogſties ſtand at the entrance of their houſes fronting the ſtreet, and here they throw all their dirt and filth, which with the ſalt marſhes, the mineral exhalations in the iſland, and the want of good water, renders the country very unhealthful. As to what concerns the natural hiſtory of Melos, ſays our Author, it is almoſt entirely a hollow rock, ſpungy and ſoaked, as it were, with the ſalt water of the ſea; and it is probable, he thinks, that the perpetual ſubterranean fires which are diſcovered here, are occaſioned by a ferruginous matter and ſulphur, which no part of this iſland is without; and that theſe materials are heated by being drenched with ſea water: for coaſting round the iſland, in a boat, there are ſeen a multitude of ſubterranean paſſages, through which the ſea water is received, and conveyed into the minuteſt cavities of the ſpungy rock: that it is highly probable this ſalt undergoes much the ſame proceſs, as that which we put into our retorts, that is, the fire which is continually heating the bowels of this iſland, cauſes an acid ſpirit to ſeparate from this ſalt, not unlike that we draw from ſea ſalt by common fire; and to this acid, he is of opinion, muſt be referred the production of allum and ſulphur, the commoneſt minerals here: for this liquor penetrating inſenſibly the hardeſt rocks, diſſolves them, incorporates with them, and is converted into allum: of which we can hardly make a queſtion, becauſe by pouring ſpirit of ſalt upon common ſtones, or chalk, aluminous concretions are produced, and the ſame acid ſpirit mixed with the brimſtone, which pervades the veins of the earth, occaſions the formation of ſulphur; every one knows that ſulphur is only a fat ſubſtance, fixed by an acid ſpirit: now the water of the ſea is not only ſalt but bitter and fat, and this may be the reaſon that ſulphur is ordinarily found in places near the ſea, where earthquakes alſo are moſt frequent; witneſs thoſe great vulcanoes out of which iſſue flames of fire, viz. Veſuvius, Stromboli, Ætna, the Canaries, &c. In theſe iſlands there are fires which have burnt ever ſince the world began. The ſulphur of Melos is very beautiful, of a greeniſh ſhining caſt, which made the antients prefer it to that of Italy. It is found here in large pieces when they dig the ground, and in huge veins in the quarries where they get their milſtones. Thus the iſland of Melos, our author obſerves, is a natural laboratory, wherein is continually preparing ſpirit of ſalt, allum, and ſulphur, by means of the ſea water, iron, and rocks, and by the ſingular ſtructure of the interiour parts of the iſland, which are ſo formed as to ſtrain the ſaline and fat parts of the ſea water, and theſe parts are put in motion by the violence of the burnings excited therein continually, which burnings produced by the ſpirit of ſalt give birth to the ſulphur and allum.

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Of the production of allum and ſulphur.

Vulcanoes and earthquakes generally happen near the ſea.

The waters of Melos are not good to drink, eſpecially in the low grounds, where they are infected with the ſmell of ſulphur; the baths here

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are at the foot of a hill, going from the town of Melos to the port, and are called by the Greeks, Loutra; the entrance to them is so narrow, that you must stoop to go through it; this leads to a chamber formed by nature, adjoining to which there is a bason or reservoir of lukewarm salt water, in which people sit and bathe, and such is the heat of the place, that the sweat gushes out in huge drops; these are esteemed much better than any artificial bath. Below the baths near the shore are a variety of little springs bubbling through the sand, so hot that they will burn ones fingers. On the north part of the island, not far from the village of Castro, is a purging spring which rises on the very edge of the sea, and often mixes with it; another bubbles up a little from this, and they are both almost lukewarm, but have no salt taste. With these the Greeks of the island drench and purge themselves once a year.

Allum mines described.

The allum mines in this island, are not wrought at present, the Greeks being sensible they should only subject themselves to new exactions from the Turk by working them. They are about half a league from the town of Melos; the entrance into them is through a narrow passage which leads to certain chambers or vaults, four or five feet high, and nine or ten broad, incrustated almost throughout with allum, which grows in the form of flat stones, from nine to fifteen lines thick; and as they take away these, new ones succeed in their places: the plumous, or feathered allum, so called, because instead of parting into scales, it rises in white soft threads or filaments, like the feathers of a quill, is looked upon to be one of the most curious things in the Levant, with respect to natural history: it rises in large lumps, composed of threads fine as the softest silk, silvered over and shining; being an inch and a half or two inches in length, of the same taste with the stone allum; there is no other difference, than its being divided into small strings: and the stones through which this allum protrudes are very light and friable. Four miles to the southward of the town, on the edge of the sea, is a grotto above fifteen paces deep, whither the water of the sea penetrates in rough weather. This grotto being from fifteen to twenty feet high, is all crusted over with allum sublimate, white as snow in some places, reddish and of the colour of gold, in others like the chemical flowers of sal ammoniac. All the rocks round the cavern are lined with the like concretions. Not many paces from this cave, on the sea shore, is another grotto the bottom whereof is filled with sulphur, which burns without ceasing; so that there is no going into it: all the places about it are continually smoking, and sometimes cast out flames of fire. Here is found sulphur perfectly pure, and as it were sublimated, which is always burning in certain places. There are others from whence distils, drop by drop, a solution of allum, much more acrid than that of common allum; which is supposed to be that allum, which PLINY calls liquid allum, and which he particularly assigns to the island of Melos. And it seems there is not a hole in any rock of this island, but if you put your head into it, you perceive a considerable heat. There is also a spot of ground on the surface of the island, which burns perpetually; all the fields about it smoking like a furnace; the surface is as yellow as gold, proceeding from the sulphur which colours the earth.

A cave of burning sulphur.

It is observed farther, that this spungy hollow rock of Melos is a kind of natural stove, gently warming the superficies of the earth in most places, and thereby causes it to produce the best of fruits, particularly grapes, figs, and the most delicious melons in the Archipelago; so fertile is the soil, that it never lyes fallow; one year it produces wheat, another barley, a third pease and beans, melons, &c. Their fields are like so many gardens, separated from each other by stone walls. As to eatables, besides butchers meat, they have fowl, fish, and game in great plenty: and notwithstanding they live in a sickly, unwholesom air, and upon the surface of a burning lake, as it were, which they may expect every day should break out and destroy them and their country, they are as merry as Greeks used to be, and indulge in the good things they thus abundantly possess; neither sickness, the Turkish tyranny, or the burning caverns in the bowels of the island, can deject the spirits of the merry Milliotes.

The inhabitants of Melos are generally seafaring men, and serve as pilots to ships which sail in the Archipelago. The chastity of their women may be equal to the Ladies of Wapping; Mr. TOURNEFORT says, they are arrant coquets, and use the powder of a sea plant, to give a ruddiness to their complexions; but it soon spoils them, and destroy their skin. They wear breeches, like the rest of the females in the Levant, and seem under a greater necessity of doing so, because their coats scarce reach to their knees. The people are for the most part Greeks; but some of the Latin communion, and here is a Latin Bishop, and a monastery of French capuchins in the town of Melos, but very few of the Latin clergy. The Greek Bishop has a good revenue, and a great many churches under his care, besides thirteen monasteries; the most considerable whereof is that on mount Elijah, from whence there is a glorious prospect of several islands in the Archipelago. A rivulet runs down through the gardens; and groves of olives, orange, and cedar trees surround the convent, which altogether render it a most agreeable solitude.

There

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There are two Turkiſh magiſtrates in the iſland, namely the Cadi and the Vaivode, the one a civil, the other a military officer; but their principal employment ſeems to be, to take care that the Sultan is not defrauded in his duties, and to extort what they can out of the poor Greeks to fill their own pockets; for the Greeks have here, as in the other iſlands, the privilege of electing their own magiſtrates, who may decide all controverſies amongſt them; though ſometimes they are ſo indiſcreet as to appeal to the Cadi, and make an infidel their judge.

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Treats of the iſlands of Argentiere, Siphanto, Serpho, Stenoſa, Nicouria, Amorgos and Caloyero.

TO the northward of Melos, and not a mile diſtant from it, lyes the iſland antiently called Argentiere, from the ſilver mines which were wrought here; though there are none open at preſent. It is by the Grecians called Chimoli, being about eighteen miles in circumference, a mountainous barren ſoil, and but one poor village in the iſland, nor is there any thing in the country which deſerves our notice at preſent, unleſs it be the terra cimolia mentioned by the antients, a white heavy chalk uſed in whitening their cloths.

Siphanto or Siphno, lyes thirty ſix miles to the northward of Melos, antiently called Merope; and is about forty miles in compaſs. The air and water are extremely good here. The iſland is a rock of marble covered with a rich ſtaple of earth, which produces corn, vines, oil, capers, figs, ſeſamum and ſome ſilk, which is reckoned very good; and they have plenty of poultry, wild fowl and other game. It is computed, there are about five thouſand ſouls in the iſland, who inhabit five or ſix villages; there is a caſtle alſo ſituate on a rock by the ſea ſide, ſuppoſed to be built on the ground where Apollonia once ſtood. There are not leſs than five hundred Greek chapels in the country, and ſixty papas who ſay divine ſervice once a year in every one of theſe chapels; viz. on the day of their dedication. Here are alſo four convents of monks, and two of nuns; the iſland is in the dioceſs of the Biſhop of Melos. Siphanto was famous antiently for its gold mines, though the natives at preſent do not pretend to know in what part of the iſland they were; neither are their lead mines wrought, of which there are ſeveral. Some years ſince, there came ſome Jews from Conſtantinople by the order of the Porte to examine them; but the natives apprehending they ſhould be obliged to work them for the Turks, it is ſaid, bribed the captain of the galliot, who was to carry them back with the oar, to ſink the veſſel; which he did by boring holes in it, and ſent the Jews with their cargo to the bottom, eſcaping himſelf in his boat. At another time, they hired a rover to attack a ſet of Jews who came to Siphanto on the ſame errand; ſo that at length they totally gave over the enterprize. And according to Mr. TOURNEFORT, the rovers have done more towards preventing an apoſtaſy among the Greeks of theſe iſlands than their prieſts; for upon notice of any families being turned Turks, they frequently land and make them their priſoners, carrying them away into ſlavery to Malta or other places: and as the Greeks are more numerous in the Archipelago than the Latins, and apt to inſult the Latins on that account, they frequently complain to a Malteſe Corſair, and procure their adverſary to be well baſtinado'd for his inſolence. So that conſidering the Latins are ſuppported by the Pope, the French King, the Venetians, Malteſe, &c. they ſeem to be at leaſt upon the level with the poor Greeks, though they are much more numerous in theſe iſlands.

Serpho. The iſland of Serpho or Serphanto, lyes about twelve miles to the north eaſt of Siphanto, and is between thirty and forty miles in circumference, a mountainous rugged country, and full of precipices. There are ſome mines of iron and load-ſtone here, which lye ſo ſhallow that they are laid open by the rains, but the beſt pieces of load-ſtone lye deep. Beſides a poor village, there is but one town in the iſland, built round a frightful rock, three miles from the port, which is a pretty good one. The inhabitants are all Greeks, whom the Catholicks tell us, are a lazy ſlothful people, and that their vintage, as well as their crops of corn, are very inconſiderable. A Cadi or Judge itinerant, viſits them ſometimes, to receive appeals from their papas, and an officer ſtyled a Vaivode, reſides here to take care of the Sultan's duties, who can alſo inflict the baſtinado on Chriſtians when he ſees fit, in an arbitrary manner, without regard to legal forms. In this iſland, our author obſerves, the natives retain ſomething of the genius of their anceſtors, being every day compoſing witty ſatyrical ballads, nor are they leſs merry than their neighbours, dancing and carouſing all night, both men and women, on every feſtival.

Stenoſa. Stenoſa lyes eighteen miles north eaſt of Naxos, being a poor barren rock, about ten or twelve miles round, inhabited only by a few ſhepherds, who look after ſome flocks of goats, which belong to the monks of Amorgas, who ſupply them with biſcuit once in three months.

Nicouria. About a mile from Stenoſa lyes the iſland Nicouria, being a block of marble in the midſt of the ſea, five miles in compaſs, on which is not much to be found, but ſome lean goats and partridges,

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tridges, and little chapels dedicated to the Virgin, &c. erected after the manner of the Greeks, in the moſt inacceſſible parts of the rocks, believing that there is no ſmall merit in climbing up to them. Here being no want of materials for building, ſcarce a Greek dies in the Archipelago, but he leaves a legacy of ſome crowns for the erecting one of theſe oratories, which is the reaſon that all the iſlands are ſo thick ſet with chapels. To thoſe places after they have climbed up with infinite labour, they ſign themſelves fifteen or twenty times with the ſign of the croſs, and bowing their heads as often, almoſt to the ground. If the lamp be not lighted, they take out a tinder box and ſtrike fire, burning two or three grains of incenſe before the picture of the virgin or ſaint they find there; then they recommend their affairs to the care of the ſaint, and perhaps expoſtulate with him if things have not gone according to their expectations. The good women uſually bring with them a little oil for the lamp, or a wax candle, or elſe leave a piece of money to buy ſome, and if they can, they procure a papa to ſay divine ſervice before the ſaint. Theſe oratories are almoſt the only places which travellers find to lodge and lay their baggage in, and dreſs their food.

A multitude of little chapels in theſe iſlands.

Amorgos.

South eaſt of Naxia thirty or forty miles, and within two or three leagues of Nicouria, lyes the iſland of Amorgos or Morgos, being between thirty and forty miles in circumference. The beſt harbour is upon the ſouth part of the iſland. The town is built in form of an amphitheatre, on the ſides of a rock, where ſtands the old caſtle of the Dukes of the Archipelago, who reſided here. They have no Turkiſh magiſtrate conſtantly reſiding, but are governed as in the other iſlands. Three miles from the town, on the edge of the ſea, ſtands a large Greek monaſtery, to which the beſt grounds in Amorgos belong. The convent is ſeated towards the bottom of a hideous perpendicular rock, having cells for an hundred caloyers or monks; but there is no entering it without very great difficulty, and that only at a corner of the building, whither they aſcend by a ladder, after which they paſs up a very narrow ſtair-caſe, inſomuch that Monſieur TOURNEFORT obſerves, it looks more like a retreat for thieves or banditti, than a convent of religious. About four miles from hence is a chapel, ſituate in the pleaſanteſt part of the iſland, where they ſhew a miraculous urn, which, it is pretended, at certain times fills itſelf with water, and ſuddenly as miraculouſly becomes dry. Hither the ſuperſtitious Greeks frequently come to conſult their fortune, as to an oracle; for according to the increaſe or falling of the water, which the papa, who has the care of it cunningly contrives, they expect good or ill fortune in what they are about to undertake. The ſoil of the country is tolerably fruitful, producing as much oil as they want, and corn and wine to ſupply their neighbours. Their grapes are ſaid to equal any in the Archipelago.

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Caloyero is a hideous ſteep rock, twelve miles from Amorgos, which I find remarkable only for the multitude of falcons neſts which are found here, and therefore needs no farther deſcription.

Caloyero.

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Treats of the iſlands of Cheiro, Skinoſa, Raclia, Nio, Sikino, Policandro, and Santorini.

Cheiro.

CHEIRO is another deſert iſland, within musket ſhot of Caloyero, eighteen miles about, where the people of Amorgos feed three or four hundred goats.

Skinoſa.

Skinoſa alſo is deſtitute of inhabitants, lying eight miles from Cheiro, and twelve from Naxia, being twelve miles in circumference. There remains only the ruins of a town in the iſland, which afford nothing worth obſervation.

Raclia.

Raclia is another rock, between Naxia and Nio, about the bigneſs of Skinoſa, where the monks of Amorgos feed about a thouſand goats, ſuppoſed to be the antient Nicaſia.

Nio.

The iſle of Nio is twenty four miles diſtant from Naxia, and thirty north-weſt from Santorini, being forty miles in circumference, and was antiently called Ios, from the Ionians, who firſt inhabited it. The ſoil ſcarce affords any thing but corn, and is only remarkable for the tomb of HOMER, who was ſaid to be buried here, tho' there are no remains even of that, at preſent. They have ſome commodious ports, and the natives are eſteemed good pilots.

Sikino.

Sikino is eight miles from Nio, and twenty in circuit. It produces the beſt wheat in the Archipelago, and abundance of figs. The town, which is of the ſame name with the iſland, ſtands on a precipice, and ſeems to hang over the ſea, containing about two hundred inhabitants. There is no port belonging to the iſland.

Poli.

To the weſtward of Sikino lyes the iſland of Policandro, being eight miles in compaſs. Here are no harbours, and but one town, which ſtands about three miles from the ſea, containing an hundred families of Greeks, and upwards. It is a ſtony parched iſland, but the natives have however as much corn, fleſh, and fowl as they have occaſion for, and drive ſome trade with their cotton. There are two convents of monks, and one of nuns here, if we may properly call theſe women ſuch, who live, ſays THEVENOT, as nature teaches them. From the top of the chapel of St. MICHAEL, which ſtands upon a high hill, may be

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Santorini.

be ſeen moſt of the iſlands in the Archipelago in a clear day.

The iſland of Santorini, or Sant Erini, ſo called from St. IRENE, the patroneſs of the iſle, formerly called Thera and Caliſte, is ſituate five and twenty leagues north of Candia, being in the form of a creſcent, and about thirty five miles in circumference. The iſland or rock of Therafia lyes between the two points of the creſcent, which together form a large commodious harbour. At the bottom of the harbour ſtands the caſtle of Scaro or Caſtro, upon an inacceſſible rock, and on each point of the creſcent two others, about which there inhabit two or three hundred families. At Pirgo, a town ſituate on a high hill, the natives live in caves wrought out of the pumice ſtone rocks, for the whole iſland, it ſeems, is nothing but pumice covered over with a ſtaple of vegetable earth. It looks, ſays THEVENOT, like hell: the ſea about the coaſt is black, and all the land is burnt and ſcorched, occaſioned by a rocky iſland, which roſe out of the ſea ſome years ſince, vomiting out flames of fire. PLINY relates, that the iſland of Thera or Santorini itſelf, was raiſed out of the ſea by a vulcano; but certain it is, three other ſmall iſlands, two in the harbour and the third without, have been formed and raiſed above the ſea by ſubterraneous fires. The firſt of theſe iſlands, now called Megali Kammeni, or the great burnt iſland, was raiſed out of the ſea after an earthquake, an hundred and ninety ſix years before the birth of our Saviour, and became as big again in the year of our Lord 726, by the joining another iſland to it, which alſo roſe out of the ſea, with a terrible noiſe and concuſſion of the neighbouring iſlands; and the ſame thing happened again in the year 1457, as appears by a Latin inſcription upon a marble at Santorini, with this difference, that the ſubterraneous fire, after having raiſed an iſland five or ſix feet above the water, a vaſt quantity of rocks, which formed a ſpace about a mile in circumference, opened a paſſage for the ſea water to enter, by which the fire was extinguiſhed; and the middle of that ſpace remained ſo low, that the ſea flowing into it by a ſubterraneous paſſage, made a little lake, which remains ſo at this day. The ſecond iſland, which is a little without the harbour, and called in Greek, Aſproniſi, or the white iſland, becauſe the earth with which it is covered, is as white as chalk, PLINY, who lived in the reign of the Emperor VESPASIAN, ſays, aroſe out of the ſea in his time. The third, which is the leaſt, and called by the Greeks, Mikri Kammeni, or the little burnt iſland, was formed in the year 1573, according to the relation of antient people at Santorini, who learnt it of their immediate anceſtors; and it is between this iſland, and the Great Kammeni, that a fourth iſland began to ariſe in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeven, and encreaſed for ſeveral years after, till it became above ſix miles in circuit. The vulcano which made this iſland, was preceded by violent ſhakings of the earth, followed by a thick ſmoke, which aroſe out of the ſea in the day time, and flames of fire in the night, accompanied with a terrible roaring noiſe under ground, not unlike that of thunder, or the firing of great guns.

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The fourth iſland raiſed by a vulcano, anno 1707. The manner of it very aſtoniſhing.

Father GOREE, who was at Santorini at the time this laſt iſland was formed, and kept a diary of the progreſs of it for a year and upwards, relates, that it did not always riſe equally on every ſide, but it often happened that while it grew in height and length on one ſide, it ſunk down, and decreaſed on the other. That he ſaw a rock riſe out of the ſea forty or fifty paces from the iſland, which he continued to obſerve four days together, at the end of which time, it ſunk again into the ſea, and did not appear any more; but others which diſappeared as this did, re-appeared again ſome time after. That the ſea in the gulph or harbour of Santorini ſeveral times changed colour. At firſt it was green, then reddiſh, and afterwards of a yellowiſh colour; from whence there aroſe a ſtink, which ſpread itſelf over the iſland, and they imagined proceeded from the ſulphur, with which the ſea was covered. They ſaw alſo great rocks riſe up on every ſide, which were afterwards united to the firſt, and made but one iſland. As the ſmoke encreaſed very much, and there was no wind ſtirring, it aſcended to the middle region of the air, ſo as to be ſeen three or fourſcore miles diſtance, and in the night time it appeared like a flame of fire; while this continued there was an intolerable ſtench for a day and an half, but then a ſtrong ſouth-weſt wind ariſing, which carried the ſmoke upon the iſland of Santorini, it deſtroyed all their vintage, the grapes appearing like dried raiſins. Their ſilver and copper alſo was tarniſhed and looked black, and the natives became afflicted with pains in the head. In ſome places the ſea boiled and bubbled up, and the fiſh were found dead upon the ſhores. Noiſes were heard under ground like the firing of cannons, and flames of fire darted up high into the air, and then diſappeared. Our author numbered one night ſixty openings or funnels, which all of them threw out a very bright fire; and the next morning he obſerved that the iſland was very much raiſed. At ſome times were heard claps like thunder, and great ſtones were thrown up into the air, endangering the buildings and people on ſhore, and the veſſels paſſing by. The 15th of April 1708 was remarkable above all other days for the great number and violence of claps, by one of which near an hundred great ſtones were thrown up at once into

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into the air, ſome of them falling into the ſea at two miles diſtance.

Theſe terrible noiſes and convulſive motions being much decreaſed in May 1708, upwards of a year after the firſt appearance of the iſland, Father GOREE with the Latin Biſhop of Santorini, had the curioſity to go in a boat to view it; but in their paſſage thither, the ſea ſmoking, they put their hands into the water, and found it ſo very hot, that they were glad to make haſte back, when they were within five hundred paces of the new iſland. They went afterwards to the greater Kammeni to view the burning iſland from thence, and they judged it to be about two hundred feet in height, of an oblong form, about a mile broad, and five or ſix miles in circumference. This Father left the iſland of Santorini the 15th of Auguſt 1708, when the fire, ſmoke, and noiſe continued very moderate, as he underſtood they did till the year 1711, by advices from thence, and the natives of Santorini were then in no apprehenſions of any danger from thence; but the iſland however was ſtill encreaſing in magnitude.

Not only this new iſland, but the others near it, and even Santorini itſelf, as has been hinted already, are thought to have ariſen out of the ſea; but what a dreadful ſight muſt it be, as Mr. TOURNEFORT obſerves, to ſee the teeming earth bring forth ſuch unweildy burthens! What a prodigious force muſt there be to move, diſplace, and raiſe them above the water from ſo profound a depth! for ſo deep are the ſeas hereabouts, and even in the very harbour of Santorini, that there is no fathoming it. He adds, whence came the ſeeds of thoſe plants with which Santorini was ſo adorned, as once to obtain the name of the beautiful iſland, being nothing but a maſs of ſtone covered with mud, when it firſt emerged out of the waters? As to the preſent ſtate of the iſland of Santorini, however dreadful the firſt appearance of its coaſts may be; there is ſo good a ſtaple of earth upon it, and ſo well cultivated, that it is a perfect garden, compared with ſome other iſlands about it, producing barley, grapes and cotton in abundance; and ſome little wheat; the wine is of the colour of Rheniſh, ſtrong and ſpirituous, being exported all over the Archipelago, and as far as Conſtantinople; the chief trade of the iſland conſiſts in this and their cotton manufactures: the women cultivate the vineyards while the men are employed abroad in vending the wine: their cotton grows up in a ſhrub like a gooſeberry buſh, and is not replanted every year as in the other iſlands. They have no oil, and ſcarce any fruit but figs; their bread is no better than coarſe barley biſcuit, one reaſon whereof is, that there is no fewel upon the iſland to bake it. The water they have is preſerved in ciſterns, except one ſpring. Their meat they pickle in ſalt and vinegar, and afterwards dry in the ſun till it is almoſt as hard as a board; and it is eaten ſometimes boiled, and at others without any dreſſing. The inhabitants are all Greeks, of whom it is computed there are about ten thouſand ſouls upon the iſland; one third of them of the Latin communion, and ſubject to a Latin Biſhop; a Cadi, or Judge itinerant from the Turks, viſits them here annually as in the other iſlands.

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To the eaſtward of Santorini lyes the iſland of Nanſio, antiently Anaphe, being ſixteen miles in compaſs, without any harbour belonging to it: the country is mountainous and almoſt deſtitute of plants and herbage, but bleſſed with abundance of fine ſprings: the inhabitants are all of the Greek communion, having the Biſhop of Siphno for their dioceſan. There are neither Turks nor Latins in the iſland, only a Cadi viſits them at certain ſeaſons in his circuit: the country yields a great quantity of wax and honey, and partridges multiply ſo faſt, that the people deſtroy thouſands of their eggs every year, to prevent the little corn they have being eaten up by them. Here are the ruins of a temple dedicated to APOLLO ſtill remaining, conſiſting of pieces of marble columns, and a very beautiful architrave; and not far from them is a chapel dedicated to the Virgin, built with part of the materials of that temple. Nanſio.

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Treats of the iſlands of Thermia, Zia, Syra, Macroniſi, Andros and Tenos.

THermia lyes to the north eaſt of Melos, and takes its name from the hot baths, which are found here. It is not ſo mountainous as ſome other iſlands, and the ſoil being well cultivated yields plenty of barley, wine and figs, but wheat and oil are ſcarce: they make about twelve hundred weight of ſilk every year, and manufacture cotton enough for their own uſe. Thermia alſo produces plenty of honey, wax, and partridges: it is computed there are about ſix thouſand ſouls in the iſland, of the Greek communion, who have a Biſhop reſiding in Thermia, their chief town, where there are fifteen or ſixteen churches, and ſeveral monaſteries: there are many hot ſprings in the iſland, the antient baths are in the midſt of a valley, where there are ſtill ſome remains of the buildings erected about them. The ruins of two antient towns are alſo ſtill to be ſeen here, (viz.) thoſe of Hebreo Caſtro, or the Jews town, and Paleo Caſtro; Hebreo Caſtro is on the ſouth weſt of the iſland near the ſea on the declivity of a mountain. The magnificence and grandeur of theſe ruins, ſays TOURNEFORT, are ſurpriſing, and ſhew it to have been a glorious city. Paleo Caſtro Thermia.

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Caſtro is not ſo ruinous as the other, but does not appear to have been ſo conſiderable a town as the former.

Z. Ceos.

Twelve miles to the weſtward of Thermia lyes the iſland of Zia or Ceos, ſometimes called Sea; it is ſix or ſeven leagues to the eaſtward of the continent of Greece, and fifty miles in circumference, being in the form of a creſcent: Carthea is now the only city left in the iſland of four that it was formerly famous for; it is ſeated on the ſide of a hill, and the flat roofed houſes riſing gradually form a kind of a theatre: there are no other ſtreets to walk in, but the roofs of the houſes. The citadel lyes in ruins, without any garriſon to defend it; what is left of the town now ſtands three or four miles from the port, tho' it anciently extended over the plain as far as the ſea. In this valley are innumerable pieces of broken marble columns and baſes: the port is on the north weſt part of the iſland, and will admit of the largeſt veſſels. The ruins of the city of Joulis alſo take up a whole mountain: here is an antient temple, the columns whereof have their ſhafts half plain, and half fluted; from hence you deſcend to the ſea ſide, through a noble ſtair caſe cut in marble, where is a ſtatue of a woman without arms or head, but the drapery admirably fine, ſuppoſed to be deſigned for the goddeſs NEMESIS. In this iſland is ſtill to be ſeen, a way paved with flat ſtone, and reaching three miles in length, ſuppoſed to be made when Greece was in its flouriſhing ſtate. The preſent inhabitants are Greeks, except five or ſix families who are of the Latin communion: the Greek Biſhop has a good revenue; and the iſland is full of papas, chapels and monaſteries.

Their chief manufactures are ſilk and camlet; and ſome relate that ſilk ſtuffs were firſt invented here: among the products of the ſoil, their figs are reckoned the moſt conſiderable; they have alſo a ſufficient quantity of corn and wine, but oil they have none, and very little wood. It is reported, that this country being antiently very populous, a law paſſed, that if any perſon lived beyond ſixty years of age, he ſhould be taken off by poiſon or otherwiſe, to make room for the reſt. And the natives it ſeems had ſuch an indifference for life, that they were willing to reſign it.

The iſland of Syra lyes to the eaſtward of Zia, and is five and twenty miles in circumference: the chief town is built round a little ſteep hill, almoſt in the form of a pyramid, about a mile from the port where ſtood the antient Syros. Here the Latins boaſt of a great ſuperiority, having, as they ſay, ſix thouſand ſouls of their communion; whereas there are not above eight or nine families of the Greeks, which bleſſing they aſcribe to the diligence of their Miſſionaries, who are French capuchins: the people of the iſland are alſo ſaid to be of quite another ſtamp than their neighbours; men of great piety and probity as well as diligence, improving their manufactures to the utmoſt, particularly that of cotton: but no wonder the Latins give us ſo great a character of a people among whom they have made ſo many proſelytes. The iſland produces plenty of barley, wine, figs, cotton and olives, and good wheat, tho' they have but little of it. The country is very mountainous, and almoſt deſtitute of wood; the air is moiſt and cooler than in the iſlands about it.

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Macroniſi, the antient Helene, is ſituate between Zia and the continent of Attica, from the laſt of which it is not above five or ſix miles diſtant. It was once an iſland of great fame, but is now perfectly deſerted, except that ſome ſhepherds of Zia feed flocks of goats here; only Monſieur TOURNEFORT obſerves, that for ſimpling it is the moſt agreeable in the Archipelago, the plants being larger and fairer than in other places. Macroniſi or Helene.

Joura is twelve miles from Syra, and eighteen from Zia, being twelve miles in circuit, a poor barren deſerted country like the former, without towns or inhabitants, except two or three ſhepherds. Joura.

The iſland of Andros lyes forty or fifty miles north eaſt of Zia, and is about an hundred miles in circumference, being much longer than broad, and ſtretching from ſouth to north: the chief town is ſituate near the ſea, and called the port of the lower caſtle; the old marble monuments ſhew that it was built on the ruins of ſome magnificent city, tho' nothing can be much meaner than the preſent buildings, conſidering the valuable materials made uſe of in them. The entrance of the port is on the north eaſt. The Cadi and people of condition reſide in caſtles and towers, of which there are built a great number in the iſland to defend them from the rovers. There are between thirty and forty villages in the iſland, inhabited by four or five thouſand people, among whom are a colony of a thouſand or twelve hundred Albanois brought hither by the Turks. A Cadi and an Aga, or Colonel of the janizaries reſide here, but the people have the privilege however of electing magiſtrates from among themſelves. The natives are all of the Greek communion, except two or three families, and yet here reſide both a Latin and Greek Biſhop; here are alſo, as in the other iſlands, abundance of prieſts and chapels, and a proportionable number of monaſteries. Between the chief town and the village of Livadre is one of the moſt delightful plains that can be ſeen, being planted with orange, lemon, mulberry trees, pomegranates, figs, &c. and watered with pleaſant ſprings and rivulets; but after all, neither the air nor water of this country are good. The habit of the women of Andros, as of moſt of the other iſlands, is very unbecoming: their coats ſcarce reach Andros, or Andra.

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reach their knees, and their ſhifts appear a handful lower; they are wrapped up in five or ſix gowns, and about their waiſts wear great rolls of cloth like a farthingale: the ſleeves of their gowns are ſo full and large that they reach almoſt to the ground: on their legs they have white cloth ſtockings and ſlippers, and about their heads wrap a piece of linnen, which alſo covers their breaſts. The uſual garb of the men is a veſt, and a red cap, and inſtead of ſhoes they wear pumps, or ſlippers here, as they do every where elſe in the eaſt.

This is one of the moſt fruitful iſlands in the Archipelago, yielding wine, oil and barley in abundance, and ſome wheat; but their riches conſiſts principally in ſilk, of which they make above ten thouſand pounds every year. The mountains are covered with arbute trees, from the fruit whereof they diſtil a ſpirit, as they do from their mulberries: they pay ſome years fifteen thouſand crowns in taxes to the Grand Seignior. Their uſual food is goats fleſh, beſides which there is plenty of poultry, veniſon, partridges and other game; but their ſeas afford little fiſh.

As to their antiquities, among the ruins of the antient Paleopolis, which was ſituated on the brow of a hill near the ſea coaſt, are ſtill to be ſeen the remains of a ſolid wall with fine marble columns, chapiters and baſes, and ſome inſcriptions which ſpeak of the ſenate and people of Andros, and prieſts of BACCHUS: there are alſo the trunks of ſeveral marble ſtatues, which diſcover the maſterly hand of the engraver; but the head, arms and legs are all broken off by the ſuperſtitious Turks, who deteſt all kind of imagery. Near the temple of BACCHUS in this iſland there was a fountain, according to tradition, that for certain days every year flowed with wine inſtead of water, which the prieſts, no doubt, ſays my author, took care to keep up the belief of by conveying a quantity of wine thither through ſecret canals.

Tine, or Tenos.

The iſland of Tine is ſituate a mile or two to the ſouth eaſt of Andros, ſtretching from the ſouth eaſt to the north weſt, and is about ſixty miles in circumference: it is high land, mountainous and bare; and by ſome called a heap of marble rocks, but in many places covered with a ſtaple of fertile earth. Antiently the chief town of the iſland ſtood upon the ſouthern ſhore, where there remain now only two or three houſes, called ſtill, however, polis, or the city; from hence aſcending four or five miles up a ſteep rock we come to the principal town, defended by a caſtle; beſides which, there are thirty or forty villages in the iſland extremely populous. The country is well watered, and produces corn, wine and fruit; they have alſo a conſiderable quantity of ſilk, ſometimes ſixteen thouſand pound weight in a year, of which the natives make ſtockings and gloves, it not being fine enough for ſtuffs. The people here have a more decent dreſs than thoſe of the other iſlands, following either the Venetians or Candiots in their garb. Here is a Latin Biſhop, and more of the natives are of the Latin communion in proportion, than in the neighbouring iſlands: this having been longer under the dominion of the Venetians than any other iſland in the Archipelago.

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Bearings of Joura from Tine.

From the caſtle of Tine, there being a noble proſpect of ſeveral other iſlands in the Archipelago, Mr. TOURNEFORT obſerved their reſpective bearings, which are as follow, viz. Joura lyes to the weſt of Tine, Syra ſouth weſt, Andros between the north weſt and north north weſt, Paros ſouth, Delos between the ſouth ſouth eaſt and ſouth, Scio between the north eaſt and north north eaſt, Samos between the eaſt and eaſt north eaſt, Nicaria eaſt, Mycone ſouth eaſt, Amorgo between the ſouth eaſt and ſouth ſouth eaſt, Naxia between the ſouth ſouth eaſt and ſouth.

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Treats of the iſlands of Engia, Porus, Colouri, Negropont, Skyros, Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace and Thaſſus.

Gulph of Engia.

I COME next to take a view of the iſlands in the gulph of Engia, antiently called the Saronick gulph. This gulph, or bay, is made by the promontory of Sunium, now called cape Colonni on the Attick ſhore, and Scillæum, now cape Skillo, on the Peloponneſian ſhore; which capes are two or three and twenty miles diſtant from each other, and from the entrance of this gulph to the iſthmus of Corinth is about five and fifty miles. There are many little iſlands in this gulph, but the moſt conſiderable are Engia, or Egina, Colouri and Porus, which only are inhabited: Egina, which at preſent giveth name to this ſea, as the river Saron did antiently, is the largeſt of the three, and is called corruptly by our ſailors Engia: it lyes about eighteen miles from the ſhore of Attica, and twelve from the Morea, and is about thirty miles in circuit. There is no harbour about it, nor any city, or village, except that of the ſame name with the iſland. The town conſiſts of about eight hundred houſes, and hath a caſtle a little above it, not remarkable for any thing but the fine proſpect it affords; for from hence are ſeen the ſhores of Attica and the Morea, and many of the iſlands in the Archipelago. The antiquities ſtill remaining here, are the ruins of two temples, the one ſituate north-weſt of the town, ſuppoſed to be that of VENUS, mentioned by PAUSANIAS, which hath but two pillars now ſtanding with a piece of an architrave upon them: the other is four miles from the town on the oppoſite ſide of the iſland, ſuppoſed to be the temple which

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which ÆACUS the firſt King of this iſland dedicated to JUPITER, of which there were lately twenty pillars ſtanding with their architraves upon them, and many others lying on the ground, being of the Dorick order, channelled, or fluted, two and twenty foot and an half long, and the architraves thirteen feet and an half long, and three broad; by the order of placing them, there ſeem to have been fifty in number, ſet about a pace and an half diſtant from each other. This iſland affords plenty of corn, cotton, honey, wax, almonds, and other fruits; and is ſo peſtered with partridges, that the people are ſummoned annually by authority to deſtroy their eggs, or they would be in danger of loſing their crop.

The iſland of Porus is ſituate near the Morea between Egina and the promontory of Schillæum, being eighteen miles in compaſs, and inhabited only by the Albaneſes: it was antiently called Calabrea, and is remarkable for the baniſhment of DEMOSTHENES hither, where he poiſoned himſelf to avoid falling into the hands of ANTIPATER.

Colouri, antiently called Salamis, is ſeparated from the promontory of Amphalia ſix or ſeven miles from Athens by a narrow ſtrait not a mile over: it is of an oval figure, and about fifty miles in circumference, having a harbour on the weſt ſide eight miles in length, and three in breadth; at the bottom of which bay is a town of the ſame name with the iſland, viz. Colouri, having about an hundred and fifty poor houſes in it: there are but two villages beſides in the iſland, one whereof called Ambelachi, ſtands upon the ſtraight towards Athens, near the place where the antient Salamis once ſtood, which according to the ruins thereabouts muſt have been four or five miles in compaſs. The famous AJAX was King of this iſland, who joined the Grecian navy with his troops and twelve ſhips when they went to the ſiege of Troy.

As we ſail from the gulph of Engia to the northward, we come to the iſland of Negropont, which ſtretches from the ſouth eaſt to the north weſt along the eaſtern coaſt of Achaia, from which it is ſeparated only by a narrow channel, called the Euripus. This iſland was antiently named Eubœa, and by the modern Greeks Egripos, but by the Franks corruptly Negropont. The chief town Egripos lyes in thirty eight degrees thirty minutes north latitude, and is ſituate on the ſouth weſt coaſt of the iſland about the middle of it, and joined to that part of the continent of Greece where the city of Aulis ſtood by a ſtone bridge, in the middle whereof is a redoubt and a draw bridge for the gallies to paſs through. The walls of the town are two miles about, and the ſuburbs where the Chriſtians inhabit are ſtill larger. The Captain Baſſa, or Admiral of the Turkiſh fleet, is Viceroy of this iſland and the adjacent parts of Greece, where he has a deputy, and a fleet of galleys generally lye in this port. When MAHOMET the ſecond conquered this iſland, and had put the Venetian Governor to death, he made court to his daughter Signiora ANNA, who obſtinately refuſing the embraces of her father's murderer, he cut her in pieces with his ſcimitar, on which account her memory is accounted ſacred among the Venetians. On the north eaſt coaſt of Negropont ſtands the city of Cariſto a populous place, and a Biſhop's ſee, ſubject to the Archbiſhop of Egripos. The iſland abounds in corn, wine, fruits, fiſh, fleſh and fowl: our countryman WHEELER relates, that wine was two pence a gallon; fleſh an halfpeny, and fiſh a farthing a pound in the city of Egripos when he was there, though it is ſeldom without a fleet of galleys in the harbour; but what this iſland antiently was and ſtill is moſt remarkable for, is the uncertain tides in the Euripus, or channel, between that iſland and the continent, of which the laſt mentioned judicious traveller gives the following account, viz. the tides are ſometimes regular and ſometimes irregular in the Euripus, according to the different times of the moon: the ebbing and flowing is perceived ten or a dozen leagues on each ſide the ſtraight, where the town of Egripos ſtands in the little bays along the ſhore. They are regular from the three laſt days of the old moon to the eighth of the new; the ninth day they become irregular, and continue ſo till the thirteenth inclufively: the fourteenth they are regular again, and continue ſo to the one and twentieth excluſively; when they become irregular until the twenty ſeventh. When they are irregular they flow twelve, thirteen, or fourteen times, and ebb as often in twenty four or twenty five hours: at theſe times the water is about half an hour riſing, and three quarters of an hour falling; but when the tides are regular, they obſerve the ſame rule according to the moon as the tides in the ocean; that is, they flow twice in twenty four or twenty five hours, and ebb as often, loſing near an hour every day, and are about as long coming in as going out; but there are obſerved theſe differences between the tides of the Euripus and thoſe of the ocean at all times: the Euripus riſes but a foot or little more, whereas in ſome places of the ocean they riſe twelve feet, (but in ſome parts of the ocean, travellers obſerve, the tides do not riſe above a foot) and between the ebbing and flowing of the Euripus is a little ſpace wherein the water ſeems to ſtand ſtill, which it is not obſerved to do in the ocean.

Six or ſeven leagues to the northward of Negropont lyes the iſland of Skyros, which received its name from the ruggedneſs of the country, being

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being full of rocks and precipices. It is of a triangular figure, and ſixty miles in circumference. PALLAS was the protectreſs of this iſland; her temple ſtood on the ſea ſhore, in a town which bore the ſame name with the iſland, of which there are ſtill remaining ſome columns and cornices, at leaſt travellers ſuppoſe them to be the ruins of that temple: the town of Skyros is a Biſhop's ſee; and there are about three hundred families of Greeks in the iſland; the country is well wooded and watered, and has plenty of corn and wine.

Between the iſland of Skyros and the gulph of Theſſalonica, are the iſlands of Saraquino, or Limini, Scopelos, Siatto, Pepare Thus, Halonefus, Pontico, Dromus, and ſome others, of which our geographers or travellers, have not yet thought it worth the while to give us any particular deſcription; and therefore I proceed farther northward to the iſland of Lemnos.

Stalimene, antiently Lemnos, is an iſland in the north part of the Egæan ſea, of a quadrangular figure, each ſide being between twenty five and thirty miles long. It is almoſt equally diſtant from the coaſts of Romelia, Natolia, and Macedonia. The chief town is of the ſame name of the iſland; and on the weſt ſide of it, in forty degrees odd minutes north latitude, over againſt monte Santo or mount Athos, abovementioned to be poſſeſſed by the Greek caloyers: the ſhadow of which mountain a little before the ſetting of the ſun, is ſaid to reach as far as this iſland, tho' it be ſixty or ſeventy miles diſtant from it, which I look upon as a very ridiculous aſſertion, unleſs they mean no more than that a little before ſun ſet mount Athos intercepts their view of the ſun, for never was a ſhadow diſcernible at ten miles diſtance from the hill that made it.

The country is not ſo mountainous as the other iſlands, and has ſeveral fruitful valleys which produce corn and wine, and other neceſſaries of life; but there is no wood, and ſcarce any ſprings in the iſland. Their principal riches is ſaid to be a mineral earth called terra lemnia, of excellent virtue in curing wounds, expelling poiſons, ſtopping fluxes, &c. and a great preſervative againſt infection. This is made up in little balls and ſealed by the Turkiſh officers, after which, and not before, it is permitted to be ſold and diſtributed to the reſt of the world. On the 6th of Auguſt annually the Greeks begin to gather it, with much religious (or rather ſuperſtitious) preparation, ſaid to be introduced by the Venetians when they were ſovereigns of this iſland. There is one hill only which produces it, the ſurface whereof being opened, they diſcover the vein, which reſembles the earth caſt up by worms; and having gathered as much of it as their prieſts approve of, the earth is cloſed again, and ſome bags of it ſent to the Grand Seignior, and the reſt ſold to foreign merchants. In the time of the Venetians there were forty or fifty towns and villages in the iſland well inhabited; but it is thinly peopled at preſent. The beſt port in the iſland is called Mudro, being on the ſouth eaſt part of it; above which ſtands a town with an indifferent caſtle garriſoned by the Turks, in whoſe poſſeſſion the country now is. A third town geographers take notice of ſtands near the ruins of the antient Hepheſtiades, memorable for the temple of VULCAN; for into this iſland the poets feign that VULCAN fell from heaven, being kicked out of paradiſe by JUNO for a deformed homely brat, and lamed in the fall, from whence he was called LEMNIUS, and worſhipped as a decrepit deity by the people of this iſland.

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Between Lemnos and the Thracian Cherſoneſe lyes the iſland of Imbros, or Lembros; it is a mountainous country covered with woods, and has four villages in it, the chief of which is called Imbros, and defended by a caſtle. It is full of wild beaſts and game, there being a great deal of cover for them. But I do not find any thing elſe it is conſiderable for.

Samondrachi, antiently Samothrace, is an iſland oppoſite to the coaſt of Thrace, or Romelia, where the river Hebrus falls into the ſea: it was firſt called Leucoſia, and afterwards Samos, and then Samothrace, to diſtinguiſh it from the other iſland of Samos. The chief town is of the ſame name with the iſland, ſituate on a high hill on the north part of it, overlooking a ſpacious harbour, and there are ſeveral other good ports about this iſland.

The iſland of Thaſſus lyes to the weſtward of Samondrachi, near the mouth of the Strymonian bay, or gulph of Conteſſa; a fertile iſland, forty or fifty miles in compaſs, yielding plenty of wine, and well covered with wood In the mountains are quarries of excellent marble, by the Romans called Thaſſian marble. There were alſo mines of ſeveral kinds of metal, wrought in the time of ALEXANDER the Great: but none at preſent that I can learn. The chief town is ſituate in a plain near the ſea, on the north part of the iſland. And thus I have gone through the deſcription of the iſlands in the Levant and Egæan ſeas under the dominion of the Grand Seignior: in which I was induced to take more than ordinary care and pains; theſe iſlands having been long poſſeſt by the politeſt people that ever yet appeared in the world, tho' now they are in ſubjection to the barbarous Turk, who carries ignorance and deſolation along with him wherever he comes: and for that reaſon, if not upon a religious account, ought to be oppoſed by all the powers on earth. And though, it is true, there are ſome ſingle potentates of Europe more than a match for him; yet ſuch is the ambition, or rather jealouſy, of Chriſtian Princes,

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Princes one of another, that one Prince no ſooner endeavours to put a ſtop to the progreſs of this great oppreſſor and enemy of the croſs, but ſome other Chriſtian King confederates with, and ſtrengthens the hands of the infidels, to the everlaſting diſgrace of our religion, and to the prejudice of the common intereſt of mankind.

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Treats of the trade, the weights, meaſures, and coins of Turkey.

WHoever attentively conſiders the happy ſituation of the Grand Seignior's dominions, their vaſt extent, and the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil in many of the Turkiſh provinces, producing whatever can contribute to the ſupport or convenience of life, would be inclined to believe, that the trade of the world muſt infallibly center here; and all other nations become dependent on this empire. For by the gulph of Perſia, and the Red ſea, he has a better opportunity of exporting the product and manufactures of his weſtern dominions, and of importing all the rich merchandizes of China and India, than any nation in Europe. The iſlands of the eaſt, where only ſpices grow, muſt alſo have been long ſince reduced under his power, had he a fleet anſwerable to what might be expected from a Prince who hath all manner of timber, and naval ſtores, in his own territories, ſufficient to equip the largeſt fleets, and millions of people whoſe perſons and fortunes are entirely at his diſpoſal. And as to the trade of the Mediterranean, bounded on three ſides by the Turkiſh provinces of Egypt, Syria, Aſia Minor, &c. what could have prevented the Sultan from being ſovereign of this ſea, if his ſubjects had applied themſelves, like other nations, to maritime affairs. In the trade of the Black ſea indeed, which is incloſed on every ſide by the Grand Seignior's dominions; he has no competitor, but had any of the maritime powers of Europe theſe advantages, they would ſoon give laws to the reſt of the trading world. It is ſcarce poſſible to conceive, how all theſe glorious advantages are loſt by the indolence and inactivity of the Turks, or the deſtructive maxims they are governed by. As to the gulph of Perſia, tho' the Grand Seignior is maſter of Boſſora, ſituate towards the mouth of the Tygris, which diſcharges itſelf into that ſea, and is a port of greater trade than any, if not than all the other ports in the gulph, and crowded in the ſeaſon by foreign merchants from all parts; yet have the Turks themſelves ſcarce any ſhare in the trade, or ſo much as one ſhip on that ſide: the greateſt advantage accruing to them, is, by the duties of import and export, and the taxes laid on the natives of the adjacent country, which the tributary Prince of Boſſora has a conſiderable ſhare in. The King of Muſcat, an Arabian Prince, who has no dependance on the Grand Seignior, commands the navigation of this and the Red ſea, as well as of the Ethiopick ocean. The Turks have been beaten out of moſt of the ports they were once poſſeſſed of on the Arabian coaſts, and have very little influence on that people at preſent. Some galleys and other veſſels the Grand Seignior has indeed in the Red ſea, but they ſeldom ſail beyond the ſtraights of Babel Mandel, or are employed in any foreign trade. In the Mediterranean, the Turks are employed in tranſporting the product and manufactures of one province to another; but are never known to make long voyages to any diſtant countries, or indeed to any people of a different faith: but the merchandiſe of Chriſtendom is carried to them in foreign bottoms, as well as that of the eaſt, and in the ſame veſſels, the produce and manufactures of Turkey are ſent abroad, ſo that they reap little other advantage by their trade, but what proceeds from the cuſtoms and duties of import and export. By the Black ſea, beſides proviſions and naval ſtores, the Turks import great numbers of Chriſtian ſlaves, taken by the Tartars in their incurſions into Chriſtendom, or ſuch as their Jewiſh or Chriſtian factors buy up, and barter for in Circaſſia, Mingrelia, &c. where parents willingly part with their children for an inconſiderable gain; not with a view of their being uſed as ſlaves, and put to the vileſt drudgeries, but in hopes that their beauty or merit will procure them admiſſion into the families of the greateſt Princes, and raiſe the fortunes of themſelves and their families; ſo that however harſh the ſelling their children may ſound in the ears of the weſtern people, when we underſtand upon what motives they part with them, it abates much of the deteſtation we conceived againſt them for the ſeeming unnatural practice; they ſend them to diſtant countries as the likelieſt means to procure their advancement in the world: but was it not for this conſtant ſupply of ſlaves from foreign countries, and the addition of Chriſtian renegadoes who daily apoſtatiſe, and go over to the Mahometans, Turkey would be ſtill more thinly peopled, and their empire decline much faſter than it does. Beſides the trade carried on by ſea in Turkey, great quantities of rich merchandiſe are daily tranſported to and from Perſia, Arabia, and Tartary, by caravans of camels and mules: but this, as well as other trades, is managed chiefly by the Armenian Chriſtians or Jews: the Mahometan ſubjects do not ſeem ſo intent upon trade, as in procuring preferment in the church, the army, or civil government; leaving traffick and mechanical employments to the deſpiſed Chriſtians, who by their manual labours or foreign trade, in reality contribute more to the ſupport of the empire than

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the Turks themſelves; which alone ſeems a ſufficient reaſon for the government to indulge them in the exerciſe of their reſpective religions.

Goods exported from England to Turkey.

I come now to ſpeak more particularly of the trade of England with the Turkiſh dominions; and firſt, as to our exports, which are chiefly of our own product and manufactures, viz. long and ſhort cloths, ſtuffs, perpetuanas, haberdaſhers wares, coney skins, clock work, gold and ſilver watches, wrought iron and braſs, glaſs, lead and tin; all tranſported in our own bottoms; for the Turks ſend no ſhips into the ocean, or to any nation of a different faith, as hath been obſerved already.

Goods imported from Turkey.

Goods imported from Turkey are raw ſilk of the product of Perſia, carpets, goats hair, mohair, yarn, goats wool, cotton wool, cotton yarn, dimities, burdets, ſhagrin skins, cordovants blue, red, and yellow; coffee the product of Arabia only; rhubarb the product of eaſtern Tartary; turpentine, ſtorax, gum ſeneca, gum tragant, gum arabick, opium, organum, galls, maſtick, wormſeed, ſenna, zeduary, emery ſtones, terra lemnia or ſigillata, china root, pomegranate peels, ſpunges, piſtachio nuts, dates, almonds, wine, oil, figs, raiſins, mother of pearl, viſney valinia for dying, ſal ammoniac, allum botargo, roman vitriol, box wood, bees wax and ſaffron.

The preſent price of which imported goods, at leaſt of ſuch of them as are moſt conſiderable for their value and the quantities imported, I informed my ſelf of from an eminent Turkey merchant, and find them to be as follow, viz.

Sherbuffe ſilk and Ardepett ſilk imported from Smyrna.

Sold by the battman of 2400 drachms, which ought to hold out eleven great pounds of twenty four ounces (as this and all raw ſilk is ſold) or ſixteen pounds and an half of ſixteen ounces to the pound, is worth about ſixty five dollars per battman; the firſt ſort, without the charges of cuſtom, &c.

	Dollars.		
Cotton wool — —	14		Per kental of 100 rotilos, which ought to weigh 122 pounds Engliſh.
Cotton yarn as in Goodneſs — —	20	to 37 ½	
Gauls —— ———	20		
Vallinia — — —	1	¼	
Boxwood — —	1	½ to 2	
Bees-wax — —	44		

Goats wool the oque of 800 drachms, or 5 pounds 6 ounces Engliſh, dollars 3 ¼.

	Dollars.		
Scamony ——	7	¼	Per oque of 400 drachms, or 2 pounds 11 oz. Engliſh.
Wormſeed ——	1	½ to 2	
Roman vitriol —		¾	
Mohair yarn from	1	½ to 5	
Scio turpentine —	2		
Gum tragant —		⅔	

Cordovants blue, red and yellow, one dollar per skin.

Weights.

2400 Drachms, or ſixteen pounds and an half Engliſh, is one battman of Smyrna.
180 drachms, one rotilo.
146 drachms, is one pound Engliſh.
250 drachms, is one rotilo of opium.
120 drachms, is one rotilo of ſaffron.
720 drachms, is one rotilo of Aleppo.
700 drachms, is one rotilo of white ſilk.
680 drachms, is one rotilo of Perſia ſilk.
The kental of Perſia is 28 Battmans.

Meaſures.

The pike is 27 inches Engliſh, by which is ſold all cloth, wrought ſilk, &c.

Coins.

Gold and ſilver coins of all countries paſs in Turkey for their value.

The coins of the country are aſpers, pararrs, zelotes, and half zelotes.

An aſper is about the value of an halfpeny. Three aſpers make one pararr. Forty pararrs make one dollar. A zelote is two thirds of a dollar.

Gold coins.

Zingerlees worth two dollars ½. Tomilees worth two dollars and half each.

For the protection of our Turkey trade, and ſupport of the Engliſh intereſt in the Grand Seignior's dominions, his Excellency Sir EVERARD FAWKNER at preſent reſides at Conſtantinople in the quality of Ambaſſador of Great Britain to the Porte; there reſides likewiſe a Conſul at Aleppo, another at Smyrna, another at Grand Cairo, another at Theſſalonica or Salonichi, and another at Cyprus. There alſo reſides at Tripoli a Vice-Conſul, and another at Scanderoon; which, though it be but a vice-conſulate, is one of the moſt profitable poſts in the diſpoſal of the Turkey company; there being greater quantities of goods exported and imported here to and from England, than at any other

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other port in Turkey. It is to be remarked alſo, that the raw ſilk imported from the Grand Seignior's dominions is for the moſt part of the growth of Perſia: the ſilk which is of the growth of Turkey being manufactured and ſpent there. There are no wrought ſilks imported into England from Turkey, or any other country, becauſe they are at preſent prohibited by act of parliament: but the Turkey burdetts, which have a mixture of ſilk, are however pretty much worn amongſt us.

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Treats of the marriages, divorces, concubinage and funeral rites of the Turks.

MArriage in Turkey is of two kinds, the one for life, if there be no juſt cauſe of divorce; the other temporary, and upon ſuch conditions as the parties can agree on before a magiſtrate. As to concubinage, or their commerce with their female ſlaves which they purchaſe or breed up, and with whom no contracts are made, theſe can hardly come under the denomination of wives, both the mother and the children remaining ſlaves, and deſcending with the other eſtate and moveables, to the next heir, unleſs they turn Mahometans, or the father enfranchiſe them before he dies, or by his laſt will; and in theſe caſes indeed the children by a ſlave come in for a ſhare of their father's goods and eſtate with the children of thoſe women he has taken by contract; at leaſt of ſuch part as remains unſettled; for whatever the husband contracts to allow his wife, in caſe of divorce or death, goes only among the children he hath by her. The iſſue of a future wife do not ſeem to be entitled to any ſhare of this.

As to the firſt ſort of wives, if the conſent of parties be requiſite to conſtitute a marriage, this ſeems to deſerve that honourable appellation as little as the other, for the parties themſelves are ſeldom conſulted in the matter, but frequently matched before they are of age to make a choice: their fathers or neareſt relations agree upon condition, which are recorded before a Judge, and nothing elſe is neceſſary to make them man and wife according to their law: no previous courtſhip, or even acquaintance with the party is allowed; they are perfect ſtrangers both to the perſon and humours of the Lady with whom they are about to enter into the ſtricteſt alliance: the woman is not ſo much as preſent when the contract is made and regiſtred before the Judge; nor is it afterwards ſolemnized before a prieſt in the temple, as with us. But when all things are adjuſted, the Lady, vailed from head to foot, is ſet on horſeback with a canopy held over her head, and being preceded by her baggage, conſiſting of her wardrobe, and ſuch furniture and utenſils as her father preſents her with (which is uſually all the fortune the bride hath) and attended by a large train of her relations and acquaintance, with the muſick of the country, dancing girls and ſtrollers playing before her, ſhe is brought in mighty pomp to the bridegroom's houſe, where the male relations by themſelves, and the women in a different apartment by themſelves, are entertained, and ſpend the remainder of the day in rejoicing, as uſual upon ſuch occaſions.

At night the Lady is led by an eunuch to the bridal chamber; or, if ſhe be of inferior quality, by ſome female acquaintance; where being left with her new ſpouſe, he undreſſes her himſelf; and to exerciſe his patience, the ſtrings of her breeches (for all the eaſtern Ladies wear them) he finds tied with a thouſand knots by her female companions who had the dreſſing of her.

The Turks take but one wife of the firſt ſort.

Of theſe firſt ſort of wives the Turks ſeldom take more than one, tho' they are allowed four, unleſs upon account of advancing themſelves by ſuch matches; for as theſe wives are all equal, it ſeems almoſt impoſſible to avoid a perpetual contention where there are ſeveral of them in one houſe. But they uſually take one of theſe to be miſtreſs of the family, and if their conſtitution or a fancy for variety induces them to take more females to their bed, they purchaſe ſome beautiful ſlaves in the market, if there be none they like among their own.

Second ſort of wives.

As to the ſecond ſort of wives, thoſe they contract with for a time: this is uſually done where a merchant or traveller has occaſion to reſide in ſome place at a great diſtance from home: in this caſe the terms are agreed on and recorded before a magiſtrate, and the woman taken to his bed with very little ceremony, and diſmiſſed with leſs. The children however inherit equally with the iſſue of the firſt kind of wives.

Concubines.

As to their concubines, or female ſlaves, theſe muſt neither be Mahometan nor Chriſtian ſubjects; but ſuch Chriſtian females as are taken in war, or purchaſed of the Tartars, or other people, and ſold in their markets; and the iſſue of theſe, I perceive, are ſlaves as well as their mothers, at leaſt till they are enfranchiſed, or become Turks; and then they are upon the ſame foot with the iſſue of the wives by contract. Theſe concubines are far from attempting to rival their miſtreſs, though they ſhare with her in their maſter's bed; but pay her the greateſt reſpect, and wait upon her with uncommon diligence: by a ſign or a nod, imperceptible to ſtrangers, every thing is tranſacted in the family without noiſe or contradiction, as the Chriſtian Ladies obſerve who have been admitted into their harams: but notwithſtanding this may generally be the caſe, and cuſtom may have rendered many things eaſy, which

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Divorces.

to a Chriſtian ſpouſe might ſeem intolerable jarrs, and inſuperable averſions will ſometimes happen, to which the Turks apply the common remedy of a divorce. On the man's part, Sir PAUL RICAUT relates, it is ſufficient, as among the Jews, to alledge generally an unalterable diſlike, and that 'She finds no favour in his eyes.' But then if he can charge her with no particular fault, he muſt pay the whole ſum he agreed for in caſe of death or divorce; which very much reſtrains them from making uſe of this privilege which the law allows them: and that the man may not be too haſty in an affair of this conſequence, he is prohibited to take his wife again till he has undergone the mortification of ſeeing her enjoyed by another. As to the caſe of adultery on the woman's part, it is a capital crime, if the husband will proceed againſt her with the rigour the law allows: and the man who is taken in adultery with another's wife may be killed by the injured husband on the ſpot. The woman alſo may obtain a divorce in ſeveral caſes, as where her huſband neglects to ſupply her with food, or firing, or materials to ſpin her clothing; if he be impotent, or given to unnatural luſts; or if he ſpends too much time with his odalicks, or female ſlaves, and does not bed with her once a week, as the law directs: In any of theſe caſes ſhe may obtain a divorce, and have the ſum agreed for in caſe of death or ſeparation aſſigned her for her maintenance. And if their women can diſpenſe with the cuſtom of ſharing the husband's embraces with their ſlaves, they have very little elſe to diſturb them; their apartments are as commodious and pleaſant as they can deſire; their furniture and habits as rich as the circumſtances of their Lord will admit; they are attended, diverted, and flattered by their ſlaves at home, and allowed to viſit their relations abroad, and go to the baths twice a week, where they meet with an aſſembly of their own ſex, and enjoy the pleaſure of converſation, and ſhewing the richneſs of their garb and jewels. In ſhort, their minds are ſo diverted by amuſements of another nature, and being taught from their infancy that their honour conſiſts in keeping themſelves concealed from all men but their husbands, they have leſs paſſion, perhaps, for the converſation of our ſex, than our weſtern Ladies may imagine. It is no more an affliction for a Turkiſh female to ſhare a man with ſix or ſeven more, than it is for a Britiſh Lady to be confined to one.

Adultery capital.

Arguments for a plurality of women.

Before I leave this head, it may not be thought an impertinent digreſſion to enquire a little more particularly into the arguments for and againſt a plurality of wives and concubines: or whether the cuſtom of the Turks or Chriſtians in this article is to be preferred. The practice of taking more wives than one, it muſt be admitted, has been almoſt univerſal, and might ſeem to plead a general preſcription, before Chriſtianity appeared in the world. The law of MOSES is obſerved to be ſo far from condemning this cuſtom, that in ſeveral places it ſeems to ſuppoſe and confirm it, Deut. xxi. and 15. ſays, 'If a 'man have two wives, one beloved and another 'hated, he ſhall not diſinherit his eldeſt ſon by 'the wife he hated.' And GOD enumerating the favours and bleſſings beſtowed upon King DAVID, among others remembers him, 'that he 'had given him his maſter's wives into his bo-'ſom.' Mr. SELDEN obſerves, that the Jews held it lawful to take as many wives as they could maintain; though the Rabbins indeed adviſed that no man ſhould exceed four, unleſs the King, to whom they allowed eighteen; and the High Prieſt was to have but one. The modern Jews who live in Turkey, or in any other country where polygamy is allowed, indulge themſelves, as antiently, in a plurality of women: whereas in Germany they confine themſelves to one.

The advocates of polygamy, who hold it agreeable to the law of nature, alledge, that the ends of matrimony, ſuch as the certainty of the iſſue, and the benefit of mutual aſſiſtance, are as well anſwered this way, as by confining one man to one woman. And as to the objection, that the conjugal faith ought to be reciprocal, they ſay, that mutual faith does by no means ſuppoſe that the performances on each ſide muſt needs be equal: nor does the true intent of matrimony require, that the man ſhould confine himſelf as ſtrictly as the woman; for the iſſue may be as well aſcertained where the man hath two or more wives. That one principal end of matrimony being the procreation of children, one man in this reſpect is equal to many women; and that it is only luſt, or an unreaſonable jealouſy in the wife, which makes her ſo concerned at her huſband's taking another to his bed. That if the husband contracts indeed to admit no other to his embraces, he ought to obſerve it; but where there is no ſuch condition, the wife ought to be ſatisfied with a competent ſhare: for ſhe has no more right over her husband's body than ſhe obtained by the matrimonial contract. That it is not at all unjuſt to put that ſex in a condition inferior to that of the men's, to whom they owe their defence and ſupport. And as to jealouſies and domeſtick quarrels, ſaid to be occaſioned by polygamy, they are chiefly obſerved to be in thoſe countries where women are taught that they ought to be on an equality with the other ſex: for in Turkey, and ſome other countries, either through a natural diſpoſition, or in conformity to cuſtom, they pay a ready and quiet obedience to the laws, which require them to ſubmit to the men upon very unequal terms.

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As to the command which prohibited adultery to the Jews, that is defined in Leviticus to be the coming to another man's wife, the polluting another man's bed; and it is abſurd to imagine, that a law againſt adultery, directed to a people who actually uſed polygamy, ſhould condemn the practice of it, without declaring as much in expreſs words. It is evident alſo that polygamy was never thought to be forbidden by this command by any of the Jewiſh Doctors or interpreters during that diſpenſation; nor was it once reprehended or reproved by their prophets, as their other tranſgreſſions frequently were: but on the contrary, was univerſally practiſed by the Patriarchs and the beſt men amongſt them. They urge farther, that all the right which one perſon can have to the body of another muſt ariſe from covenant and the conſent of the parties; and conſequently, if ſo much is performed as is covenanted for, there ought to be no complaint of injurious dealing. There is no neceſſity that the mutual performances among all parties ſhould be alike; for then it would be repugnant to the law of nature, that one man ſhould be born a Prince, and another a ſubject; and that by virtue of an antecedent human covenant, not made by themſelves, but by others: and none will maintain it to be a breach of natural equality, that the wife is not allowed to govern in her turn. To commiſerate the condition of wives in Turkey, therefore, is as abſurd and impertinent as to beſtow our pity upon husbandmen and artificers, that they ſhou'd be ſo unfortunate to live in more uneaſy circumſtances than the nobility. Nor need a woman make any ſcruple of conſcience in agreeing to this kind of matrimony in a country where the practice is allowed by authority; eſpecially ſince if it were in any degree criminal, the force of the weaker ſex could never prevail againſt the power of men and antient cuſtom. And though the example of the Mahometans may be of no great weight among Chriſtians, yet the polygamy of the Patriarchs and other holy men antiently, ſtrongly argues that a plurality of wives was not againſt the law of nature, or MOSES, as our modern divines indeed admit, particularly Dr. WHITBY, in his paraphraſe on the 19th of St. MATTHEW, ſays, that neither divorce, polygamy, or concubinage, were againſt the law of nature or the moral law: and are only evil now on account of their being prohibited by our Saviour's poſitive command.

On the other hand, thoſe who hold polygamy to be abſolutely immoral, and originally an evil, before any poſitive prohibition againſt it, obſerve that in thoſe countries where it is practiſed the women are in the condition of ſlaves; that no real love or friendſhip can be expected from them while they are under a force, but perpetual jars and jealouſies muſt diſtract the family, and the ſlighted woman and her iſſue probably be rendred very miſerable: nor can it ever be ſuppoſed that a woman would conſent to ſhare her husband's bed and affections with another female, unleſs compelled by force or fear, which can found no right in the man to uſe her in this manner. And it is obſerved, where a plurality of wives is allowed, the man however ſeldom fails to ſingle out one beloved ſhe whom he prefers to the reſt: nature out of a multitude ſeems to lead him to one on whom he ſettles his affections and uſes as a wife, the reſt ſerving but for ſtate, or to divert him in ſome other manner. The Turks themſelves do not always make uſe of the liberty their law allows them, but upon choice frequently confine themſelves to one. It is urged farther, that our Saviour's argument, that GOD created them male and female, and that there was but one woman made for one man, has a great deal of weight in it: for if a plurality of wives would have added to the joys of paradiſe, they would not have been wanting there. It ſeems to be the reſult of infinite wiſdom and goodneſs, that the ſociety of one man and one woman is moſt agreeable; and had not the Divine Wiſdom thus diſcovered it ſelf, our reaſon would have led us to form the ſame concluſion; for even paradiſe muſt have been diſturbed and ceaſed to have been paradiſe, had ADAM had more wives than one, and any of them could have ſuſpected themſelves to be leſs regarded than the reſt.

And unleſs a man places his whole ſatisfaction in gratifying an inſatiable roving luſt, to what purpoſe ſhould he deſire more women than one? Is there that great difference in our conſtitutions, that one woman cannot anſwer the demands of one man, ſo far at leaſt as is conſiſtent with his health and the ſerenity of his mind? and ſurely he who only regards the gratification of the ſixth ſenſe, as ſome call it, and does not at all conſult the ſuperior pleaſures of the underſtanding, richly deſerves to be ranked with brutes, with whom he puts himſelf upon the level. Who would to ſatisfy a wandering appetite bring ten thouſand other inconveniencies upon himſelf, forfeit the friendſhip of his firſt ſpouſe, render her and her children miſerable, and make his houſe a ſeat of endleſs debate and ſtrife?

Another argument againſt polygamy is taken from the equal numbers of males and females: now as this is evident from conſtant experience, if one man is allowed a dozen women, others muſt go without any, and ſure it is more juſt and neceſſary that every man ſhould have one female, than that the whole ſex ſhould be ingroſſed by a few. It is generally ſaid indeed that polygamy was indulged to the antients that the world might be ſpeedily peopled; but upon due reflection I believe it will be admitted, that the world would have

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have been at leaſt as ſoon peopled if every man had had his mate, and none had more than one; for ten men matched with ten women, will certainly produce a more numerous iſſue than one man and ten women: and thoſe who imagine mankind would be better propagated by polygamy, certainly grounded their opinion upon what is falſe in fact, viz. *That there are abundance more females born* than males. But thoſe who have made any obſervations of this nature, find that there are rather more boys born than girls; tho' indeed the numbers are pretty near equal.

As to the keeping of concubines, who are looked upon as an inferior kind of wives, becauſe they can claim nothing from the man by contract; if polygamy be immoral, ſurely this is much more ſo: for either the woman is under a force or not. If ſhe be a ſlave, or otherwiſe in the power of the man, the compelling her to ſubmit to his embraces is certainly a high act of injuſtice: and if ſhe conſent, the leaſt that ſhe could be ſuppoſed to expect in lieu of her virginity, is to be provided for and protected by the man, who took her to his bed: and he ought by that act to be interpreted to have ſtipulated to do it. Whereas in countries where this is allowed, theſe women are frequently put to the vileſt drudgeries, or ſold to ſtrangers. And in our own country, theſe unhappy creatures and their children are uſually abandoned to all the contempt and hardſhips they are capable of ſuffering, and ſometimes put upon deſtroying themſelves and their miſerable iſſue: which are conſequences ſo horrid as muſt deter every man from this kind of commerce. It is but turning the tables, and reflecting how we ſhould take it to have a daughter or a near relation thus abuſed, and we ſhall want no arguments to convince us of the foulneſs of the crime. There remains nothing more to be obſerved of the marriages of the Turks, or their commerce with women, unleſs it be that the men are never reproached here for the diſloyalty of the wives; but the diſgrace of cuckoldom falls entirely on the offending woman, and her relations. It is as ignominious to a family to have a daughter or a ſiſter play the whore, as it is to have a near kinſman hanged in this part of the world.

Funerals and mourning of the Turks.

The cuſtoms and ceremonies of the Turks, with relation to their mourning and funerals, differ ſo very little from thoſe of the Mahometans of Perſia, already mentioned, that they will not furniſh out matter for a diſtinct chapter; travellers acquaint us, that when a Turk ſeems paſt hopes of recovery, his friends aſſemble about him, exhorting him to a chearful ſubmiſſion to the divine will, againſt which it would be impious to murmur or repine. When he is dead they ſhave him from head to foot, except the face, and having ſtopt all the natural vents, waſh and perfume the corp. after which they wrap the body in linen, and throw a pall over it. The friends being invited to do the laſt office, the proceſſion is begun by ſome derviſes, or religious, with lighted torches, and followed by others repeating ſome paſſages in the alcoran: next comes a led horſe, or ſeveral, according to the quality of the deceaſed, with the enſigns of the moſque: then the corps laid on a bier, without a coffin, is carried by ſome of the beſt quality in the company, *relieved from time* to time by others, if the way be long. The relations and friends follow the corps, and being come to the burying place, which is uſually without the town by the highway ſide, it is depoſited in the grave, which is ſo contrived, that the body may ſit upright to undergo the examination of the angels who are ſuppoſed to reſort to the grave, and enquire into the faith of the deceaſed, as ſoon as the company is withdrawn; the relations, eſpecially the women, come to the grave afterwards at certain times to pray for the dead, and leave proviſion there, which the poor eat up, hoping that heaven will be induced by thoſe charitable offerings to be propitious to the ſoul of their departed friend. For the Turks are of opinion that few ſouls are ſufficiently purified when they leave the world to appear in the preſence of GOD, but ſtand in need of the prayers and alms of others to deliver them from the temporary pains they ſuffer for their tranſgreſſions. As to a *mourning* garb I do not find they wear any; nor do the male relations expreſs much concern for their friend after ſome few days; though the women, it is ſaid, commemorate them, and attend their graves at certain times, the whole year round; and on ſome particular days for ſeveral years afterwards.

At the head and feet of the grave, they place a marble pillar of the height of a man, which the many noble ruins in Turkey ſufficiently furniſh them with; and inſtead of paſſages out of the alcoran which uſed to be written on them, the modern Turks are come into the mode of epitaphs, and give tedious accounts of the virtues of the deceaſed. Over the ſepulchres of the Royal family are uſually erected magnificent chapels built of marble, ſurrounded by a portico, and covered with a dome or cupola: within is the tomb, almoſt in the ſhape of a coffin, over which is thrown a pall of the richeſt ſilks, lamps hung round it, and the alcoran is chained to its pillars, where religious people conſtantly attend, and read or pray for the deceaſed, having ſalaries ſettled on them for that purpoſe.

Having finiſhed the deſcription of the Turkiſh provinces in Europe, I ſhall make ſome general remarks on the countries we have paſſed through; and ſurvey the kingdoms we have left behind.

The

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China.

The ſtate of the empire of China, the moſt eaſterly part of the continent of Aſia, was the firſt ſubject of our enquiries: this appears to be a country of a vaſt extent, and proportionably populous, and is in a manner a world by it ſelf, having little communication with other nations; and ſince it has been united with Tartary, is ſo ſecured on all ſides by ſeas, deſerts, or unpaſſable mountains, that they have nothing to apprehend from any foreign forces whatever. They are alſo happy in the temperature of their climate, and fertility of the ſoil, which is improved to all poſſible advantage; not a ſpot of ground, either on their hills or vallies, but yield ſome encreaſe to the husbandman; and ſuch a ſpirit of induſtry runs through that people, that there is not found an idle hand among them. Their manufactures of ſilk and China ware, inimitable by other people, are improved to the utmoſt. And from hence only is imported tea, ſo univerſally drank by all the nations of Europe.

Their cities are many of them large, eighteen or twenty miles in circumference; and ſo exceeding populous, that ſcarce a day paſſes, but ſome are hurt in paſſing the gates. Their whole country is cut through with canals; and it is computed, that almoſt as many people live on the water as on the land. They write ſtill in hieroglyphick characters, and do not form their words by a ſmall number of letters, as with us.

Their government is monarchical, but the Prince enacts no laws, without the advice of his great councils, and obſerves them inviolably, until they are repealed by the ſame authority. Their Princes are famed for their application to buſineſs, inſpecting themſelves the affairs of every province; and prefer the title of fathers of their people to all others. Their laws are few and plain, and will not admit of much wrangling on the interpretation of them, and every man is his own advocate. The people are ſeldom taxed at more than a tenth part of their income; and every man's eſtate being regiſtered, and a freſh particular of it made every year, the government are at a certainty as to the revenue, which is tranſmitted annually to the treaſurers of the reſpective provinces by the people themſelves, who are never burthened with tax-gatherers or collectors. Their Princes do not think it beneath them to encourage trade and husbandry; and take care that every man ſhall be ſecured in the enjoyment of his poſſeſſions, which are permitted to deſcend to his children without interruption. And theſe, no doubt, are great motives to incite that induſtry which is ſo conſpicuous in this people.

Their religion is Paganiſm, but what is particular in it, is, their adoring their anceſtors, which poſſibly may be the effect of that extravagant veneration they pay to their parents while they are alive. They are great pretenders to magick and aſtrology, and without the advice of ſome profeſſor of theſe arts will undertake nothing of moment. They ſeem in general ſo well aſſured of the happineſs of the next ſtate, that they frequently diſpatch their children thither, if they ſuſpect their circumſtances may be uneaſy in this world. Marriage, however, is ſo far from being eſteemed an indifferent thing amongſt them, that a man, who does not take him a wife by that time he is twenty, is looked upon with the utmoſt deteſtation. They hold it impious to forſake the tombs of their anceſtors, and give this for a reaſon they do not viſit diſtant nations. But their not conferring notes with other people, has been an unconceivable diſadvantage to them; for though they are an induſtrious ingenious people, they are remarkably defective in moſt parts of learning.

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Japan.

The next people we came to were the Japoneſe, who inhabit the iſlands to the eaſtward of China, which are ſubject to one Emperor, but he has fifty petty Princes ſubject to him; every one of them abſolute ſovereigns in their reſpective limits. No country in the univerſe is ſo rich as this, if we may credit the accounts given of it; the very roofs of their palaces, it is ſaid, are covered with gold and glitter like the ſun itſelf. The country is fruitful, and their artiſts ingenious, as appears by their cabinets and lackered wares which are brought from thence. Chriſtianity flouriſhed here about an hundred years ago; but the Portugueſe fathers preaching up the authority of the Pope, and their independency on the ſtate; and as ſome ſay, inciting their diſciples to enter into a conſpiracy againſt the government, the Emperor found himſelf under a neceſſity of raiſing an army, and marching againſt them; and after an obſtinate battle, which laſted three days, entirely defeated the Chriſtians. But obſerving how near he was being depoſed by the practices of their prieſts, he cauſed every Chriſtian in his dominions to be maſſacred, who refuſed to renounce his religion; and paſſed an edict that no Chriſtian ſhould ever ſet his foot on ſhore in Japan for the future. Nor hath any perſon who profeſſes Chriſtianity ever been ſuffered to remain there from that day to this, except the Dutch, who deny their religion, trample upon the croſs of our Saviour, and laugh at every teſt the Japoneſe can form to diſcover, if they have any tincture of Chriſtianity among them.

Tonquin.

The next kingdom to China on the continent is Tonquin. It was antiently a province of China, and the religion and manners of the people are ſtill much the ſame. This country is annually overflowed by the river Domea, as Egypt is by the Nile, which renders it equally fruitful; and this is the caſe of all countries which lye within

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within the tropicks, where any great rivers have their courſe through them. The rains fall in theſe latitudes in the beginning of the ſummer, and lay all the flat country under water, and cauſe the rivers to overflow their banks, which if the antients had been acquainted with, they need not have puzzled themſelves ſo much about the riſing of the Nile. Their principal manufactures are ſilk and lackered wares, which the Europeans take off their hands. Their government is more deſpotick than that of China; and indeed they ſeem at preſent to be under a military power, for the General of the crown has uſurped the adminiſtration, and allows his Prince no more than the title and ſtate of King, ſuffering none to be about him but thoſe of his own placing. And thus it has been for ſome generations; the General's deſcendants aſſuming no higher a title than that of their anceſtor; and the poſterity of the Prince ſtill retaining the title of King, without any ſhare in the power.

Cochin China.

To the ſouthwad of Tonquin lyes Cochin China. This alſo was formerly a province of China, and afterwards under the ſame ſovereign as Tonquin, till the Governor of the province ſet up for himſelf, and at length became independent. This country, like Tonquin, is annually over-flowed, and the ſoil enriched thereby, like that of Egypt. Silk and lignum aloes are imported into Europe from hence. Palo Condore, where the Engliſh Eaſt-India company lately had a ſettlement, is in the dominions of this Prince, who barbarouſly murdered the company's ſervants, and ſeized their effects, taking advantage of the ſurprize they were in on their houſe being ſet a fire by ſome Indian ſoldiers, retained in the company's ſervice. In this country and Tonquin, the greateſt ſtrength of their armies conſiſts in the number of their elephants; there being as large a breed of them in the north part of Tonquin and in Siam, which borders on this kingdom, as in any part of the world; and the ſtouteſt of the males are trained up to war. Cochin China and Tonquin are engaged in perpetual wars with each other, but have no other enemy to fear.

Siam.

Siam lyes to the weſtward of Tonquin and Cochin. Their King, amongſt the reſt of his titles, ſtyles himſelf Lord of the white elephant, and is ſaid to have the greateſt numbers of theſe monſtrous animals in his ſervice of any Prince in the world: he ſhews his eſteem for them by the richneſs of their harneſs, and the attendants he aſſigns to every one. This extravagance is carried ſo far, that ſome of them eat out of nothing but gold plate, and have the moſt honourable titles beſtowed on them. The natives of Siam build their houſes by the rivers ſides, and to preſerve themſelves from the annual inundation, ſet them upon high wooden pillars. The government is tyrannical, and the people ſlaves to their Prince; who not only demands the ſervice of half his ſubjects every year, but engroſſes the whole trade of the country to himſelf, whereby he hath in a great meaſure ruined it. As the Emperors of China value themſelves on their goodneſs, theſe Princes expect the adoration of their people for their wiſdom and policy: as to their power, their courage, or virtue, they do not reliſh the flattery of their ſubjects on thoſe heads. The Siameſe are a polite ingenious people, but haughty towards them who ſeem to fear them, and ſervile and ſubmiſſive to thoſe who treat them imperiouſly. As to the trade of Malacca, and the Malagan or ſouthern coaſt of Siam, the Dutch ingroſs it all; by their garriſons or ſhipping, terrifying the natives, and preventing their dealing with any other people but themſelves; ſo that great part of the trade which the Engliſh have here, and in ſome other parts of India, is at ſecond hand from the Dutch, or only their leavings. And yet ſo very condeſcending are ſome of our Engliſh merchants at home, that they will prefer a Dutchman before their own countrymen.

The religion of the Siameſe is Paganiſm. And, like ſome of their neighbours, they believe every thing in nature informed by a rational ſoul: fire, water, woods, mountains and buildings are all actuated, they hold, by ſome ſpirit or genius, and the doctrine of tranſmigration they have in common with other eaſtern nations. They have no other enemy to fear by land, but the people of Pegu, who frequently make incurſions into their country, which the Siameſe do not fail to return. But the Dutch, whom they are in no condition to reſiſt, block up their ports by ſea, and compel them to trade with them upon their own terms. And indeed, all the trade of this country, which is worth the being concerned in, is entirely in the hands of the Dutch: they muſt deal with the Hollanders, or their goods muſt rot upon their hands.

As to the kingdom of Ava, under which we included Pegu, Arracan, Brama, and Tipra, this lyes to the northward of Siam, and is ſaid to be in religion and manners little different from it. But no travellers of any credit have treated particularly of this kingdom; and thoſe that have, entertain us with ſuch monſtrous incredible relations, that I ſhould not have mentioned any of them in this work, but with an intention to expoſe them. Nor am I aſhamed to confeſs there are yet many countries in the world we are very little acquainted with; amongſt which we may reckon theſe; Achan, and Boutan, which lye to the northward of theſe, and border upon China, are not at all better deſcribed: neither are we acquainted with any thing of value their ſoil produces.

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duces. From Pegu and Arracan, indeed, the Europeans import ſaphirs, amethiſts, and other precious ſtones; beſides skins and furs; but I do not find there are any conſiderable manufactures in theſe countries.

From the continent of India beyond Ganges, we returned back to take a view of the oriental iſlands: and firſt of the Ladrones, which lye between the 12th and 28th degrees of northern latitude, longitude 140, reckoned from the meridian of London. Theſe iſlands were the firſt land the famous MAGELLAN made in his voyage to the Eaſt-Indies from the weſt, through thoſe ſtraights which ſtill bear his name, and are reckoned about ſeven thouſand miles to the weſtward of cape Corientes, in the kingdom of Mexico. The iſland of Guam, in the latitude of 13, is moſt frequented of any of them, where the Spaniards have a ſmall fort. But I do not find them conſiderable for any thing, or worth the keeping, but as a place of refreſhment between America and the Eaſt-Indies.

The ſtate of the Philippine iſlands were the next ſubject of our enquiries, which extend from the fifth to the nineteenth degree of northern latitude, and are 118 degrees to the eaſtward of London. Of theſe Mindanao and Manila are the chief. Mindanao lyes from ſix to eight degrees north latitude, and is moſt of it ſubject to a Mahometan Prince, who is abſolute in his dominions: it is ſaid there are ſome cloves and nutmegs growing here, but the inhabitants neglect to cultivate them, for fear of being invaded by the Dutch, and deprived of their liberties; as other iſlands in thoſe ſeas have been, only on account of their producing theſe valuable fruits. The trade of this country is very inconſiderable at preſent; though it is ſaid they have ſome gold mines, and ſupply the neighbouring iſlands with rice and other proviſions: but if it be true, that cloves and nutmegs would flouriſh here, it is pity our Engliſh Eaſt India company make no ſettlements in Mindanao; to which our friends, the Dutch, do not yet ſeem to lay any claim.

The iſland of Manila extends from the 13th to the 19th degree of north latitude, longitude 119, reckoning from the meridian of London. This and the reſt of the Philippine iſlands which are of any note, are ſubject to the Spaniards. The inhabitants are a mixture of Spaniards, Chineſe, and Indians; of which the latter are far the moſt numerous; and of theſe there are two ſorts, the one of a black complexion, and the other white. The Blacks inhabit the mountains, and the Whites the plain country near the ſea. Earthquakes and eruptions of fire or vulcanoes are frequent here, and have deſtroyed ſome of their beſt towns. Theſe iſlands are very advantageouſly ſituated for the trade, both of the eaſt and weſt, and thoſe rich Spaniſh ſhips, called the Acapulca ſhips, which annually ſail to Mexico, are freighted here. The ſoil produces every thing that can render life agreeable, and among their minerals they have plenty of gold. In all the iſlands, it is computed there are not leſs than two hundred and fifty thouſand ſouls, ſubject to the crown of Spain.

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From the Philippines, we travelled ſouthward to the iſland of Macaſſar, or Celebes, which extends from the firſt degree of north latitude, to five degrees, thirty minutes ſouth latitude; having Borneo on the weſt, and the Moluccaes, or Spice iſlands, on the eaſt, and is five hundred miles long, and two hundred over. This country was formerly governed by ſeveral petty Princes, who lying near the Spice iſlands, and trading with them, had an opportunity of furniſhing European ſhipping with that kind of merchandize; whereupon the Dutch Eaſt India company made a formal war upon them, and reduced the moſt conſiderable of them under their ſubjection; keeping a ſtrong garriſon in the city of Macaſſar, to prevent their trading with the Engliſh, or any other European nation: nay, they would not ſuffer them to have any communication with the Spice iſlands, in which their principal trade conſiſted. with which the people were ſo provoked, that they invited the Engliſh to ſettle amongſt them. And indeed there is not a nation in India, but are ready to aſſiſt the Engliſh in driving out the Dutch, who have been guilty of ſuch cruelties as make them deteſted by all the kingdoms of the eaſt. The people of Macaſſar are generally Mahometans, they are looked upon to be the beſt ſoldiers in India, and frequently retained in the ſervice of the Europeans. Macaſſar, or Celebes.

About an hundred leagues to the eaſtward of Macaſſar, lye the Spice iſlands, more valuable to the Dutch, than all the riches of the eaſt beſides; and once were ſo to the Engliſh, till the ungrateful Hollander robbed us of them, and put our merchants to death by the cruelleſt tortures, which hath deterred them from intermedling in that trade for many years: on the contrary, they are now contented to purchaſe their own ſpices at ſecond hand from the Dutch, and pay what price they are pleaſed to ſet upon them. The iſlands of Banda, where only mace and nutmegs grow, are ſituate between the 3d and 5th degrees of ſouth latitude, being natually ſtrong, and well fortified by the Dutch, but the largeſt of them is not twenty leagues in circumference. Some of them are a perfect garden, in which nutmegs, and the moſt delicious fruits abound. They are, however, ſubject to vulcanoes and earthquakes. Spice iſlands

Amboyna lyes in three degrees odd minutes ſouth latitude, about twenty five leagues north weſt of the Banda iſlands. The Dutch cultivate their cloves chiefly in this iſland; having rooted moſt of them

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them up in the Moluccaes, apprehending themſelves probably not in a condition to defend all thoſe iſlands which lye diſperſed far about, if they ſhould be attacked by any other European powers: and they have made Amboyna ſo ſtrong, and have always ſuch a body of troops there, that they do not fear the attempts of any power which may be ſuppoſed to come in thoſe ſeas.

Moluccaes.

The Moluccaes, which formerly were ſo famous for their cloves, lye to the northward of Amboyna, either under, or very near the equinoctial line. Amboyna being happily ſituated between theſe and Banda, where the nutmegs grow, hath ever been looked upon as a place of the greateſt importance in India; and which the Dutch Eaſt India company therefore were determined to drive all other nations from; in which they were guilty of ſuch barbarities, treachery, and ingratitude towards the Engliſh (who had but juſt before reſcued them and their country from utter deſtruction) as is not to be parallelled in hiſtory, and for which the Engliſh, to this day, have never received ſatisfaction. With the ſpices which the Dutch have engroſſed, they purchaſe all other merchandize in India, for which we are forced to export our treaſure, and they have more than ſufficient to ſupply the whole world beſides; employing their troops annually to deſtroy great quantities of ſpice, leſt it ſhould be too plentiful. But it is amazing to think that the reſt of the world ſhould ſit ſtill, and tamely ſee that ſingle company poſſeſs themſelves of all the countries which produce cloves, cinnamon, mace, and nutmegs, and not endeavour to compel them to do juſtice to thoſe whom they had violently deprived of their ſhare in this trade.

Borneo.

From the Spice iſlands we ſteered weſtward, to the iſlands of Sunda, the largeſt of which is Borneo, extending from 7 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, to the 4th degree of ſouth latitude, and being almoſt round, is ſuppoſed to be the largeſt iſland in the known world; having Macaſſar on the eaſt, Java on the ſouth, and Sumatra on the weſt. At Banjar Malleen, in the ſouth part of the iſland, the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company lately had a fort, but loſt it through the cowardice or unskilfulneſs of their commanders; and the company have now little or no trade with this iſland: the towns the Europeans trade to, are built on floats at the mouths of their rivers, or upon wooden pillars ſtanding in the ſtream: the model whereof will be beſt underſtood from the plan which has been given of them in this work. The inland country is mountainous, but the ſouthern coaſts for ſome hundred of miles is a fen or moraſs of ſoft ooze, and yet covered with woods of prodigious tall trees; and in the rainy ſeaſon the whole flat country is overflowed for ſome hundreds of miles. The produce of this country is chiefly pepper: gold and precious ſtones our merchants alſo meet with here: and among their animals give us an account of monkeys in ſize and ſtrength not inferior to men. The country is divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms, of which that of Caytongee in the ſouth part of the iſland, is now reckoned the moſt conſiderable. The inhabitants of the ſea coaſt are generally Mahometans, and thoſe of the inland country Pagans.

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Forty or fifty leagues to the weſtward of Borneo, lyes the iſland of Sumatra, having Malacca on the north eaſt, and Java on the ſouth eaſt; from which laſt it is ſeparated only by the ſtraights of Sunda. Here the Engliſh have ſeveral ſettlements, the moſt conſiderable of which are, Bencoolen and Marlborough fort, on the ſouth weſt part of the iſland. Hither the Europeans trade for pepper and canes, and there are ſome conſiderable gold mines in the mountainous part of the country. It is divided into ſeveral kingdoms and ſtates, of which the kingdom of Achan at the north part of the iſland, is much the moſt conſiderable. The ſea coaſts are poſſeſſed by Mahometans, and the inland country by Pagans. The Dutch have good ſettlements in ſeveral parts of the iſland, and very much influence the trade of it.

Java.

To the ſouthward of Sumatra and Borneo lyes the iſland of Java, ſtretching eaſt and weſt from the ſtraights of Bally to thoſe of Sunda. The Dutch are now entirely maſters of this iſland, at leaſt of the trade of it, having driven the Engliſh and all other European nations from thence. Their chief ports and towns of trade are upon the north coaſt, of which Batavia, formerly Jacotra, is much the moſt conſiderable, and is indeed the capital of all the Dutch ſettlements in India, being inhabited by Chineſe, Dutch, Malays, and the natives of Amboyna, the Banda iſlands, Macaſſar, and other countries which the Dutch have enſlaved and removed hither to prevent inſurrections from thoſe conquered nations, and to people their favourite city with inhabitants. By what baſe arts the Dutch excluded the Engliſh from Java, and engroſſed the trade to themſelves; and how unhoſpitably our merchants are treated in their Indian ports at this day, has been taken notice of in this work, and will no doubt be remembered next time the Dutch apply to us to defend them againſt the encroachments of other nations on the Indian trade.

Java produces rice, ſugar, pepper and tobacco; and the Dutch have of late raiſed a conſiderable plantation of coffee, but it is not eſteemed ſo good as that of Arabia. Some vineyards the Dutch have alſo about Batavia, which it is ſaid, will yield ſix or ſeven vintages within the ſpace of two years: but notwithſtanding the increaſe is ſo great, they can make no wine; and it is obſervable that in

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in these hot latitudes between the tropicks, there is scarce any instance of their having good wine, tho' they may have grapes; extreme heat agreeing no better with this liquor than extreme cold. Bally, Cumbava, Timor, and several other islands lye to the eastward of Java, of which the Dutch also are now sovereigns, and maintain forts and garrisons in them; not on account of any thing valuable they produce, but to prevent other Europeans settling in those seas in which the Spice islands lye, of which they are extremely jealous.

From the Sunda islands I proceed to take a view of the Nicobar and Andoman islands, which lye to the northward of Sumatra in the bay of Bengal. The natives are a peaceable harmless people, and supply the European shipping with fruits, poultry, and such provisions as their country affords, when they touch there, but have little trade; nor does their soil produce any valuable commodities which may induce foreigners to settle amongst them. How they came to be traduced for canibals is difficult to imagine, the natives living for the most part on herbs and fruits, and eating but little flesh of any kind.

The next country we visited was Proper India, or the empire of the Great Mogul, comprehending all those countries, which lye between the kingdom of Ava on the east, and Persia on the west; and between cape Comorin on the south, and Usbeck Tartary and Thibet on the north, extending from the 7th to the 40th degree of northern latitude. The natives are a mixture of Moors or Mahometans and Pagans. The Emperor is a Mahometan, but not a tenth part of his subjects of that persuasion. In the inland mountainous part of the country there is scarce a Mahometan to be found; but that chain of hills, which runs through India from north to south, is possessed by the Rajas or sovereign Princes of the Pagan cast, many of whom yet maintain their independency, and those whom the Mogul has reduced, he still suffers to be governed by their own laws, paying only an annual tribute, and obliging them to march into the field when he requires their service at the head of their own troops. The Moors are composed of Tartars, Persians, and Arabs, and almost every Mahometan nation, who behave themselves with great insolence towards the Pagan Indians under their power, as those in the open country, and on the sea coasts for the most part are; and the Christians, who are not a small number, are treated still with greater contempt by the haughty Mussulmen, notwithstanding they are forced to make use of them for engineers and other services: and both Moors and Pagans look upon themselves to be defiled by the touch of a Christian. The Pagans are, however, a polite ingenious people, peaceable, modest and inoffensive in their behaviour, and extremely tender and compassionate even to animals; so benevolent to those of their own tribes, that we never see a beggar amongst them. They are such dextrous mechanicks, that they will imitate any pattern at first sight. The fine chints, and painted callicoes, whose colours and shades surprize us, are drawn by the common people.

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The complexions of most of the Pagan Indians, who are the original inhabitants, are black as jet, others of them tawny, but all of them have fine features, good shapes, and long black hair, and black eyes. The Moors which come from other countries, or are born in the north of India, are not of near so dark a complexion as the Pagan Inhabitants; but the men however, who are exposed to the weather, are tawny enough. The Banian and Bramin tribes among the Pagans eat nothing which has, or may have life; and none of them will eat the flesh of oxen, these animals being the objects of their worship. The Moors abstain from the flesh of hogs on a very different account, namely, because they look upon them to be the most polluted of all other animals. The Europeans import from India, silks, muslins and callicoes painted and stained, pepper, diamonds, and other precious stones; salt petre, opium, and many physical drugs, which are purchased by the English with treasure, but by the Dutch with spices and other merchandize which they exchange for the produce of this country, and have this farther advantage of other European nations, that they deal with the Indians almost upon their own terms, paying no higher customs than they think fit; and when the Mogul has disputed the matter with them, they have blocked up his ports, till they have reduced him to a compliance.

Notwithstanding the extent of the sea-coast of India, the natives do not build many ships, having no mariners to man them, at least none that would make a defence against the least Arabian pirate, if they should be attacked. Their merchants therefore, who drive a very considerable trade to Persia and the Red sea, choose to load their effects on board English or Dutch bottoms; the freight whereof is one considerable branch of the company's profit, for they seldom dispatch a ship from Persia to Surat, but she is as deep loaden as she can swim; and with the treasure and precious stones on board, may be worth between two and three hundred thousand pounds.

The soil produces wheat and barley, but rice is most cultivated and eaten quite through India; the annual rains being of great use to them in this kind of husbandry. Good fruit they have in abundance, as coco-nuts, mangoes, pine apples, guavas, limes, lemons and oranges: as to their mulberries, they take care of these plants more

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for the ſake of the leaves, with which they feed their ſilk worms, than for the fruit: no plant is of that general uſe, as the coco, ſerving for food, building, clothing, and many other conveniencies. The moſt beneficial plant after this is the cotton, of which all the fine callicoes are made which come from thence. Their moſt uſeful animals, are camels, elephants, oxen, and buffaloes; their breed of horſes is very ſmall, and therefore their troops are ſupplied with them from Perſia and Tartary. Serpents and ſcorpions, and other venomous inſects abound here, and their gnats and bugs are ſo troubleſome, that there is no ſleeping for them. Their ſpiders and toads grow to ſuch a magnitude, that a man would hazard his credit to deſcribe their dimenſions. The locuſt is another inſect which frequently deſtroys the fruits of the earth, leaving nothing green where it happens to alight: and alligators, which I take to be a ſpecies of crocodiles, inſeſt the mouths of the Ganges and other ſtreams. The Ganges annually overflows all the country within an hundred miles of the ſea, and renders it as fruitful as the Nile does Egypt.

The Mogul is an abſolute Monarch reſtrained by no written laws; and as his anceſtors firſt gained the country by conqueſt, ſo he maintains himſelf by a ſtanding force, and for the greateſt part of the year lives in the field in his camp, having other bodies in ſeveral parts of his dominions to keep the country in awe, for he hath nothing to fear from any neighbouring Prince: the Perſians, ſince Shaw ABBAS, have ſcarce ever moleſted his frontiers, and there is no other Prince in that part of the world conſiderable enough to give him any diſturbance. He permits the Europeans to build forts upon the coaſt, for the ſecurity of their trade; but then his troops viſit them ſometimes, and demand a preſent by way of tribute, or acknowledgment of his ſovereignty. He permits them, however, to be governed by their own laws, and to exerciſe their juriſdiction over thoſe who live within their ſettlements. They have alſo their mints, and coin both gold and ſilver, which he may very well connive at, when they bring ſuch immenſe treaſures into his dominions, for which they take the product and manufactures of this country in return. The principal forts the Engliſh have on the eaſt coaſt of India, are fort St. George, in the latitude of 13 north, and fort St. David to the ſouthward of it: they have alſo fort William, in the mouth of the Ganges, and ſeveral more on the coaſts of Coromandel and Malabar, but the greateſt Engliſh ſettlement in India, is at the iſland of Bombay, thirty or forty leagues to the ſouthward of Surat. The preſident of the Engliſh factory at Surat is uſually Governor of Bombay, and commander in chief of their forts and factories on that coaſt, and lives in great ſplendor there. Swally Hole, a little bay three or four leagues to the northward of Surat, is the place where moſt of the merchandize is laden and unladen; there are ſcarce any good harbours in India, though they have a ſea-coaſt of two thouſand miles extent. The mouth of the river Ganges ſeems to be the place of the greateſt ſecurity for ſhips. The commanders of ſhips therefore take care, never to be upon the coaſt of India in the time of the monſoons, or the tempeſtuous ſeaſons of the year, which happen about the vernal or autumnal Equinox. There is very little danger in lying in an open road on the coaſt of India, during the fair weather, which they know when to expect, as certainly as we do ſummer or winter, and have this advantage, that their winds are conſtant and periodical, and never riſe to a ſtorm, but in the time of the monſoons or rains.

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The Mogul and his Mooriſh ſubjects, as has been obſerved, are all Mahometans, but the original inhabitants, who are much the moſt numerous, are Pagans divided into as many ſects as there are trades or profeſſions amongſt them; and of theſe the Bramins and Banians adhere ſo ſtrictly to the doctrine of tranſmigration, that they eat the fleſh of no animal whatever, and pay a kind of divine worſhip to their favourite heifer. They build hoſpitals alſo for aged or impotent cattle, and charitably feed the very inſects and vermin of the country, imagining that they may be animated by the ſouls of their anceſtors, or ſome other near relations. The penances theſe people inflict on themſelves are almoſt incredible, vowing to ſtand or lye in ſome painful poſture all their lives.

They allow a plurality of wives and concubines, but never marry out of their own tribe or trade; and the women being entirely in the power of the men, give them all imaginable reſpect: when the husband died, the ſurviving wife antiently burnt her ſelf on his funeral pile, but the Mahometans have aboliſhed this cuſtom, wherever they have the dominion. The Indians, however, ſtill continue to burn their dead, and conſume vaſt quantities of ſweet wood and aromatick drugs in the fire, which makes their funerals very chargeable.

Ceylon iſland.

To the ſouth eaſt of cape Comorin, being the moſt ſoutherly part of the continent of India, lyes the iſland of Ceylone, being about two hundred and fifty miles in length, from north to ſouth, and two hundred in breadth. This being the only country which produces true cinnamon, appeared too valuable a prize to eſcape the Dutch, who having firſt driven out the Portugueſe, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome towns on the coaſt, afterwards fell upon their good ally and confederate, the King of the country, and drove him up

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up to the mountains, not ſuffering him to have any communication with the ſea coaſt, or any other nation; whereby they have engroſſed all the trade in this kind of ſpice to themſelves, according to their conſtant practice all over the eaſt, wherever they find a country which produces any thing worth laying their rapacious hands upon; and though they have no other right to this iſland, or the product of it, than what every robber or pirate hath to the goods he ſeizes, ſo extremely modeſt are our merchants, that they have never put in for a ſhare of the cinnamon trade, ſince the Dutch ſet their feet upon the iſland. The antient inhabitants called Cinglaſſes, are of a dark complexion, but not ſo black as the Indians on the neighbouring continent: they are men of good parts, and an inſinuating addreſs, and the cinnamon heretofore brought all the trading nations hither, ſo that they lived in great eaſe and plenty; but now the Dutch have made it death for any of the natives to diſpoſe of an ounce of cinnamon to a foreigner; and our people have ſeen them accordingly condemn a poor Cinglaſs for a fact of this nature in a ſummary way, and hang him up in an inſtant, ſcarce giving him time to ſay his prayers.

The ſoil produces rice, the common food of the natives, where there are any rivers or ſprings to water their fields with, but the north part of the iſland is dry and barren, and if the rains fail them, they are in danger of famine. The greateſt plantations of cinnamon are in the ſouth weſt parts of the country, near the coaſt; very little grows in the midland country, or towards the north. In this iſland are a good breed of elephants; they have alſo oxen, buffaloes, and other beaſts, wild and tame; except horſes, aſſes, ſheep, lions and wolves, of which there are none. Alligators and crocodiles are found in their rivers, and there are ſerpents of a prodigious ſize, if we credit ſome relations.

The King of Ceylone was an abſolute Prince, and the lands of the country were divided among his ſubjects, who held them of him by military tenures, or on condition of performing ſome other ſervices to the crown. The people are Pagan idolaters, ſuperſtitious to a very great degree, and mighty pretenders to charms and magick, governing their conduct pretty much by good and evil omens. Their marriage ceremonies are very little different from thoſe of their neighbours on the continent, but they are ſo far from being infected with that diſeaſe of jealouſy, to which other Aſiaticks are ſubject, that when a friend comes to ſee them; for whom they have any reſpect, they make him a compliment of their wife or daughter for a bed-fellow, as part of his entertainment. Another cuſtom ſeems peculiar to them; on the birth of their children they conſult an aſtrologer, or cunning man, and if he be of opinion that the child is born under an unlucky planet, they immediately diſpatch the infant without the leaſt remorſe. As to their funerals, the Cinglaſſes burn their dead, as other Indians do.

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An hundred and fifty leagues ſouth weſt of Ceylone, lye the Maldiva iſlands, being an innumerable company of little rocks and ſands, which appear but a little above the water, and are not to be approached by ſhipping, but in two or three places. They are ſaid to have been peopled by the Arabs, being of the ſame complexion, as well as the ſame religion. The channels between ſeveral of theſe iſlands are fordable, and not a ſtone's caſt over. The ſoil here produces ſcarce any corn or rice, and ſome of the iſlands have neither plants nor herbage. What they moſt abound in, are coco-nuts, which ſerve them for meat and drink, and almoſt all other uſes. They have alſo plenty of fiſh in their ſeas, and the little ſhells, we call blackamore's teeth, are found here, and paſs currently as coin on the coaſt of India, and with theſe they purchaſe ſome rice from Bengal. Maldiva iſlands.

From India we ſteered our courſe weſtward to Perſia, which lyes between the Mogul's dominions, and thoſe of the Grand Seignior, having the Caſpian ſea on the north, and the gulph of Perſia and the ocean on the ſouth, extending from the 25th, to the 45th degrees of northern latitude, and is almoſt of a ſquare figure. The air, both in the ſouth and north parts of this country is very unhealthful; but about Iſpahan, in the heart of Perſia, it is very good: their heaven almoſt always ſerene and clear, and ſcarce ever diſturbed by tempeſts. In the ſouth, the hot winds are mighty troubleſome, and ſometimes fatal to the traveller, and no country of ſo large an extent hath fewer ſprings or rivers, which makes them husband what water they have to the greateſt advantage: this is the care of the government, and all the little rivulets are turned into ſuch parts of the country as they are moſt wanted. Perſia.

The Perſians are admired for the brightneſs of their parts, their obliging manner, their humanity and hoſpitality, eſpecially to foreigners: on the other hand, their vanity and profuſeneſs in their clothes, equipage, and number of ſervants, ſeems juſtly reprehended. They are perſonable men, well ſhaped, and of agreeable features. In the ſouth their complexions are none of the beſt, but in the north, towards Georgia they are very beautiful, and from this country therefore the great men frequently take their wives and concubines; of which every one hath a number in his haram ſuitable to his condition or quality: both men and women, if they can procure them, are clothed in the richeſt flowered or brocaded ſilks.

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The turbants of the men alſo are of a great value, and as they generally ride along the ſtreets; the furniture of their horſes is proportionably rich; no people being obſerved to make a better figure abroad than the Perſians. Their great meal is towards the evening, but they have very little variety in their diſhes; rice makes up the principal part in moſt of them, and they ſeldom drink any ſtrong liquors, but raiſe their ſpirits like other Aſiaticks, with opium.

No people excel more in horſemanſhip, or are more dextrous in archery, and the uſe of the bow, than the modern Perſians; and their anceſtors, the Parthians, were remarkably famous at theſe exerciſes. Their rural ſports have ſomething particular in them, for they hunt down their game, and even wild beaſts, with hawks and other birds of prey, as well as with dogs. Theſe are taught to fix their talons on the head of the hunted beaſt, and buffet him with their wings that he cannot ſee his way, which makes him an eaſy prey to the dogs. There are no wheel carriages in Perſia, but every body travels on camels, horſes, mules, or aſſes; and the women are ſhut up in a kind of covered paniers, which are hung on each ſide of a camel.

The Perſians, nor any other of the eaſtern people underſtand watches or clockwork, but in embroidery, and other curious needlework, they excel the Europeans: and the earthen ware of Perſia is ſaid to be almoſt equal to that of China. Silks are the principal manufacture of the country, viz. Brocades, tiſſues, taffeties, tabbies and ſattins; and ſome ſtuffs they make, which are a mixture of ſilk, with cotton, camel and goats hair: the gold velvet which is wrought in Perſia is much admired, and all their rich ſtuffs are very durable: carpets and camlets alſo are branches of their manufactures, in which they excel moſt other nations; and they make ſome callico, but it is not comparable to that of India. A merchant is eſteemed a very honourable employment in Perſia: the King himſelf, not many years ſince, had his agents and factors abroad in foreign countries to deal for him. The Armenian Chriſtians, and the Banians of India have much the greateſt ſhare of the foreign trade here at preſent. The Mahometans of Perſia ſeldom deal ſo far as Europe, but from one province of Perſia to another, and ſometimes to India. The raw ſilk which our Turkey merchants bring home, is for the moſt part of the growth of Perſia. The Engliſh Eaſt-India company, ſince the civil wars in this country, have removed their factors to Boſſora, near the Perſian gulph, in the dominions of the Turk. The India company uſed to export Engliſh broad cloth to Perſia, for which they received goats wool in return; bringing home about a thouſand bags every year: until very lately alſo the Eaſt-India company received annually of the government of Perſia 3333 l. 6 s. 8 d. as an acknowledgment for the ſervices the company did them in reducing the iſland of Ormus; and upon the ſame account, the company are exempted from the payment of any duties or cuſtoms to that crown; but while the country remains in that diſtracted condition it is at preſent theſe privileges no doubt are ſuſpended. As to the trade between Perſia and India, the company do not meddle with it, but leave it to their factors and ſervants, to make what private advantages they can; only they take freight of the Indian and Armenian merchants, for ſuch merchandize as they tranſport to Surat, as has been taken notice of already.

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As to the ſoil, it is obſerved, that there is no country which has more mountains and fewer rivers than Perſia. Their mountains are generally dry barren rocks, without trees or herbage on them; and we paſs over wide ſandy deſerts, where ſcarce any water is to be found, on which ſide ſoever we approach this country. There are however ſome fruitful valleys, in which their great towns uſually ſtand; and no country is more fertile than the provinces on the Caſpian ſea; but as to Perſia in general, there is not a tenth part of it cultivated at preſent. They ſow more rice than any other grain, and have ſome wheat and barley. Of wine they have ſeveral ſorts, the beſt is made about Shiraz. Dates and piſtachio nuts alſo abound here, and in the north part of Perſia they have apples, and many other European fruits. In their kitchen gardens they have ſeveral kinds of the moſt delicious melons, and all manner of garden ſtuff: and in their valleys, the fineſt flowers grow wild, which they ſcarce think worth tranſplanting into their gardens, they are ſo common. Phyſical drugs of the growth of Perſia our Turkey company import in abundance. Among their animals, the camel and dromedary are the moſt uſeful; and they have a fine breed of horſes, but thoſe of Arabia are in moſt eſteem. The King has large ſtuds of horſes in every province of the kingdom; with which he remounts his cavalry from time to time, moſt of his forces conſiſting of horſe. Their goats are valuable, not only on account of their fleſh, but for their hair and wool, which are uſed in ſeveral ſorts of manufactures. No people take that pains to train up hawks, and other birds of prey for the game, as the Perſians; the falconers with their hawks make up part of the train of every great man, which they fly at all manner of wild beaſts, as well as fowls. The pearl fiſhery, which was once looked upon to be ſo valuable in the gulph of Perſia, is now very inconſiderable, probably becauſe the Arabs have of late years interrupted the navigation in thoſe ſeas, and ſurprized the iſlands which belonged to the Perſians there.

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Perſia is an abſolute monarchy, the lives and eſtates of the people being entirely at the diſpoſal of their Prince; and the Perſians, rather out of conſcience, it is ſaid, than fear of puniſhment, obey the commands of their Sovereign without reſerve: the greateſt men ſurrender their heads without murmuring when their Prince demands them, though they are not allowed to anſwer for themſelves. The King has no privy council eſtabliſhed, but is adviſed by ſuch miniſters as are moſt in favour: and the reſolutions taken among the women in the haram, frequently defeat the beſt laid deſigns. The crown is hereditary, excluding only the females; and the ſons of a daughter are allowed to inherit. The laws of Perſia particularly exclude the blind from the throne, which is the reaſon that the reigning Prince uſually orders the eyes of all the males of the Royal Family, of whom he has any jealouſy, to be put out.

There is no nobility in Perſia, or any reſpect given to a man on account of his family, except to thoſe who are of the blood of their great Prophet, or Patriarchs; but every man is eſteemed according to the poſt he poſſeſſes; and when he is diſmiſſed, he loſes his honour, and is no longer diſtinguiſhed from the vulgar. Their ſpiritual and temporal laws are the ſame; and their Cadis, and other eccleſiaſticks, the ordinary judges; but then the King, his Viceroys and Governors, take the liberty of controlling the Civil Magiſtrate, and frequently act in an arbitrary manner, without regard to any law whatever. They have no publick priſons or jaylors; but upon a complaint, the magiſtrate orders the offender to be brought to his own houſe, and guarded by his ſervants, till he is condemned or acquitted; which is uſually within four and twenty hours. If he be puniſhed for any thing ſhort of murder, ſome ſlave is made the executioner; but where one hath killed another, he is aſſigned over to the relations of the deceaſed, to execute in what manner they ſee fit.

In the haram, or women's apartment, the eaſtern people ſpend the greateſt part of their time; and there is no country where the Ladies are ſo ſtrictly guarded, as in Perſia, or ſuch pains taken to conceal them from the eyes of all men, but their Lords. It is reckoned indecent, if not criminal, to look towards the place where their women are confined; and if one meets the camels on which they ride, he endeavours to paſs by at a diſtance from them; though they are ſhut up ſo cloſe, that it is impoſſible to ſee their faces. When the Ladies of the Royal haram travel, it is uſually in the night, and proclamation is made for all men to quit the road, and leave their houſes, near which they are to paſs, on pain of death. Every family has one or more eunuchs, according to the number of their women, to have an eye on their conduct; and theſe fellows generally inſinuate themſelves ſo far into their maſter's favour, that they have the management of all their other concerns.

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The Perſians, who were in the laſt age the beſt ſoldiers in the eaſtern part of the world, by living long in peace under an indolent race of Kings are now much degenerated. I do not find, however, that any of their neighbours thought fit to attack them, till the rebel MEREWEYS, obſerving the weakneſs of the ſtate, broke out into rebellion, on account of ſome hardſhips he had ſuffered, either real or pretended; and invited foreign powers to invade his country. At the ſame time, to facilitate his uſurpation, the Turks and Muſcovites having ſo favourable an opportunity of enlarging their reſpective territories, while Perſia was diſtracted with civil wars, ſeized upon ſuch towns as lay next them; and the Arabs by their fleets made themſelves maſters of all the iſlands in the Perſian gulph. The Turk ſeems to be much the moſt formidable enemy to Perſia, and has penetrated fartheſt into that kingdom; but the Perſians obſerving their danger, and the antient antipathy between the two nations reviving, they ſeem to be uniting their forces to oppoſe the common enemy. And as it cannot be the intereſt, either of the Emperor of Germany, or the Muſcovite, to ſee the Turk aggrandized by ſo conſiderable an addition to his dominions, as the kingdom of Perſia would be, it is not to be imagined they will ſit ſtill and ſuffer him to make an entire conqueſt of it. Nor is it to be ſuppoſed, but that the Grand Seignior would find ſome difficulty to accompliſh his deſigns, if no foreign power was to interpoſe; for there is not a country in the world more unfit to ſubſiſt large armies, than this: wide deſerts, without water or proviſions muſt be paſſed; and a body of light horſe always attending their motions, will deſtroy the country before them, cutting off their convoys, and diſtreſſing them in a fatiguing march of many hundred miles. By theſe means the Perſians have formerly ruined the greateſt armies of the Turks, when they have not had a fifth part of their number: and what makes them to be dreaded, notwithſtanding the ſmallneſs of their armies, is the ſwiftneſs of their marches; for they have neither artillery, baggage, nor carriages to retard their motions: they are all horſe, and every man carries a bag of flower behind him ſufficient for ſeveral days; and being acquainted with thoſe parts of the country, where ſprings and forrage are to be found, will ſubſiſt themſelves in places where their enemies can find no food for horſe or man; nor is it poſſible an army can always avoid being ſurprized by troops, which are ſo little incumbred with baggage, and may rather be ſaid to fly than march.

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The antient forces of Perſia conſiſted of perſons who held their lands of the crown by military tenures, but theſe gentlemen, after they had been ſome time ſettled in their farms, appearing to have intereſts diſtinct from the crown, and to apprehend they had rights of their own, with which they were not obliged to compliment their Prince, this kind of militia was diſcouraged and neglected; and their Princes formed themſelves guards and armies for their ſecurity, which had an entire dependance on themſelves, and no views but their maſter's glory. Such are the coulars of Perſia; the janizaries of Turkey; and ſuch were the Mamalukes of Egypt; and ſuch many Chriſtian Princes endeavour to eſtabliſh. For it is in vain to aim at abſolute power, while the militia of a country are commanded by gentlemen who have eſtates and properties to defend. They will ever be tenacious of thoſe laws and cuſtoms which ſecure them in their properties, and are a barrier againſt tyranny. But to proceed, the Perſians have ſcarce any fortified towns, and upon this account may be thought an eaſy conqueſt; but then, as their towns may be ſoon ſurprized, ſo may they be as ſuddenly recovered again; and there being no places of ſtrength, I cannot ſee how the conqueſt the Turks make can ever be eſtabliſhed, but by the concurrence and affections of the people, which they can never expect, ſo inſuperable an averſion have the Perſians to the Turks.

As to the religion of the Perſians, they are Mahometans of the ſect of HALY; and though a ſtranger would look upon the differences between them and the Turks to be mere trifles, yet are they worked up to ſuch an inveterate hatred and deteſtation of each other, that they never mention one another without curſes and imprecations, even in their devotions. They acknowledge the ſame GOD, the ſame Prophet, and the ſame alcoran; but are ſo divided about the true ſucceſſors of MAHOMET, and the interpretation of ſome paſſages in the alcoran, that an infidel ſhall meet with better quarter at their hands, than a brother Muſſulman of a different tribe. The annual feſtival of HOSSEIN and HASSEIN, who were killed by the Turks, is kept up by the Perſians; in which no arts are left untried to create an averſion in the people to the Turks, who ſo barbarouſly murdered thoſe two fathers of their ſect. The Perſians tolerate all religions, only laying an eaſy tax on thoſe who differ from the eſtabliſhment. They neither conſecrate their temples or prieſts, but any one who will put on an air of gravity, and apply himſelf to read the alcoran, is qualified for a living, or a ſubſiſtence in ſome of their moſques when there is a vacancy, and if he be removed, he is looked upon as a mere layman again.

From Perſia we paſſed over the gulph of Boſſora, into Arabia; which extends from 12 degrees 30 minutes, to 32 degrees north latitude, having the Perſian gulph on the eaſt, and the Red ſea on the weſt, Syria on the north, and the ocean on the ſouth. Arabia is uſually thrown into three grand diviſions, viz. Arabia the Deſert, Arabia the Stony, and Arabia the Happy; the firſt lyes to the north, the ſecond towards the weſt, and the third and largeſt diviſion is towards the ſouth, but the exact boundaries of any of them are uncertain, the whole being but one large deſert, except near the ſea coaſts, where are ſome conſiderable towns, and fruitful fields, eſpecially in Arabia the Happy, ſo ſtyled as being not altogether ſo barren as the other two. There are very few ſprings, and not one navigable river in this large country, except the Euphrates, which is the northern boundary of it. By the way of the Red ſea, which waſhes the weſt ſide of Arabia, was brought all the ſpices and rich merchandizes of the eaſt to Egypt, and from thence conveyed to Europe, till the paſſage to the cape of Good Hope was diſcovered by the Portugueſe, about two hundred years ago. This was the ſea ſo famous for the children of Iſrael's paſſing through it, from the Egyptian to the Arabian ſhores; the very place, according to tradition, lying in the midway between Suez and Tor, where the ſea is fifteen miles over, and thirty five fathoms deep in the middle of the channel at preſent. The principal port in this ſea is Mocho, much reſorted to by the European as well as Indian ſhipping, and lyes on the right hand juſt as we enter this ſea from the ocean by the ſtraights of Babmandel. The air of Arabia is exceſſive hot, and the ſands are ſometimes raiſed to that degree by hurricanes, that thouſands have been buried alive in them. Nor are they leſs troubled with hot winds than in the neighbouring country of Perſia. The city of Mecca in Arabia Felix, was the place of MAHOMET's birth, and here is the kaaba or holy chapel, to which he commanded all his diſciples to go on pilgrimage. It was a Pagan temple, according to tradition, built by ABRAHAM, whither the Arab tribes uſed to go in pilgrimage before. Two hundred miles to the northward of Mecca ſtands the city of Medina, whither the impoſture fled when he was driven from Mecca, and here is his tomb, but no pilgrimages were ordered to be made thither, as is commonly ſaid; nor do the Perſians often viſit this place, though the Turks ſometimes take it in their way, in their journey to or from Mecca. Muſcat ſeems now to be the moſt conſiderable kingdom in Arabia. They have a formidable fleet of ſhips, and are in a manner maſters of the ſeas between Arabia and India. Some other petty kingdoms there are upon or near the coaſt, but the heart of the

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the country is divided among a multitude of petty Sovereigns, who ramble with their people from place to place, as they can find water and paſture for their cattle, and thoſe near the borders of Turkey and Perſia ſubſiſt chiefly by rapine, making incurſions far into the neighbouring countries. Nor is the Arabian ſhipping leſs dreaded at ſea than their troops on ſhore; for they make prize of almoſt every thing that comes in their way, and if they do not attack the ſhips of Europe, it is becauſe they apprehend them to be of a ſuperior force. They ſeem to be the true deſcendants of Ismael. 'Their hand is againſt every man, and 'every man's hand againſt them.'

The Arabians are but low of ſtature, ſlender, and of ſwarthy complexions. Their voices not big but ſhrill. They have been eſteemed a brave people, and expert at the bow and lance. Their Generals, who ſucceeded MAHOMET, made the ſwifteſt and the largeſt conqueſts that we read of in hiſtory, extending their arms in a very ſhort time to the weſtern ſhores of Africk and Spain: great part of the Chriſtian world fell before them, making ſcarce any reſiſtance, and wherever they carried their arms, they eſtabliſhed their religion, even the iſlands and coaſts of India eaſtward ſoon ſwarmed with the diſciples of that impoſtor; and moſt of the Indian ſovereigns became Mahometans; except China and Siam, every country in Aſia and Africk almoſt is under the dominion of the Mahometans, and the Grand Seignior we know hath the ſeat of his empire in Europe, but we have reaſon to hope the Mahometan powers now begin to decline, and as that doctrine was firſt propagated by the ſword, ſo when they want that ſupport, Chriſtianity may revive and flouriſh in the ſame countries it did a thouſand years ago, and ſpread itſelf even round the globe. The Chriſtians are at this day equal in number to the Turks in ſeveral Mahometan countries; and in ſome they are three to one: but there is no inſtance of the Mahometans living under any Chriſtian power; their brutiſh pride cannot ſubmit to a Sovereign of another perſuaſion; inſolence and ignorance ſeem to be the badges and characteriſticks of that religion; and whenever they ſhall be forced to ſubmit to the Chriſtian powers, Mahometiſm probably may diſappear as ſuddenly as it firſt prevailed, having no foundation in reaſon to ſupport the inſtitution.

Some parts of Arabia the Happy, as hath been obſerved, are tolerably fruitful, but what this country is moſt taken notice of for is, their dates and their coffee; the laſt of which I don't find any other country produces, except Batavia, where the Dutch have ſome plantations of it: but it degenerates much upon tranſplanting, and is not near ſo good as the coffee of Arabia. Myrrh, manna, caſſia, frankincenſe and other aromatick drugs are alſo the product of this ſoil. As to their cattle, they are thought to have the fineſt breed of horſes in the world, at leaſt they are ſo eſteemed in Perſia and Turkey; and there are no where larger herds of camels and dromedaries, with which they tranſport the merchandiſe of one country to another in caravans. Their dromedaries are ſo ſwift, it is ſaid, that they eaſily travel an hundred miles a day with very little meat; both the camel and dromedary alſo will go for ſeveral days together without water, which is very fortunate in thoſe deſerts, where they cannot meet with it ſometimes in a week's travelling. In Arabia Petræa are the places where the children of Iſrael encamped in their paſſage from Egypt to Paleſtine; particularly mount Sinai, which was antiently covered with cells and hermitages of the Chriſtians of the firſt ages, and there are ſtill ſome monaſteries upon or near it, inhabited chiefly by Greek monks.

Tartary Aſiatick.

I proceed next to enquire into the ſtate of Aſiatick Tartary, part of the antient Scythia, the north-eaſt part of which is ſubject to China, and the north weſt to the Muſcovite; on the ſouth-eaſt are the Tartars of Mongul and Thibet, and on the ſouth-weſt the Calmuks and Usbeck Tartars; farther weſt lye the Tartars of Aſtracan and Circaſſia, for the moſt part ſubject to the Muſcovite alſo. The northern part of Aſiatick Tartary under the dominion of the Muſcovite, extends as far as the Chineſian Tartary, which is diſtant from the borders of Europe upwards of three thouſand miles; and if to this we add the Muſcovite dominions in Europe, contiguous to their Aſiatick territories, this will be found to be an empire of the largeſt extent in the known world, except that of the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru. This part of Muſcovite Tartary which we are now treating of frequently goes under the general name of Siberia, and is inhabited by ſeveral diſtinct nations or hords: in the north we find the Samoieds and Oſtiacks bordering on the Frozen ocean and Nova Zemla, and in the ſouth the Tartars of Bratski and Barabinski, &c. all of them a barbarous people, whom the late Czar endeavoured to civilize by ſending the Swediſh priſoners amongſt them: and as they were generally Pagans, his Czariſh Majeſty alſo ſent ſome Biſhops and prieſts to endeavour their converſion, in which he had conſiderable ſucceſs; the Biſhop of Tobolski, the capital of Siberia, taking great pains to have theſe poor people inſtructed in the principles of Chriſtianity. Sables, furs and skins are almoſt the only merchandize of the country. In winter the natives ſpend their time in hunting, and in ſummer time in fiſhing, or feeding their cattle. They live in ordinary huts, removing from place to place according to the ſeaſon of the year. In winter they

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they have their dwelling in the woods and foreſts, and in ſummer time near the banks of their rivers, of which they have ſeveral equal to any in Europe. There are at preſent ſome few towns in Siberia built by the Muſcovites, of which the capital is Tobolski.

Aſtracan. The kingdom of Aſtracan lyes between Calmuck Tartary on the eaſt, and Circaſſia on the weſt, having Ruſſia on the north, and the Caſpian ſea on the ſouth. The capital city of Aſtracan is tolerably built, and fortified by the Muſcovites, and ſeveral plantations and improvements were made by the late Czar in the neighbourhood of the city: but the natives live for the moſt part in huts or tents, like their brethren, moving from place to place with their cattle for the conveniency of paſture.

Circaſſians. To the weſtward of Aſtracan lyes Circaſſia, for the moſt part alſo under the dominion of the Ruſſians. The country is fertile enough, and would produce corn, if the inhabitants thought fit to manure it; but their riches conſiſt in herds of cattle, which they drive from one part of the country to another, ſowing no more ground than juſt they have occaſion for. The Circaſſians are perſonable men, of admirable complexions and features, which makes their daughters ſo much admired by the Turks and Perſians, that they purchaſe them at very high rates to place in their harams; and many of them become wives or miſtreſſes to the Princes and great officers of thoſe empires, which makes their parents willingly part with them to the merchant as to certain preferment: and not a girl but hopes to be the miſtreſs of a Baſſa at leaſt, when ſhe leaves her father's houſe. Tho' moſt of theſe people are Chriſtians, in name at leaſt, they make no ſcruple of ſelling their children into countries where they are morally ſure they will become Mahometans. It was in this country where inoculation for the ſmall-pox was firſt practiſed on children in their infancy, in order to preſerve their beauties; it being obſerved when they have this diſtemper ſo young, and are prepared to receive it, their beauty does not ſuffer much.

Calmucks. The Calmuck Tartars lye to the eaſtward of Aſtracan, they are not ſubject to any common ſovereign, but divided into ſeveral hords or tribes, ſome of them ſtrong enough to attack the Ruſſian frontiers; but they are generally at peace with Muſcovy. Theſe people are as remarkable for their deformity as the Circaſſians for their beauty, having flat ſquare faces, ſmall eyes ſunk in their heads, ſhort noſes, and olive complexions: they are moſt of them Pagans, but ſome few Mahometans there are amongſt them.

Usbecks. The Usbeck Tartars lye between Calmuck Tartary on the north, and India Proper on the ſouth: this was the country of the famous TAMERLANE, from whom their Princes are proud of being deſcended: but it is divided now into ſeveral ſmall hords or tribes, none of their Chams of any great power. The capital city is Samarcand, once the ſeat of TAMERLANE's empire; but this, as well as the reſt of their great towns, is fallen to decay; the people living in camps like the reſt of their brethren the Tartars, and wandring from place to place. The Mogul Tartars, and thoſe of Thibet, inhabit the countries between the Usbecks and China, and have little to diſtinguiſh them from their neighbours, but their religion; the Usbecks being Mahometans, and the Tartars of Thibet and Mungalia, Pagans.

Turkey in Aſia was next the ſubject of our enquiries; having Perſia on the eaſt, and the Archipelago and Mediterranean ſeas on the weſt. The eaſtern part of this country contains the antient Chaldea, now Eyraca Arabick; Meſopotamia, now Diarbeck; part of Aſſyria, now Curdiſtan; part of Armenia Major, now Turcomania, with part of Georgia and Mengrelia. The weſtern part of Aſiatick Turkey comprehends part of Arabia, Syria, Paleſtine, Natolia, or Aſia Minor. Turkey in Africa conſiſts only of the kingdom of Egyt, which lyes between the Red ſea on the eaſt, and the deſert of Barca on the weſt; having the Mediterranean on the north, and Abyſſinia on the ſouth; Turkey in Europe, has Poland and Muſcovy on the north; the Mediterranean ſea on the ſouth, Hungary, Sclavonia, and the Adriatick gulph on the weſt; comprehending the Morea, Albania, Epirus, Achaia, Theſſaly, Macedonia, the iſles of the Archipelago and the Levant, Romania, Bulgaria, Servia, Boſnia, Raguſa, Walachia, Moldavia, Beſſarabia, Budziack and Ozakow Tartary; to which may be added, Tartaria Minor, and Crim Tartary, their Cham being but Viceroy to the Grand Seignior. This empire having been laſt deſcribed, the ſtate of it is freſh in the readers memory, I ſhall therefore but juſt touch upon ſome general heads.

The Turks were originally a barbarous people, of Scythian or Tartarian extraction, who left their frozen country about the eighth century, and deſcended ſouthwards, ravaging Georgia, and penetrating afterwards as far as Armenia Major, where they fixed themſelves for ſome time, giving the country the name of Turcomania, which it ſtill retains. They were at this time Pagans, but conquering Perſia ſome time after, and living among Mahometans, they became diſciples of the Prophet MAHOMET. Bagdat, then in poſſeſſion of the Arabs or Saracens, was their next conqueſt; from whence they turned to the right into the leſſer Aſia; but theſe victorious Turks were driven out of moſt of their acquiſitions, by another hord of their Tartar brethren, who followed the ſame rout they had done; when OTTOMAN, an enterpriſing

CHAP. XXII.

prising Prince, descended from the former family, restored their affairs, and laid the foundation of that empire in the thirteenth century, from this Prince styled ever since, the Ottoman empire.

The Turks are a people who have ever discouraged, rather than improved arts and sciences, and seem averse also to all manner of mechanical employments; neither trade nor husbandry do they delight in, and suffer the towns and buildings, wherever they come, to fall to decay. In war and martial exercises they seemed to take most pleasure antiently; but their strict discipline and enterprising spirit is in a manner lost; and both Prince and people pass away most of their time, either in the women's apartments, or indolently lolling on their sofas, smoking and eating opium: and few of them, but in private, will drink to excess; though this used heretofore to be one of the principal distinctions between a Turk and a Christian. As to that air of gravity they put on in publick, or their hypocritical devotions, they are not to be much regarded; since their vices in private are so notorious, even sodomy itself is commonly practised amongst them; and what is taken for gravity, may be only stupefaction, the effects of opium, or their insatiable lusts, or perhaps of both. They are also excessively covetous, not only places, but justice is commonly bought and sold; and the whole empire is infested with bribery from the highest to the lowest. Pride and arrogance, the usual effects of ignorance, they are no less remarkable for: but how gross soever their crimes may be in themselves, they have this farther aggravation, that they charge them all on heaven itself; maintaining, that every the minutest action is decreed, and man hath no liberty of choice.

The seminaries in the seraglio, where not only their spahis and janizaries, the best of their militia, were educated, but all their officers and ministers of state were bred, were noble institutions. These were composed of young lads, chosen out of their captives, either on account of the brightness of their parts, or the strength and beauty of their persons, and kept strictly to their exercises, till called out to the employments they were designed for. One could not have been admitted, even into the body of janizaries, under a seven years trial of his abilities; whereas now this body is made the refuge of every idle fellow, and they are no longer to be depended on in an engagement: and, it is supposed, the education of those who are designed for other employments are equally neglected. What is most to be admired in the Grand Seignior's palace at present, is the order and profound silence with which every thing is transacted, which may be ascribed to the mutes who are entertained there, and have communicated their dumb way of conversation to the rest of the inhabitants. The Grand Seignior, and his greatest officers, frequently take this method of communicating their orders to their dependents, even in capital cases, it is said: a company of dwarfs also attend the Grand Seignior's pleasures here, and entertain him with their buffoonery: and where one of these diminutive gentlemen happens to be a mute, an eunuch, and exceedingly deformed, his value is inestimable, and he passes through any of the apartments of the palace, on messages to the Sultan's women. The eunuchs are another considerable body in the seraglio, being designed also to serve the Grand Seignior's pleasures, and guard the Ladies charms from vulgar eyes; for among the eastern Princes it is criminal to look upon their women, though without desire. They consist of a variety of beauties in their bloom, taken captive in war, or presented by the Bassas and tributary Princes of the empire, as the most acceptable present they can make the Sultan, and are generally thought to amount to near a thousand in the Grand Seignior's haram, who are taught to sing and dance, and dress, and all other accomplishments which may create desire: many of them, however, are scarce known to their Lord, who usually confines himself to the conversation of some few; and among these one is observed to be generally singled out, and in a manner engrosses his affections: he is never formally married to any, but she that bears the first son seems to possess the place of Queen, and is distinguished from the rest by some peculiar marks of esteem.

The great officers of state are the Grand Vizier, or Prime Minister; the Mufti, or High Priest; the Viziers of the bench, who sit in the divan, or courts of justice, with him: the Cadaliskuiers, or Chief Justices of provinces; the Beglerbegs, or Viceroys; the Bassas, or Governors of towns and lesser districts, under the Beglerbegs; the Caimacan, or Governor of Constantinople, who is the Grand Vizier's lieutenant, in his absence; the Treasurer, the Chamberlain, and officers of the household; the Aga, or General of the janizaries; the Captain Bassa, or Admiral, &c. There are no nobility, or hereditary governments in Turkey: their Bassas, and great officers of state, are all educated in the seraglio, being the children of Christian parents, taken by the Tartars in their excursions, or purchased by their merchants, many of whom deal only in this kind of traffick. Sometimes indeed the renegado Christians arrive at the highest employments in their fleets and armies, and are observed to have done more mischief to Christendom, than those who have been educated in Mahometism from their infancy, as being better skilled in the arts of war and navigation than the Turks usually are. As for the native Turks, few of them

CHAP. XXII.

them are found in any great poſts; it is of the children of Chriſtians, or renegadoes, that their officers, both civil and military, and the beſt part of their forces are compoſed. Were it not for Chriſtian captives, the Turks would make a much meaner figure than they do: without them they would be in no condition to maintain their ground againſt the powers of the weſt: and without the Greeks, Armenians, and other Chriſtian ſubjects, their trade and manufactures would ſoon dwindle to nothing.

From taking a general view of Turkey, I proceeded to a more particular deſcription of the Aſiatick provinces, and afterwards paſſed over to Egypt, where we were entertained with the pyramids, the catacombs, and other curioſities with which that kingdom abounds. The provinces of the Turkiſh empire in Europe came next in our way, in which we took a view of Conſtantinople, the ſeraglio, their moſques, and other publick buildings: after which I treated of the Mahometan, or eſtabliſhed religion of Turkey, and of the ſtate of the Chriſtian religion in that empire; concluding with a deſcription of modern Greece, the iſlands of the Archipelago, and the antiquities ſtill remaining there. But theſe the reader hath been ſo lately entertained with, that I forbear to dwell longer upon them. CHAP. XXII.

Having done with the infidel world, I ſhall now proceed to enquire into the ſtate of Chriſtendom; beginning firſt with Muſcovy, which lyes moſt to the eaſtward of any kingdom of Europe, and contiguous to Turkey; and the rather, becauſe I have already deſcribed that part of it which lyes in Aſia. I had propoſed, as the reader will obſerve, to enter firſt upon Italy; but for the reaſons already mentioned, and becauſe the eyes of all Europe ſeem at preſent fixed on this growing empire, and jealous of their deſigns, the kingdoms to the ſouthward of them having been ſo often overrun by theſe northern people, who at this time want nothing but diſcipline, and an improvement of their trade and manufactures, to render them as formidable as ever; and who have in theſe particulars alſo advanced very conſiderably, on the encouragement given them by ſome of their late Princes. Upon all theſe accounts I aſſure myſelf, I ſhall have the concurrence of my readers in general, if I enquire in the firſt place into the preſent ſtate of Ruſſia.

THE

PRESENT STATE

OF

MUSCOVY, or RUSSIA.

CHAP. I.

Treats of the ſituation and extent of the Ruſſian empire, of the air and climate, and of the ſeas, lakes, and rivers with which it is watered.

CHAP. I.

The ſituation and extent of Ruſſia.

THE Ruſſian empire, if we take it in its largeſt extent, and include the late conqueſts on the ſide of Sweden, is bounded by the Frozen ocean towards the north; by Chineſian Tartary towards the eaſt; by the Calmucks, the Caſpian ſea, Coban Tartary, Georgia, the Palus Mæotis, and the Leſſer Tartary towards the ſouth; and by Poland, the Baltick ſea and Bothnick gulph towards the weſt. But as the Muſcovite provinces in Aſia have been already deſcribed, and I am now to conſider only that part of the Ruſſian empire which lyes in Europe, the eaſtern boundary muſt be the ſame with that of Europe itſelf, viz. The rivers Oby and Irtis, and a line drawn from the latter to the mouth of the Don, or Tanais, which CHAP. I.

which falls into the Palus Mæotis. Muſcovy in Europe then extends from the 47th degree of north latitude to the 70th, (and perhaps ſome degrees higher; but it is ſcarce habitable nearer the pole) and from the twenty-firſt degree of longitude to the ſeventieth, reckoning from the meridian of London, being forty-nine degrees of longitude; to which if we add 36 degrees more, which the Aſiatick provinces take up, this empire will be found to run through 85 degrees of longitude, and conſequently, is by much the largeſt tract of country on our continent, ſubject to one Monarch. The Muſcovites alſo, taking advantage of the civil wars in Perſia, have of late years extended their conqueſts beyond the Caſpian ſea, very far ſouth of the limits here laid down, but theſe not having yet been relinquiſhed by Perſia, and theſe countries ſtill remaining in a ſtate of war, I did not think it proper to include them within the bounds of Muſcovy, till we ſee whether they will be reſtored or not.

The name.

The province of Moſcow communicates its name to the whole empire, which an hundred years ago was included in much narrower bounds.

Climate.

The kingdoms of Caſan, Aſtracan, the Coſſacks, Circaſſians, and the large country which goes under the name of Siberia, are all late acquiſitions, as well as Livonia and Finland. This country extending from the 47th degree of north latitude to the arctick-circle, and beyond; the longeſt day in the ſouth is fifteen hours and an half, and in the north there is no night at the ſummer ſolſtice. During the winter, which in moſt parts continues ſeven months, and towards the north, nine: the whole country is covered with ſnow a yard or two thick, and the rivers are all frozen up. The air is ſo exceeding ſharp, it is ſaid, that water, ſprinkled with one's hand, will freeze before it comes to the ground, and it is no uncommon thing to find people who have loſt their noſes or fingers by the extreme cold; but the ſnow is no ſooner melted than we ſee, on a ſudden, the earth covered with green herbs and flowers; and the grain which is ſown in April or May, ſprings up ſo faſt that it is reaped in Auguſt. There ſeems to be no occaſion for dung or manure, the ſnow alone renders the ground ſo fruitful that they ſeldom fail of good crops: but this is to be underſtood of the middle or ſouthren parts of Muſcovy; for the provinces which lye towards the north are barren, and produce very little grain or herbage. A gentleman who lately reſided at Petersburg, in the latitude of ſixty, obſerves that they have very little comfort in their winter days; for though the ſun may be a little above the horizon for two or three hours, it is ſeldom ſeen, on account of the thick fogs, which ſo darken the air that it may rather be called dawn than day-light. In Auguſt the cold weather begins there, and till the May following every body is wrapped up in furs, even their boots, which they wear conſtantly, are lined with them: the ice in their rivers is an ell and a half thick, and is not melted till ſometime after the ſnow is gone. The ſummer heats are almoſt as troubleſome as the winter's cold; and the ſun, raiſing the vapours in the lakes and marſhy grounds about Petersburg, occaſions tempeſts of thunder and lightning almoſt every day; but they ſoon blow over, and fine weather follows. In the heart of Muſcovy, travellers complain that the multitude of gnats and flies, produced by the ſun ſhining with an intenſe heat on the pools and ſtanding waters, made by the melted ſnow, render the ſummer as incommodious as the winter.

Seas of Muſcovy.

The ſeas of Muſcovy are, the Frozen ocean, the White ſea, the gulph of Finland, the Bothnick bay, and the Baltick, all which lye towards the north and weſt: as to the Caſpian ſea, which lyes to the ſouth of Muſcovy, this hath been mentioned already in Aſia: and though the Euxine, or Black ſea, might not many years ago have been deemed amongſt the ſeas of this empire; yet ſince, by the laſt peace between Turkey and Ruſſia, the Czar was obliged to deliver up Aſoph, and the reſt of the forts he had built near the mouths of the Don and the Boriſthenes, the Muſcovites ſeem to be totally excluded all communication with the Black ſea. Many have been the attempts of the Engliſh and Dutch to find a paſſage through the Frozen ſea, or Muſcovite ocean, to China: but the land appears to extend ſo far to the north, that this is now judged to be impracticable; and was not the land in the way, ſuch mountains of ice are to be met with near the pole, that it is extremely difficult for a ſhip to diſengage itſelf which has been ſo hardy to venture amongſt them. From the Frozen ocean we deſcend to the ſouthward into the White ſea, or bay of Archangel, between Muſcovite Lapland on the weſt, and Samoieda on the eaſt. This bay was firſt diſcovered by the Engliſh, whereby they opened a way to trade with Muſcovy, and enjoyed the ſole benefit of it for ſome years, till they were ſupplanted by their good friends the Dutch. But if the firſt diſcovery of the paſſage thither, or the being firſt in poſſeſſion of this branch of trade, would have given us a right to monopolize the whole, and exclude all other nations from it, as is pretended in ſome other parts of the world, the Engliſh have not been handſomly dealt with here. Had the Dutch had as good a pretence to exclude us from Ceylone, from Java, or the Spice iſlands in the eaſt, we ſhould not have had much reaſon to complain: but we were before them alſo in the Indian ſeas, and poſſeſſed of that rich trade, and

Frozen ocean.

White ſea.

CHAP. I.

yet tamely ſuffered ourſelves to be excluded from it by the voracious Hollander. But to return.

Gulph of Finland and Bothnia.

The next ſea the Muſcovites may be ſaid to be maſters of, is the bay or gulph of Finland, which divides Livonia from Finland; for the Muſcovites are now poſſeſſed of the countries on both ſides this bay, as they are of one ſide of the Bothnick gulph. As to the Baltick ſea, though the Muſcovites are now poſſeſſed of Riga and Revel, and other ports upon it, which afford them an eaſier communication with this part of Europe than they had formerly; yet as this ſea is in a manner ſurrounded by the dominions of other Princes, I ſhall defer ſaying more of it till I come to treat of Sweden and Denmark.

Lake Ladoga. Lake Onega. White lake. Ilmen lake. Worſero. Lake Pepus.

The moſt conſiderable lakes we meet with here are, 1. The lake Ladoga, which has a communication with the gulph of Finland, by the river Nicoa, on which the city of Petersburgh ſtands, and may be four or five hundred miles in circumference. To the north-eaſt of Ladoga lyes, 2. the lake of Onega, almoſt as large as the former. South-eaſt of Onega is, 3. the White lake, where the river Shackſena hath its ſource, being one of thoſe rivers which afterwards form the great river Wolga. 4. The lake Ilmen, near which ſtands the city of Novogrod: and upon the confines of Livonia, near the city of Pleskow, is, 5. the lake Worſero, which has a communication with, 6. The lake Pepus, lying to the northward of it, and are each of them of a very great length. But it would be endleſs to enumerate all the lakes in this flat watry country, and therefore I proceed next to enquire into their principal rivers.

Oby and Irtis rivers.

The 1. river Oby, with the river Irtis which falls into it, are eſteemed the boundary between Europe and Aſia. The Oby riſes in Calmuck Tartary, and running northward a courſe of two thouſand miles and more, falls into the gulph of Mangaſia, within the artick circle. 2. The

Wolga.

Wolga, or Rha, hath its ſource either from the White lake or ſome fountain near it, in the north of Muſcovy, which having run a courſe of two thouſand miles and upwards, towards the ſouth-eaſt, falls into the Caſpian ſea, below Aſtracan. 3. The Don, or Tanais, riſes from a

Don river.

lake in the province of Rezan, and having ran a courſe of many hundred miles to the ſouth-eaſt turns about, and runs almoſt directly weſt, till it falls into the Palus Mæotis, near Aſoph. 4.

Nieper river

The river Boriſthenes, or Nieper, hath its ſource in the province of Moſcow, and having run firſt to the weſtward, turns afterwards to the ſouthward, and running along the confines of Poland, falls into the Black ſea, near Oczakow. 5. The

Dwina river

river Dwina riſes from a lake in the province of Bulgaria, and taking its courſe to the northward, falls into the White ſea, near Archangel. There is alſo, 6. another river Dwina, which falls into the Baltick, near Riga. As to the Muſcovite rivers of Aſia, they have been mentioned already, in treating of Muſcovite Tartary in Aſia. There are alſo many other conſiderable rivers, which the reader will find laid down in the map of Ruſſia, which is ordered to be engraved and inſerted in this volume; but theſe are the moſt conſiderable.

CHAP. II.

Dwina.

CHAP. II.

Contains a deſcription of the provinces of Samoieda, Meſſeen, Dwina, Syrianes, and Rubenenſka.

Provinces.

THE exact boundaries of the Muſcovite provinces having never yet been adjuſted by any writer, I muſt content myſelf with ſhewing generally in what part of the empire they lye, till a more particular ſurvey ſhall be taken of them.

Samoieda.

1. Samoieda, the north-eaſterly province in Europe, is bounded by the Frozen ocean towards the north, and by the river Oby towards the eaſt. I confeſs the Samoieds are alſo placed to the eaſtward of the river Oby; but theſe being in Aſia, have already been conſidered. The White ſea is deemed the weſtern boundary of Samoieda; but how far it extends to the ſouthward, ſeems uncertain, (under the name of Samoieda, I include the ſubdiviſions of Petzora, Condora, and Oſtrich.) Theſe people have ſcarce any towns amongſt them, living in caves or huts, which, as travellers tell us, ſtand more under than above the ground. The gentlemen, however, that pretend to skill in geography, have filled up their maps with the names of ſeveral towns; but as I find no two of them agree, either in their names or ſituations, I chooſe entirely to omit the mention of them; and as to the manners of the people, they are the ſame with thoſe of their neighbours of Aſia, already deſcribed.

Meſſeen.

2. To the ſouth-weſt of Samoieda, we meet with the province of Meſſeen; the chief town whereof is of the ſame name, and ſituate in 66 degrees of north latitude, not far from the coaſts of the White ſea.

Dwina.

3. The province of Dwina, bounded by the White ſea on the weſt and north, and the provinces of Meſſeen and Syrianes towards the eaſt, and by Rubeuski on the ſouth: the chief

Archangel.

town whereof is Archangel, ſituate about ſix miles from the mouth of the river Dwina, in 64 degrees odd minutes north latitude: the town extends along the north-eaſt ſide of the river for about two miles, and is almoſt a mile in breadth. The only building worth obſervation is the palace, which is built of free ſtone, and divided into three large ſquare courts, in which the foreign merchants are permitted to lodge and ſecure their goods.

20 25 30 35 40 45 50 55 60 Deg. E. from London

The greatest Length of Russia in Europe is about 1530 miles; Breadth 1050. Its Area is so great that it is Computed to be above 8 times the bigness of France. And as large as France & the whole Turkish Empire; and is supposed to contain about 16 Millions of People.

70

65

60

MOSCOVIAN SEA

North Cape

Peterburg, built by ye late Emperor Peter the great, is now ye Metropolis Town & Port of Russia. Is Situated on ye Bare part of ye Gulf of Finland — Long. 30. 40 Lat. 60. 15. 360 m. from Moscow 367 m. from Archangell 2500 from London

P. of NORWAY

WARDHUS

Wardhus Fort

waranger

Fishers I.

Kildyn

Enare Tresk

Moure-manskoy

Kola

Olima I.

Arzina R.

Lokina

RUS-LAPLAND

LAPLAND

Torne

Candelax

Ombag

Polina Ozero

Treskoy

Salt Pound

Warsiga

Kirik Amoxeskoy

Cajania

SWEDEN

SWEDISH FINLAND

FINLAND

Lenda Lake

Abo

G. of FINLAND

WHITE SEA

Archangel

Meseen

Artick Circle

Pinega R.

Malepinoske

Pustoi Oserki

Pustoi L.

Westo Wuin

Pezerkoi

Samaros Koiam

Ismd

Permia

Great

Dwina R.

Dwine

Ousorgh

Wizoghda

SYRIANES

Polountzagotz

Iamuzgn

Vstuga

Bobrofs Kajdm

Totma

Surdym

Rubeninska

Bela cse da

Vsogorod ischna

Kargapol

St. Nicolaes

waga

Onega L.

Onega R.

Ladoga L.

Neva R.

Kexholm

Nyslot

Nyen

Nottenburg

Ingria

Cajania

Lapland

Swedish Finland

Russ

Olm

Sonna

Kimi R.

Kimi

Zalo mska R.

Cajana

Torne

Kola

Olima I.

Arzina R.

Lokina

Candenos I.

Colguyeva I.

New Holland

Admiralty I.

Black Point

NOVA ZEMBLA

Looms Bay

C. Cant

Sr H. willoughbys Land

Bear Bay

Crois Pt

Haygats Str.

The Ice Sea

Str. of Nassow

Hear or States I.

Oby R.

ASIA

SAMOIDA

Sobskaia

Berezowa

Circle

Artick

Meseen

Pustoi Oserki

Pustoi L.

Pezerkoi

Samaros Koiam

Ismd

Great Permia

Iamuzgn

Vstuga

Bobrofs Kajdm

Totma

Surdym

Dwina R.

Dwine

Ousorgh

Wizoghda

SYRIANES

Polountzagotz

RUSSIA or MOSCOVY
with its Acquisitions &c. in Sweden Agreeable to Modern History.
By H. Moll Geographer.

LIVONIA
NOVOGOROD
Yereslaf
Wologda
Galitz
Orsol
Glinof
Wergotur
Niesue
Jepanzin
Tagin
Gultzoi
Kama
Tumeen
Kasan
Basilgorod
Cheremissi Nagorni
Lit. NOVOGOROD
Simbirska
Samara
Ufimsi Tartary
Temnikof
Mighailof
Tarattof
ASTRACAN
Camishinca
Here the Intended Communication to be made between the Rivers Don and Wolga
MOSCOVA
Moscow
Mosaisk
Smolenska
Minski
LITHUANIA
POLAND
Pruzana
Bielgorod
Liuni
Sefsk
Nougarodock
Mstislaw
Rzeczlea
Motol
Przypiecz R.
Zernobil
Zytomier
Polonka
Chmielnick
Braclaw
Bog R.
Bender
Oczakow
Danube R.
The BLACK SEA.
Palus Meotis
Asof
Roxban
Taman
KUBAN
Kirtz
CRIM.
TARTARY
Lit. Nesart
Danastr R.
Trinity C.
Kameñoi
Zinla R.
COSSACKS
Don R.
Tisc hankin
DON
Belgorod
Killa
Dniester R.
Perecop
Isioum
Walóeki
Salenoi
Black Forest
Poltava
Cirkassi
Belgorod
Charkof
Woronetz
Oskol
Soesa
Soemi
Karopat
Gadiatz
Bielokolodes
Poetiw
Bielgorod
Zemlanoi
Nougarodock
Sefsk
Liuni
Pruzana
Oka R.
Don R.
Wolga R.
Kesma R.
Resan
Pereslaf
Rosankof
Rostof
Iwer
Twer
Volok
Duna R.
Polotzko
Dunaburg
Courland
Lowet R.
Polsko
Rzecow
Mologo
Chelm
Volat
Lake
Ilmen
Luga R.
Pleskow
Narova R.
Ingria
Reval
Dorpat
Peipus L.
Oswil I.
Riga
Bekenhuy
Dumiberg
Libe
Mittaw
Goldingen
Duhamund R.
Worsero L.
Wolkoiskoi
Twer
Jeresla
Roslof
Wolga
Kolejo
Rob
Initz
naia
Wo
Utko
Kama
Tobol R.
Tumen
Jepanzin
Wergotur
Niesue
Tagin R.
gultzoi
Kasan
Basilgorod
Cheremissi Nagorni
Bulgar
Bulgar
Kesma R.
Lit. NOVOGOROD
Simbirska
Samara
Ufimsi Tartary
Temnikof
Mighailof
Tarattof
Wolga R.
ASTRACAN
Camishinca
Here the Intended Communication to be made between the Rivers Don and Wolga
COSSACKS
Don R.
Tisc hankin
DON
Kameñoi
Zinla R.
Danastr R.
Trinity C.
Danilof
Dniester R.
Perecop
Palus Meotis
Asof
Roxban
Taman
KUBAN
Kirtz
CRIM.
The BLACK SEA.
Danube R.
Belgorod
Killa
Oczakow
Bender
Bog R.
Braclaw
Chmielnick
Zytomier
Polonka
Zernobil
Przypiecz R.
Rzeczlea
Motol
Mstislaw
Minski
Courland
Dunaburg
Duna R.
Polotzko
Smolenska
Moscow
Oka R.
Don R.
Wolga R.
Kesma R.
Resan
Pereslaf
Rostof
Twer
Jeresla
Wologda
Galitz
Orsol
Glinof
Wergotur
Niesue
Jepanzin
Tagin R.
gultzoi
Kama
Tumeen
Tobol R.
Kasan
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COSSACKS
Don R.

goods. Here alſo are held their courts of juſtice for the province. The caſtle where the Governor reſides is ſurrounded only with a wooden wall, within which are the ſhops of ſeveral handicraft trades; and here, during the fair, the Ruſſians expoſe their goods to ſale: the ſhipping returning home in September or October, the natives, as well as foreign merchants, retire to Moſcow, or other inland towns, ſo ſoon as the rivers and lakes are frozen over, and the ſnow hardened, that they can travel in their ſleds. The houſes of the town are all of wood, not ſawed out into boards, but ſquare pieces of fir timber piled one upon another, with very little order. The houſes of ſome of the foreign merchants, however, are plained or wainſcotted in the inſide, and very neat and commodious; and in every room there is a large ſtove, ſo contrived as to be an ornament to it, which is heated to what degree they pleaſe. The ſtreets, inſtead of a pavement, are laid with rough pieces of timber, which a ſtranger is ready to break his neck over, and here they alſo throw out their dirt and rubbiſh, which makes them extremely dirty; but when the ſnows are fallen, all is ſmooth and level. The Lutherans and Calviniſts have each of them a church in this city: in winter the congregations do not aſſemble in them, but at their miniſters houſe, in ſome room well warmed with ſtoves. All kind of proviſions are mighty plentiful at Archangel; eſpecially poultry, fiſh, wild fowl, partridges, and other game: one ſort of their partridges turn white in the winter. They have alſo a wild fowl, not unlike our turkies, the cocks of a black colour, mixed with a deep blue: their hares alſo, which are very plentiful, are obſerved to turn white in winter. Salmon, perch, and the beſt river fiſh, abound in their waters; twenty pence will purchaſe enough to dine twenty men. Butchers meat, ſuch as beef, veal, lamb, &c. they have in ſuch abundance that it is bought for a peny a pound. And for their liquors, there is good beer brewed here by the government; no private perſon may brew without the licence of the proper officer: their wine and brandy they have from France, but extract ſpirits alſo from corn, which are pretty much drank by the ſailors and common people, and afforded very cheap. Not long ſince there uſed to reſort to this port near an hundred ſhips annually; Engliſh, Dutch, French, Hamburgers, &c. inſomuch that the Czar's cuſtoms at Archangel have been computed to amount to an hundred thouſand pounds per annum: but the Muſcovites being now poſſeſſed of ſeveral ports in the Baltick, and the late Czar having turned the courſe of trade, by compelling his ſubjects to carry their merchandize to Petersburg, the reſort of foreigners to Archangel is much leſs than it was, and the trade of that place will probably decline every year more and more.

The town of St. Nicholas ſtands at the mouth of the river Dwina, and may be looked upon as the port to Archangel. About fifty miles higher up the river Dwina, ſtands the town of Colmogorod, which is a large open place, without either caſtle or walls to defend it. St. Nicholas. Colmogorod

4. The province of Syrianes, ſituate to the eaſtward of the Dwina; our maps extend it as far as the river Oby: the chief town whereof is Ouſizoh. Of this country we know little more than that the greateſt part of it conſiſts in large foreſts, where the natives hunt for furs. Syrianes.

5. The province of Permia is bounded by Syrianes towards the north, and Wologda towards the ſouth; the eaſtern boundary whereof ſeems to be the river Irtis, which falls into the Oby: and the chief town Permia Weliki. This country is not much better inhabited than the laſt, and the people are ſaid to be, like them, employed chiefly in hunting. Permia.

6. Reubenenska, bounded by the Dwina towards the eaſt, and by the White ſea towards the north: the chief town whereof is Uſgorodiſchna. Reubenenska.

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Treats of the provinces of Lapland, Finland, and Carelia; and particularly of the capital city of Petersburg.

7. MUſcovite Lapland, bounded by the ocean towards the north; by the White ſea towards the eaſt and ſouth; and by Swediſh Lapland towards the weſt, is generally divided into three parts, viz. 1. Mourmanskoy Leporie towards the north-weſt: the chief town whereof is Kola, a port which ſtands upon a river of the ſame name, that falls into the northern ocean, and is ſometimes reſorted to by the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, in their paſſage to and from Archangel. 2. Belamoreskoy, the moſt ſoutherly part of Lapland; in which we find the town of Kandalax, ſituate on the White ſea. 3. Treskoy, the moſt eaſterly part of this country; the chief town Warſega, ſituate on the ſouth-eaſt corner of it, near the White ſea. But, to ſay the truth, this country is very ill furniſhed with towns or villages; two or three poor huts are frequently denominated a town by our ſailors. The country lyes in ſo cold a climate, where they are deprived of the light of the ſun for ſeveral months in the year, that they are pretty well ſecured againſt the ambition of the neighbouring powers. During the wars between Sweden and Muſcovy theſe people remained unmoleſted: the ſubjects of the Swediſh and Muſcovite Laplands trading and Lapland.

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converſing together, as if their Princes had been in full peace; nor did the Generals on either ſide think it worth the while to enquire after them.

The ſoil does not produce any kind of corn or grain, and but very little fruit. Their animals are deer, elks, foxes, ermins, martens, bears, wolves, and other beaſts, which they hunt for their ſkins and furs, the ſtaple commodities of the country. They dry the fleſh of ſome of them, as well as their fiſh, upon the rocks in the froſt, and keep it as long as they pleaſe, without ſalt, of which their country is deſtitute. Some ſay they will beat their dried fiſh to powder, and make a kind of paſte of it, which ſerves them inſtead of bread, but there are neither oxen, ſheep, hogs, nor horſes in the country. The natives are of a ſhort ſquat make; their complexion ſwarthy, occaſioned by the extreme cold, which ſeems in many inſtances to have the ſame effects as exceſſive heat. They have broad flat faces, like the Tartars, and ſhort black hair, and are ſtrong and nimble; but ſo timorous, or perhaps untractable, that they have never yet been thought fit for military ſervice; nor do we hear of any wars among theſe people, though they are ſubject to ſeveral Sovereigns; one reaſon whereof may be, that they are poſſeſſed of nothing worth the plundering one another of, as has been intimated already. They have no other drink but fair water or broth, except they get now and then ſome brandy or ſpirits, in exchange for their furs. They wear no linen, and their coats, caps, and boots are made of the ſkins of beaſts, with the hair inwards. They ſkate over the ſnow and ice after their game, in long wooden ſkates, like the Samoides; or are drawn by the rain deer in ſledges; and the ſkins of theſe animals ſerve them both for beds and bedclothes. Every man is an artificer, and can build his ſledge, his boat, or hutt, or make any utenſil he ſtands in need of; though he has no other thread or cordage than the nerves of ſome animal, or thongs made of their ſkins. Their ſledges are almoſt in the faſhion of a boat, only flat behind; and the traces of the rain deer, which draw them, faſtened about their necks, while the reins are tied to their horns, which the traveller holds in his hands. They are Chriſtians by profeſſion, but ſtill retain many of their Pagan ſuperſtitions. Theſe poor people, like others we have little acquaintance with, are charged with practiſing witchcraft and the magick art, and holding a familiar converſation with the devil: they are, according to ſome credulous writers, as intimate with fairies, ſpirits, and other inhabitants of the lower regions, as with their neareſt relations; but their art extends no farther at laſt, we are told, than the doing miſchief to their neighbours, in their perſons or cattle; unleſs it be that they get a dram, or a pipe of tobacco, by ſelling a wind to a fooliſh mariner ſometimes, which when he finds not to anſwer his expectation, he is ſo wiſe as to impute it to the miſmanagement of the charm, rather than want of power in the pretended conjurer. Every family, it is ſaid, has its peculiar demons, who are as much in ſubjection to the maſter as his ſlaves; and they have even the power of bequeathing their imps to their poſterity. But I ſhall not entertain my reader any longer with theſe fooleries, which it is impoſſible for any man to believe, who gives himſelf the liberty to reflect on the numerous abſurdities he meets with in theſe relations, and the very ſlender evidence with which they are ſupported. The language of theſe people is peculiar to themſelves, but hath a mixture of words and phraſes, taken from thoſe nations they border upon. They are not ſubject to many diſeaſes, and generally live to a good old age in their own country; but if they are removed to a warmer climate, and better diet, it is obſerved they ſeldom live long.

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8. The province of Finland, one of the conquests of the late Czar, is bounded by Lapland on the north, by the lakes of Ladoga and Onega, which divide it from other provinces of Muſcovy, on the eaſt, by the gulph of Finland on the ſouth, and by the Bothnick bay towards the weſt. This country is uſually ſubdivided into ſeven parts, 1. Cajania, or Eaſt Bothnia, the moſt northren diſtrict extending itſelf to the ſouthward, along the Bothnick gulph, into which runs abundance of rivers through this country; but the north-eaſt part of it is mountainous: the chief town is Cajaneburg, a fortreſs ſituate on the north-eaſt ſide of the lake Ula, in the latitude of 65. 2. Savolaxia, ſituate between Cajania on the north, and Carelia on the ſouth. This country alſo abounds with lakes and rivers, which fall into the lake Ladoga: the chief town whereof is Koskinpa, which ſtands on a lake in the latitude of ſixty-two degrees odd minutes. 3. Kexholm, ſituate between Savolaxia on the weſt, and ſome other provinces of Muſcovy on the eaſt, and antiently belonged to the Muſcovites, but was taken from them by GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, and remained in the hands of the Swedes till the late war, when the Czar recovered it again. It is a country of a large extent from ſouth to north; the north parts very mountainous, and the ſouth full of lakes and bogs: the chief town whereof is Kexholm, or Carelgorod, ſituate on the weſt ſide of the lake Ladoga, in the latitude of 61 degrees odd minutes. 4. Carelia, bounded by Savolaxia on the north, and the gulph of Finland on the ſouth; a fruitful country, if compared with ſome other parts of Finland, and extending two hundred miles from eaſt to weſt, but not proportionably broad: the

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the chief town whereof is Wyburg, ſituate on the gulph of Finland, with a convenient harbour. 5. Nylandia, or Newland, ſituate between Carelia on the eaſt, and Finland Proper on the weſt: the chief town whereof is Helſingfort, near the mouth of the river Winda, which falls into the gulph of Finland. 6. Finland Proper, bounded by Cajania on the north, Nylandia and Tavaſtia on the eaſt, the gulph of Finland on the ſouth, and the Bothnick bay on the weſt. It is a pleaſant fruitful country, partly encompaſſed by the ſea, and was called Finland, quaſi Fine land, according to ſome: the chief town thereof is Abo, ſituate on the river Saviok, near the Baltick, in the 61ſt degree of north latitude. 7. Tavaſtia, an inland province, bounded by Cajania on the north, Savolaxia on the eaſt, Nylandia on the ſouth, and by Finland Proper on the weſt. This country is full of lakes, the moſt remarkable of which is the great lake of Jende: the chief town Tavaſtia, called alſo Croneburg, being in the latitude of 62 degrees odd minutes. The ſoil of Finland in general is barren, and the country full of lakes, bogs, and buſhes; and there are ſcarce any villages in the inland country, the houſes ſtanding ſingle and diſperſed: but towards the ſouth and weſt upon the ſea coaſt the ſoil is better, and there are ſeveral good towns to be found, beſides thoſe already mentioned, which will be laid down in the map of this country. The Finlanders in the north differ but very little from the Lappomans; but in the ſouth, being mixed with the Swedes, and trading with other nations of Europe, they are ſomething better poliſhed.

9. I come next to Ingria, or Ingermanland, divided from Carelia in Finland only by the river Nieva, or Nye. This territory is bounded by Carelia and the lake Ladoga on the north, by the province of Belozero on the eaſt, by Great Novogorod towards the ſouth, and by Eſthonia, a province of Livonia, towards the weſt: the chief towns whereof were, 1. Notteburg, or Slutelburg, ſituate on a ſmall iſland in the river Nieva, near the lake Ladoga. 2. Ivanogorod, or the Ruſſian Narva, ſituate over-againſt Narva, in an Iſthmus made by the confluence of two rivers; eſteemed a place of ſome ſtrength. 3. Corporio, a fortreſs on the gulph of Finland, about thirty miles to the northward of Ivanogorod. And 4. Jamegorod, ſituate on the river Laga, fifteen miles to the ſouthward of Ivanogorod. But the town of the greateſt conſequence, and which is in fact the capital of the Ruſſian empire at this day, is St. Petersburg, the foundations whereof were not laid, or one ſingle houſe built five and twenty years ago.

Petersburg.

Petersburg is ſituate partly on ſome iſlands in the mouth of the river Nieva, and partly on the ſeveral continents of Ingria and Carelia, in ſixty degrees north latitude. The late Czar PETER ALEXOWITZ, being engaged in a war with Sweden, and having taken the city of Notteburg in the year 1702, and the following year the fortreſs of Nyeſchants, lower down the river Nieva, and obſerving ſeveral iſlands in the mouth of the river, by the poſſeſſion of which he might open a communication with the Baltick, he ordered a fort to be built on one of them; and commanded a detachment of his troops to make themſelves maſters alſo of the iſland of Retuſari, in the gulph of Finland, near which all ſhipping are obliged to paſs which are bound for the river Nieva; and here he built the fortreſs of Cronſlot, finding it capable of being made a commodious harbour for his men of war. The Czar pleaſed with the neighbouring country of Ingria, which, making allowances for the coldneſs of the climate, is not the moſt diſagreeable, and apprehending if he ſhould fix the ſeat of his empire here, it might be a means to keep the Swedes, the moſt formidable enemies of Ruſſia, at a greater diſtance from his frontiers; and propoſing alſo to eſtabliſh a trade with the reſt of the nations of Europe, with far greater advantage from hence than he could at Archangel: upon theſe, and other weighty motives, he ordered labourers and artificers to be ſummoned from all parts of Ruſſia, to erect a royal city, which might deſerve to be the capital of ſo large an empire. But whether it were that the miniſters and officers employed in this great deſign were averſe to the ſervice, and did not approve of removing the ſeat of the empire from Moſcow, or by what other accident is uncertain, it appeared that there was neither ſufficient proviſions for ſubſiſting the workmen, or ſhovels, wheel-barrows, or neceſſary tools to work with, or even huts for them to lye in: however, the Czar having ſet his heart upon the new city, and frequently overſeeing the work himſelf, it went on with a ſurpriſing expedition: the labourers, who were very numerous carrying the materials for building in bags, or the skirts of their clothes: but the neighbouring country having been deſtroyed by the wars, and the ſupplies by the lake of Ladoga often retarded by contrary winds, the workmen were reduced to very great miſery, inſomuch that it is computed no leſs than one hundred thouſand men periſhed in this ſervice. The Czar, notwithſtanding, perſiſting in his deſign, and ordering as well the nobility as merchants and tradeſmen to tranſplant themſelves, from ſeveral parts of his dominions, to reinforce this new colony, and erect houſes for themſelves, the work went on, and the trading people found an advantage in removing hither; every thing being very dear, on account of the multitudes who reſorted to this new city, and the ſcarcity of proviſions in Ingria and Carelia,

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relia, occaſioned by their having lately been under military execution; the inhabitants alſo of Finland and Livonia, whoſe houſes and effects had been burnt and deſtroyed, not knowing whither to go, or how to ſubſiſt, mingled themſelves with this new colony; and the Czar giving great encouragement to ſeafaring men and merchants to ſettle here, the place on a ſudden became extremely populous, and no leſs than ſixty thouſand houſes were erected in a few years. But as I have ordered a plan of this city to be engraved, with an explanation of it, I ſhall not here enter upon a particular deſcription of the place, only obſerve, that as it is built partly on the iſlands, and partly on the continent, it is of a very large extent, appearing rather like ſeveral diſtinct towns, than a ſingle city. The whole country it ſtands upon is very flat and low, and much expoſed to inundations, by which it has already ſuffered ſeveral times, abundance of people and cattle have been drowned, and part of the fortifications waſhed away. The river Nieva, which runs through it, is very deep all along till it opens into the bay, where the ſands render it ſhallow; but about a league farther it comes to a good depth again; which is the reaſon that large ſhips are unloaden before they come to the town. The breadth of the river at Petersburg is about half a mile; and as it is very deep and rapid, the building a bridge over it is deemed impracticable: it was propoſed therefore to the Czar to make a bridge of pontons, or boats, but he would not conſent to it, becauſe it was his intention to breed up as many watermen as he could. Thoſe who managed the boats on the river were moſt of them ignorant peaſants at firſt, who being prohibited the uſe of oars, by their unskilful management of the ſails, frequently overſet their paſſengers. People of faſhion have their own boats and watermen, and foreign Miniſters have of late years been allowed a boat, and four able watermen, by the government; but before men of quality ſometimes were loſt on the river, particularly the Poliſh Miniſter, and Major General KIRCHNER, one of the Czar's phyſicians, were thus caſt away. There are ſome handſome ſtone buildings, palaces, and churches in Petersburg; but moſt part of the houſes are of wood; the ſides conſiſting of ſquare pieces of fir timber, laid one upon another: the roofs are of thin deal ſpars, laid pretty thick, and lined with lath, covered with turfs or bark, ſeldom more than one ſtory high; and thoſe of the common people conſiſt of but one room. The country adjacent to Petersburg is great part of it a moraſs, covered with buſhes and ſhrubs, and the ſoil ſo moiſt that it produces but little corn, eſpecially in a wet year, when ſcarce any thing comes to maturity. Turneps, cabbages, and cucumbers, are almoſt their only plants. The city and country about it would be ſtarved, were it not for the ſupplies they receive from Novogorod, Pleskow, Moſcow, and even from Caſan, which is above twelve hundred miles diſtant from Petersburg. But as all proviſion is very plentiful in the heart of Muſcovy, thouſands of ſledges are perpetually travelling from thence to Petersburg, loaden with corn, flower, fruits, and the produce of their reſpective countries, which in ſummer is conveyed to Petersburg, by their rivers and lakes: and if at any time the boats happen to meet with any accident in their paſſage, every thing immediately grows exceſſive dear in the city and country about it; for it is obſerved, that Petersburg, inſtead of being ſupplied with proviſion from the neighbouring towns, furniſhes them with all manner of neceſſaries: the ground not being cleared of wood, or the moraſſes drained, their land yields but very little grain.

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Cronſlot iſland.

As to the iſland of Cronſlot, or Retuſary, this lyes about twelve or fifteen miles to the weſtward of Petersburg, at the bottom of the gulph of Finland, and forms a large bay, which reaches as far as the mouth of the river Nieva. To the ſouthward of this iſland is the only paſſage for ſhips up to Petersburg, the channel being about two thouſand paces broad, and very deep. The iſland is a barren ſpot of ground; but the late Czar obſerving the advantage of its ſituation, fortified it for the ſecurity of his men of war. He firſt built a citadel here, to which he gave the name of Cronſlot, or crown caſtle, and afterwards cauſed a pretty large town to be added to it, which goes by the ſame name. In this harbour the Czar's fleet uſed to lye at firſt; but being encreaſed to forty or fifty ſhips of the line, the greateſt part of them are laid up at Revel at preſent. The ſouth coaſt over-againſt Cronſlot, up as far as Petersburg, is full of pleaſure-houſes and country-ſeats. When the Czar conquered Ingria, he granted the eſtates of the former inhabitants to his officers and ſervants: but this coaſt over-againſt Cronſlot being by far the moſt deſirable, he parcelled out among his boyars and principal nobility, who moſt of them built their country-ſeats here. The ground, about half a mile from the ſhore, riſes almoſt to an equal height of ſixty or ſeventy foot, on the brow of which hill ſtand all theſe ſeats, enjoying a noble proſpect, and affording a moſt delightful ſcene to thoſe who paſs up the river to Petersburg. The land about them alſo is tolerably good, and prettily diverſified with arable land, woods, meadows, and paſture grounds, and their gardens improved as much as they are capable of. Here that great miniſter Prince MENZICOFF hath a ſeat, built of ſtone, three ſtories high, with two wings, in form of a half moon, and the gardens lying before

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fore it, ſtretch down to the ſea-ſhore; which ſhews that the Muſcovite nobility have not the worſt taſte. The late Czar alſo had two or three palaces on the ſame coaſt, built with exquiſite art.

But it may be proper here to give ſome deſcription of the natives of Carelia and Ingria, before the Muſcovites conquered their country; though at preſent indeed they are ſo blended with the Ruſſians, and other nations tranſplanted hither, that they can no longer be looked upon as a diſtinct people; eſpecially ſince the late Czar compelled all the inhabitants of theſe countries, whether natives, Ruſſians, or other foreigners, to conform to the German habit. As to the perſons of the Ingrians and Carelians, they were generally of a good ſtature, ſtrongly built, and of a robuſt conſtitution, and had white or yellow hair, aud piqued beards of a reddiſh colour. Their language was the Finlandiſh, which hath no reſemblance to any other whatever; but yields to none, it is ſaid, in richneſs of words, or propriety of phraſes. Their diet was chiefly coarſe brown bread, and their drink water. They ſcarce ever taſted any meat, inſomuch that the pooreſt peaſants in Germany lived as well as the moſt ſubſtantial people amongſt them: they will therefore probably be no loſers by being conquered; for the produce of Muſcovy, and other fruitful countries, are now daily tranſported to Petersburg, and all arts and ſciences introduced amongſt them by the preſent government.

The late Czar eſtabliſhed at Petersburgh an academy marine, to which he obliged every conſiderable family in Ruſſia to ſend one or more of their ſons or kinſmen, above ten, and under eighteen years of age, where they were inſtructed in navigation. Here alſo they learnt the languages, and were taught to ride and fence, and other exerciſes proper for gentlemen, and kept under a very ſtrict diſcipline. Woollen and linen manufactures alſo were ſet up, of which the latter is brought to great perfection, as we may obſerve by the linen of late imported from thence. Here is a workhouſe particularly, where an old Dutch woman hath fourſcore wanton nymphs under her care, who are taught with a whip how to handle the ſpinning wheel; and ſeveral regulations are made for improving their plantations of hemp and flax. Paper mills and powder-mills have alſo been erected, with laboratories for gunnery and fire-works; and other places for preparing ſalt petre and brimſtone, of both which they have plenty in Ruſſia. Rope-yards like thoſe of England and Holland, for the making of cables and tackling for the navy, are alſo ſet up here: and they have a foundery, in which they are perpetually caſting great guns, mortars, and ſmall arms: vaſt quantities of iron-oar being found at Alonitz, near the lake Ladoga, which may be brought to ſuch a temper, it is ſaid, as to be as durable as braſs. The great forge at Petersburgh furniſhes anchors, and ſupplies all iron-work for building ſhips and houſes, and they begin to burn bricks, and uſe them in their building inſtead of wood. The ſtreets have been all pitched at a very great expence, there being ſcarce any ſtones to be found in the marſhy grounds about the town. A printing-houſe is alſo eſtabliſhed here, and news-papers are now as regularly printed as in other countries of Europe; and ſeveral uſeful books have been lately tranſlated out of the High Dutch and printed, the government encouraging their ſubjects to enquire into the ſtate of the world abroad, inſtead of keeping them in ignorance, according to their antient maxims. All foreign architects, mechanicks, and artificers are invited to ſettle here, and allowed ſeveral privileges and immunities beyond other citizens; but they have not been able to bring either their ſilk or woollen manufactures to any great perfection hitherto: neither did the late Czar confine his endeavours to improvements of this kind, but made a noble collection of books, paintings, medals, antiquities, and other curioſities, and built repoſitories for them in this city. His gardens were alſo laid out with the greateſt art, adorned with greenhouſes, aviaries, menagaries, grottos, fountains, caſcades, and all manner of water-works. And for the diverſion of the people in winter, plays, operas, muſick-meetings, and aſſemblies were encouraged under ſuch regulations as that Prince thought proper to eſtabliſh. But ſtill thoſe noble Ruſſian families which have been tranſplanted hither, look upon it as a very great grievance, and not without reaſon in ſome reſpects, for they were obliged to build houſes, and pay very dear for every thing they wanted at Petersburgh; whereas in Ruſſia they ſubſiſted themſelves on the produce of their farms, maintained three times the number of ſervants, and kept much better houſes than they can pretend to do in this town. However, ſuch is their profound ſubmiſſion to their Princes, that they readily obey the commands of the government when they are ordered to tranſport themſelves and their families from their native country and ſettle here.

Livonia.

10. South weſt of Ingria, lyes Livonia, or Liefland, another of the late Czar's conqueſts, from the crown of Sweden. This country is bounded by the gulph of Finland on the north: by Ingria and great Novogorod toward the eaſt: by the river Dwina which ſeparates it from Courland and other provinces of Poland, towards the ſouth: and by the Baltick ſea towards the weſt. Extending about an hundred and ſixty miles in length from north to ſouth, and an hundred and twenty in breadth from eaſt to weſt: it is

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usually divided into two parts, viz. Esthonia on the north, and Letten or Letitia on the south. The chief towns are, 1. Narva, situate in 59 degrees of north latitude, on a river which runs from the lake Pepus into the gulph of Finland, and divides Livonia from Ingria. It is a place of strength, and hath long been a bone of contention between the Swedes and Muscovites.

Narva.

In the last war with Sweden the Muscovites took it by storm, making a terrible slaughter of the inhabitants, and those who escaped the sword, the Czar transplanted to Casan and Astracan, five hundred leagues from their native country, probably looking upon the inhabitants as better affected to the Swedish than the Russian government, but afterwards, when he found himself in possession of the whole province, and apprehended no danger on the side of Sweden, he commanded all the natives of Narva who remained alive to return to their own country; they were however an inconsiderable number in comparison of those who had been forced from Narva; and having lost all their effects, lived in a very miserable condition not long since, and possibly it will be some time before the city recovers its former wealth and splendor. 2. Revel, situate on the gulph of Finland, about an hundred miles to the westward of Narva. It is a good port, and much improved by the late Czar, part of the royal navy of Russia being laid up here in the winter. The town of Revel lyes partly on the side of an high hill, and partly in a pleasant valley. It was taken by the Muscovites in the last war. The cathedral and the houses of the nobility, which are new built, make a good appearance; the rest of the town consists of old ruinous buildings. When they were threatned with a siege, the inhabitants of the country crowding hither to save themselves from the barbarous Cossacks and Tartars in the Czar's army, there were no less than fifty thousand people swept away by the plague. The Russian government suffer the natives to enjoy their antient privileges, and the free exercise of their religion, which is Lutheran; though the Russian also have a church, wherein they perform their religious worship after their own way. There are three different jurisdictions in this town, 1. That of the magistrates of the place, who have the civil government of the city. 2. That of the nobility of the province, consisting of twelve landraths and a president, who have the government of the country. And, 3. The Russian Governor, in whom the military power is lodged. Admiral Apraxin was lately Governor of all Esthonia. The arms of Denmark and Danish inscriptions are frequently seen on the churches and old buildings, this town having been built by the Kings of Denmark, from whom the natives derive most of their privileges. 3.

Revel.

The city of Dorpt Torpatum, situate on the river Embeck, fifteen miles to the southward of the lake Peibus. This place was taken by the late Czar in 1704, as Riga was, the inhabitants being transplanted to Casan and Astracan, and the town utterly destroyed; though it seems the Czar some years afterwards thought better of it, and brought back the natives who survived to their country again, and encouraged them to settle there. 4. Parnow, a port town, situate at the mouth of a river of the same name, which discharges itself into the Baltick, being about fifty miles to the southward of Revel. 5. Riga, esteemed the capital of Livonia, situate in 57 degrees odd minutes north latitude, near the mouth of the river Dwina, which a little below discharges itself into a bay of the Baltick, called the Livonian sea. This is also a port town of good trade, where another part of the the royal navy of Russia is usually laid up during the winter. This city suffered very much in the last war, there being no less than eight thousand bombs thrown into the place during the siege, and the plague carried off upwards of threescore thousand people about the same time. The Czar, however, to comfort the survivors, promised them a confirmation of their antient privileges, which were very extensive; they were lately in a miserable condition nevertheless, for the Czar's orders in favour of the natives, I perceive, were but very ill observed. Two leagues below Riga, at the mouth of the river Dwina, stands the Dunamunder fort, a very strong fortress, which commands the passage of the river up to Riga; but this also is now in the possession of the Muscovites. Livonia having been subject to the Germans, Danes, Poles, Swedes, and Muscovites in their turn, the inhabitants are a mixture of all these nations; but the Germans are most numerous, and their language generally prevails here. No country produced better corn than this, with which they used to supply other parts of Europe; but they have been miserably ravaged and harassed of late years, their towns and villages destroyed, and most of the natives who escape the sword and the plague, are removed to other countries, insomuch that there are now very few people to be met with in Livonia; the lands cannot therefore be expected to produce that plenty of corn they did heretofore. The greatest calamities this country suffered, were in the beginning of the war, when the Czar was in doubt whether he should be able to maintain the possession of it, and therefore to strike a terror into the Swedes, he permitted the Calmucks, and other Tartars, to commit unheard of barbarities, which the Swedes afterwards retaliated on the Muscovites. The common people remain slaves as they were under the Swedish government, but the

Czar has rather enlarged the privileges of the nobility, than retrenched them, and granted many of them their eſtates, which the crown of Sweden had ſeized upon one pretence or other. The ſea, the lakes and navigable rivers, which ſurround this country, are wonderful convenient for carrying on a trade between Muſcovy and the reſt of Europe; and it is probable that the ports of Riga and Revel will be of more advantage to the Ruſſians than Petersburgh itſelf. The Czar had never been at that expence, and thrown away ſo many thouſands of his ſubjects lives, in laying the foundation of that capital to obtain a communication with the Baltick, if he could have foreſeen he ſhould ſo ſoon after have been in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the ports of Livonia; and notwithſtanding the immenſe ſums which have been levied to make Petersburgh a port, it is not improbable but the Ruſſians trade may center here at laſt.

CHAP. IV.

Treats of the provinces of Great Novogorod, Belo-ero, Volg'a, Jerijlaw, Twer, and Smolensko.

11. THE province of Great Novogorod, or Novogorod Weliki, is bounded by the provinces of Ingria and Beloxero towards the north: by Jeriſlaw towards the eaſt: by the province of Smolensko towards the ſouth: and by Livonia towards the weſt: (in which limits I include the ſubdiviſion of Pleskow). The chief town whereof is, 1. Novogorod, ſituate in the latitude of 58 degrees odd minutes north latitude, and is upwards of two hundred miles north weſt of Moſcow. It ſtands in a fine plain on the river Wolcoff, which riſes from the lake Ilmen, half a league to the ſouthward of this city, and running northward, falls into the lake Ladoga, which river being navigable from the very ſource, is of vaſt advantage to this city; accordingly we find it to have been one of the moſt populous trading towns in this part of the world, and independent of any foreign Prince, till the year 1477, when the great Duke of Muſcovy compelled them to receive a Governor from him, and afterwards plundered the place, carrying away an immenſe treaſure. The great Duke JOHN BAZILOWITZ afterwards, in the year 1569, on pretence of a conſpiracy formed againſt him, demoliſhed great part of the town, and maſſacred the inhabitants. In the year 1611 the Swedes took it by ſtorm, but afterwards ſurrendered it to the Muſcovites, whoſe government having been very ſevere and tyrannical, this town is fallen to decay; and neither its limits nor the number of its inhabitants are equal to what they were while it retained its independency. It is however a conſiderable city ſtill, the ſee of an Archbiſhop, and there are 180 monaſteries and churches in and about the city built of ſtone. On the oppoſite ſide of the river ſtands a caſtle, the walls faced with ſtone, but moſt of the other buildings are poor wooden houſes compoſed of great pieces of timber, like thoſe in the country. It was heretofore comprehended in the league of the Hans town, and the ſtaple of trade for the leſſer towns; and we muſt not here forget the monaſtery of St. ANTHONY, a Saint whom the Ruſſians have in great veneration. Theſe credulous Chriſtians make no ſcruple to believe that this Saint ſwam from Rome down the Tiber upon a mill ſtone, and having paſſed the ſtraights of Gibraltar, continued his courſe through the Atlantick ocean, paſſed through the Baltick, and the gulph of Finland, and then croſſed the lake Ladoga, till he arrived in the river Wolcoff on his mill-ſtone at the place where Novogorod now ſtands: here he wrought many other miracles, they tell us, and the mill-ſtone is ſhewn to this day, and worſhipped as a ſacred relick. The country about Novogorod abounds in grain, flax, hemp, honey, wax, and the beſt Ruſſia leather is manufactured here. 2. New Ruſſia, ſituate on the ſouth weſt part of the Ilmen lake, about fifty miles ſouth weſt of Novogorod. 3. Staria, or Old Ruſſia, ſituate on the ſouth weſt part of the Ilmen lake, about ten leagues to the eaſtward of New Ruſſia. 4. Pleskow, the capital of the dukedom of that name (which I have here included within the province of Novogorod) is ſituate in 57 degrees on the ſouth weſt part of the lake Worſero, about two hundred miles ſouth weſt of Novogorod. Pleskow is a large populous city, and was governed by its own Princes till the year 1509, when the great Duke of Muſcovy reduced it under his power.

New Ruſſia.

Staria.

Pleskow.

12. The province of Belozero has the lake of Omega on the north: the province of Wologda on the eaſt: and the province of Novogorod towards the ſouth and weſt: the chief town whereof is Belozero, ſituate on the ſouth part of the Belozero lake. 13. The province of Wologda has Rubenenska on the north: Jeriſlaw on the ſouth: and Belozero on the weſt: the chief town whereof is Wologda, ſituate in fifty degrees odd minutes north latitude, upon a river of the ſame name, which falls into the Dwina, being two hundred miles and upwards to the northward of Moſcow. It is a large city, and ſurrounded with a ſtone wall; which is not common in Ruſſia, and a place of very good trade; and when the late Czar propoſed the removing the mechanicks and handicraft trades from hence to his favourite city of Petersburg, it was repreſented to him, that there were three German merchants only ſettled at Wologda, and employed twenty five thouſand perſons and upwards, in dreſſing of hemp and

Belozero.

Wologda.

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and flax, which was annually exported to foreign countries, by the way of Archangel; and that if they were obliged to keep the ſame number at Petersburg, where every thing was five times as dear, that trade would be ſo far from turning to account, that they would be loſers by it. That the greater part of the goods exported from Archangel, were of the growth of the province of Wologda, from whence they were eaſily carried to that port by water, whereas if they were ordered for Petersburg, they muſt go a great way over land, and at a far greater expence. That the air about Petersburg was too moiſt for the keeping hemp, and the navigation of the gulph of Finland ſo hazardous, that the inſuring of ſhips was very extravagant; which were all found ſubſtantial reaſons againſt their removing to Petersburg, and gave ſome ſtop to his projects at that time. But to give ſome farther deſcription of the city of Wologda: it is divided by the river in two parts, lying along the banks of it between three and four miles: the great church was built by an Italian architect and has five cupolas covered with tin, with large gilt croſſes on the top of them: there are above twenty more ſtone churches in the place with their cupolas covered with tin, and gilded croſſes; and between forty and fifty more built of wood, with three monaſteries or friers, and one of nuns.

Jeriſlaw.

14. Jeriſlaw, or Yeroſlaw, as the Germans pronounce it, is bounded by Wologda on the north, and by the dukedom of Roſtow in the province of Moſcow towards the ſouth: the chief town whereof is Jeriſlaw, ſituate in fifty ſeven degrees north latitude, on the river Wolga, in a plentiful country: the principal trade being in linen and leather. It is eſteemed one of the principal cities in Ruſſia, and is taken notice of for the great number of churches in it built of ſtone, theſe being for the moſt part of wood in the other towns of Ruſſia.

Tweer.

15. Between Great Novogorod and Jeriſlaw lyes the diſtrict of Tweer: the chief town whereof is Tweer, ſituate on the river Wolga in fifty ſix degrees odd minutes, about fourſcore miles north of Moſcow. The town conſiſts of about two thouſand houſes, with ſeventy churches and monaſteries, and a caſtle on an adjoining hill, in which the Governor reſides: a great many thouſand loads of wheat are brought up hither annually from Caſan, and ſent from hence to Petersburg in ſleds.

Smolensko.

16. The province of Smolensko is bounded by the province of Great Novogorod on the north: the province of Moſco on the eaſt, and the province of Lithuania in Poland towards the weſt: the chief town whereof is Smolensko, ſituate in fifty five degrees thirty minutes north latitude, on the river Nieper, or Boriſthenes: this province was antiently a part of Lithuania, and has been alternatively under the dominion of the Poles and Muſcovites, but was confirmed to the Muſcovites by a treaty in the year 1686.

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CHAP. V.

Treats of the province of Moſcow.

Moſco.

17. MOSCO, or Moſcowa, (in which I ſhall include the diſtricts of Raſtow, Peraſlaw, Suſdal and Wolodimir) is bounded by the province of Tweer towards the north: by Little, or Niſe Novogorod towards the eaſt: by the province of Rezan towards the ſouth: and by Smolensko towards the weſt: the chief town whereof is Moſcow, lately the metropolis of the empire, till the imperial ſeat was removed to Petersburg.

Moſco deſcribed.

The city of Moſcow lyes in the latitude of fifty five degrees odd minutes, thirty eight degrees eaſtward of London, and is ſituate in a large pleaſant plain on the banks of the river Moſcowa, extending ſix miles in length and four in breadth. The multitude of churches with their gilded cupolas and ſpires, and the numerous palaces of the Czar and the nobility, which are ſurrounded with large courts and gardens, afford a beautiful proſpect as we approach the city, eſpecially on the road from Great Novogorod; but it is far from anſwering the traveller's expectation when he enters it: there are indeed two or three thouſand handſome ſtone buildings, which of themſelves would form a noble city, if they ſtood together, and were laid out in regular ſtreets; but they are diſperſed here and there amongſt a far greater number of poor wooden houſes built of beams of fir timber, in the manner already deſcribed in treating of their other towns. The walls, or rather incloſures, which ſurround the courts and gardens belonging to the grandees are alſo of wood: and inſtead of a pavement the ſtreets are laid with beams of fir timber. The town is divided into four quarters, each of them ſurrounded by a wall: within the firſt, through which the river Moſcowa runs, are the ſlabodas, or ſuburbs, great part of which lye in a ruinous condition, having been frequently deſtroyed by fires, or foreign enemies: within the ſecond wall is the quarter called Czar Gorod, or the Czar's city: the third goes by the name of Kitai, or the China-Town; for here China and Indian merchandiſes are expoſed to ſale. The fourth wall encloſes Kremelin, or the quarter where the royal palace ſtands; within which are thirty or forty churches and chapels, the late Patriarch's palace, the principal offices of ſtate, and ſeveral monaſteries, and might paſs for a conſiderable city alone. Before the walls is a large

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large market place, the fineſt in the whole city. In Kitai Gorod is a place where the pictures of their ſaints are expoſed to view, or rather to ſale; but as the Ruſſians look upon the ſelling of their ſaints in the uſual manner they do other goods to be impious, they exchange them, they ſay, for money; and for this reaſon there is no chaffering, or beating down the price, but the buyer muſt either give the money demanded for the ſaint, or leave him. In Czar Gorod there are large markets of wooden ware, where hundreds of wooden houſes ready framed are daily expoſed to ſale, and when they meet with a purchaſer, they are ſoon taken to pieces and ſet up in any part of the town where the buyer deſires: were it not for this conveniency the inhabitants would often be reduced to very great diſtreſs by the fires, which frequently happen, and deſtroy many thouſands of theſe wooden tenements in a few hours; for as the ſtreets are laid with fir timber, and the partitions of their yards and gardens are of the ſame combuſtible matter, if a fire happens in dry weather, and there is any thing of a wind, it is almoſt impoſſible to ſtop it.

As the government monopolizes almoſt all ſorts of merchandize, it hath ſuffered conſiderably by theſe fires as well as private men: but of late the moſt valuable goods are ſecured in vaults built of brick, or ſtone, ſo that fires are not ſo deſtructive as they have been. There are, it is ſaid no leſs than fifteen hundred churches and monaſteries in and about Moſcow, ſo well ſupplied with bells, that the inhabitants are almoſt deafned with their noiſe on holidays; ſome few clocks they have alſo in the city, but the general way of giving notice of the time of day is by ſtriking every hour upon a board with a great wooden hammer, eſpecially in the noblemen's houſes. The Czar's palace is ſituate on the ſide of the river Moſcowa, and built of free ſtone, but very irregularly, having been the work of ſeveral Princes, who made ſuch additions to it for their conveniency from time to time as they ſaw fit: the circumference of the whole is about twice as large as that of the tower of London. Since the removal of the court to Petersburgh, the Czar's apartments are empty and unfurniſhed; and to promote the grandeur of Petersburg an order has been publiſhed to prohibit the rebuilding, or repairing any of the palaces of the nobility, or other ſtone buildings of Moſcow: the cathedral which ſtands in Kremelin, is a large antient ſtructure ſtrongly built of ſtone: on the right ſide of the altar is a ſeat for the Czar, and on the left that where the Patriarch ſat, while they had one: in the middle of the church hangs a ſilver branch of a prodigious ſize; the picture of the Virgin MARY, and the other ornaments of the altar are ſet off with jewels to the value of fifty thouſand crowns and upwards: and they ſhew another picture of the Virgin MARY here, pretended to be drawn by St. LUKE: at the bottom of the ſteeple of this cathedral lyes the great bell ſo much taken notice of by travellers, ſaid to weigh 336000 pounds, and to be thirteen feet in diameter. In the church of St. MICHAEL are the tombs of the Czars and Princes of the Royal Family: and before the gate of the caſtle ſtands the church of the holy ſepulchre, ſaid to be built exactly after the pattern of that in Jeruſalem. The late Czar founded three colleges at Moſcow, one for the learned languages, in which are three hundred ſtudents, Ruſſians, Polanders and Ukranians. In the ſecond are taught the mathematicks, the head of which houſe lately was an Engliſhman. And in the third is taught navigation only. There are ſuch numbers of idle people about Moſcow, that it is very unſafe walking the ſtreets in the evening, eſpecially during their carnival, when the whole nation almoſt is drunk; then ſtreet-robberies are very frequent, and they moſt commonly murder thoſe they rifle; inſomuch that there have been found fifty or threeſcore dead bodies in the ſtreets in a week's time. Notwithſtanding which, ſome travellers mightily cry up the delights of Moſcow, and the pleaſures that are to be found in its neighbourhood: There is, ſay they, the greateſt variety of diverſions, fine walks, groves, gardens and country ſeats, which are to be met with any where: the country alſo produces all manner of fruits, flowers and garden ſtuff, which as well as game, and all the neceſſaries of life are extremely cheap at Moſcow. 2. Roſtow, or Roſtoff is ſituate in fifty ſeven degrees odd minutes north latitude, about an hundred and twenty miles north-eaſt of Moſcow. Roſtow. 3. Periſlaw, or Periſlof, fifty miles ſouth-weſt of Roſtow, on the road from thence to Moſcow. Periſlaw. 4. Suſdal, ſituate near an hundred miles north-eaſt of Moſcow, on the river Kiſma. Suſdal. 5. Wolodimer, ſituate on the ſame river Kiſma, about forty miles to the caſtward of Suſdal. Wolodimer. These four laſt cities are the capitals of ſo many principalities, and ſometimes reckoned diſtinct provinces from Moſco. 6. Troitza, about forty miles north of Moſco; famous for its caſtle and monaſtery, and is ſometimes the reſidence of the Czar, who hath a palace here. 7. Columnia, ſituate at the confluence of the rivers Moſcowa and Occa, about fifty miles ſouth-eaſt of Moſcow.

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CHAP. VI.

Treats of the provinces of Niſe-Novogorod, Caſan, Bulgar, Rezan, Belgorod, he territory of the Don Coſſacks, the land of Seefsk, Zernigof or Zernihow, and the Ruſſian Ukrain.

Niſe Novogerod.

18. THE province of Niſe-Novogorod, or Little Novogorod, is bounded by Caſan on the eaſt, and Moſco on the weſt: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Niſe-Novogorod, or Niſna, ſituate in fifty five degrees odd minutes upon the river Oka, about two hundred miles to the eaſtward of Moſcow: it is ſurrounded with a ſtone wall, and hath a citadel built upon a rock: the cathedral is built with ſtone, and covered by five domes, or cupolas, painted green, and adorned with gilt croſſes: adjoining to it ſtands the Archbiſhop's palace, an handſome ſtone building. There are alſo two or three other ſtone churches, but the reſt of the buildings, whether publick or private, are all of wood. 2. Baſilgorod, a good town ſituate about twenty leagues to the eaſtward of Niſna on the river Wolga.

Caſan.

19. Caſan is bounded by the province of Niſe-Novogorod on the weſt, and Bulgar on the eaſt: the chief town whereof is Caſan, the capital of the province, ſituate in fifty five degrees thirty minutes north latitude, near the confluence of the rivers Wolga and Caſan, being about four hundred miles to the eaſtward of Moſcow. The many fine churches with their cupolas and croſſes, and the caſtle ſurrounded by a ſtone wall, make a magnificent appearance at a diſtance. Near this city upon the Wolga, the ſhips of war and gallies are built which are deſigned for the Caſpian ſea. The houſes are moſt of them mean wooden buildings, and there being a great deal of waſte and garden ground within the walls, this, like moſt of the other cities of Ruſſia, has the reſemblance rather of a large village than a city. To the ſouthward of Caſan inhabit the

Ceremiſſi and Mordua Tartars.

Ceremiſſi Tartars along the banks of the Wolga, and farther weſt the Mordua Tartars.

Bulgar.

20. Bulgar lyes to the ſouthward of Caſan: the chief towns are, 1. Bulgar, or Belaya, ſituate on the river Wolga, in fifty four degrees north latitude, an hundred and twenty miles ſouth-eaſt of Caſan. And, 2. Samara, about an hundred miles farther to the ſouthward upon the Wolga. As to the province or kingdom of Aſtracan, which lyes to the ſouth-eaſt of Bulgar, this has been deſcribed already in treating of Muſcovy in Aſia.

Rezan.

21. The province of Rezan is bounded by Moſco towards the north: by Niſe-Novogorod towards the eaſt; and by the province of Belgorod on the ſouth: the chief town whereof is Rezankoi, ſituate on the river Oka, in fifty four degrees thirty minutes north latitude, about twenty five leagues ſouth-eaſt of Moſcow. The river Don hath its ſource in this province.

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Belgor.

22. Belgorod is bounded by the province of Rezan on the north, and the territory of the Don Coſſacks towards the ſouth-eaſt: the chief town whereof is Veroneze; or, as our maps have it, Woronets, ſituate in fifty two degrees odd minutes north latitude, about two hundred miles to the ſouthward of Moſcow, on the river Veroneze, near the place where it diſcharges itſelf into the Don. Here the late Czar built his men of war which he deſigned for the Black ſea, ſome of them 80 gun ſhips; but upon his being obliged to ſurrender Aſoph to the Turks, his communication with that ſea was cut off, and the ſhips ſuffered to periſh. The Czar alſo commanded a canal to be dug from the river Veroneze, to another ſmall river which falls into the Wolga; whereby there is a communication now between the Wolga and the Don, and might be between the Caſpian and the Black ſea, if the Moſcovite was ſtill maſter of Aſoph. This work was performed by our countryman, Captain PERRY, who was alſo employed in cutting another canal, in order to a communication between the Wolga and the Don, nearer the mouths of thoſe two rivers, at Kamiſinca, in the latitude of 45 degrees; but this work was laid aſide when it was half finiſhed, and probably will not be proceeded in while Aſoph is in the hands of the Turk. 2. Belgorod, ſituate in 51 degrees, upon the river Donetz, about three hundred miles to the ſouthward of Moſcow. And, 3. Oſtrogoſkoi, about ſixty miles to the ſouthward of Veroneze.

Veroneze.

Don Coſſacks.

23. The territory of the Don Coſſacks, which lyes between the Palus Mæotis and the river Don, or Tanais, and to the eaſtward of that river, extending ſeven or eight hundred miles in length: the chief town whereof is Donetzkoi, ſituate on the eaſt ſide of the Don, in 50 degrees odd minutes north latitude; but there are not many other towns here, the country being thinly inhabited on account of the frequent excurſions of the Coban and Crim Tartars, who depend on the Grand Seignior; and the natives chooſing to live for the moſt part in huts or tents, like their brethren the neighbouring Tartars; but there is no where a happier climate, or a more fruitful ſoil than this, if it were cultivated.

Donetzkoi.

Seefsk.

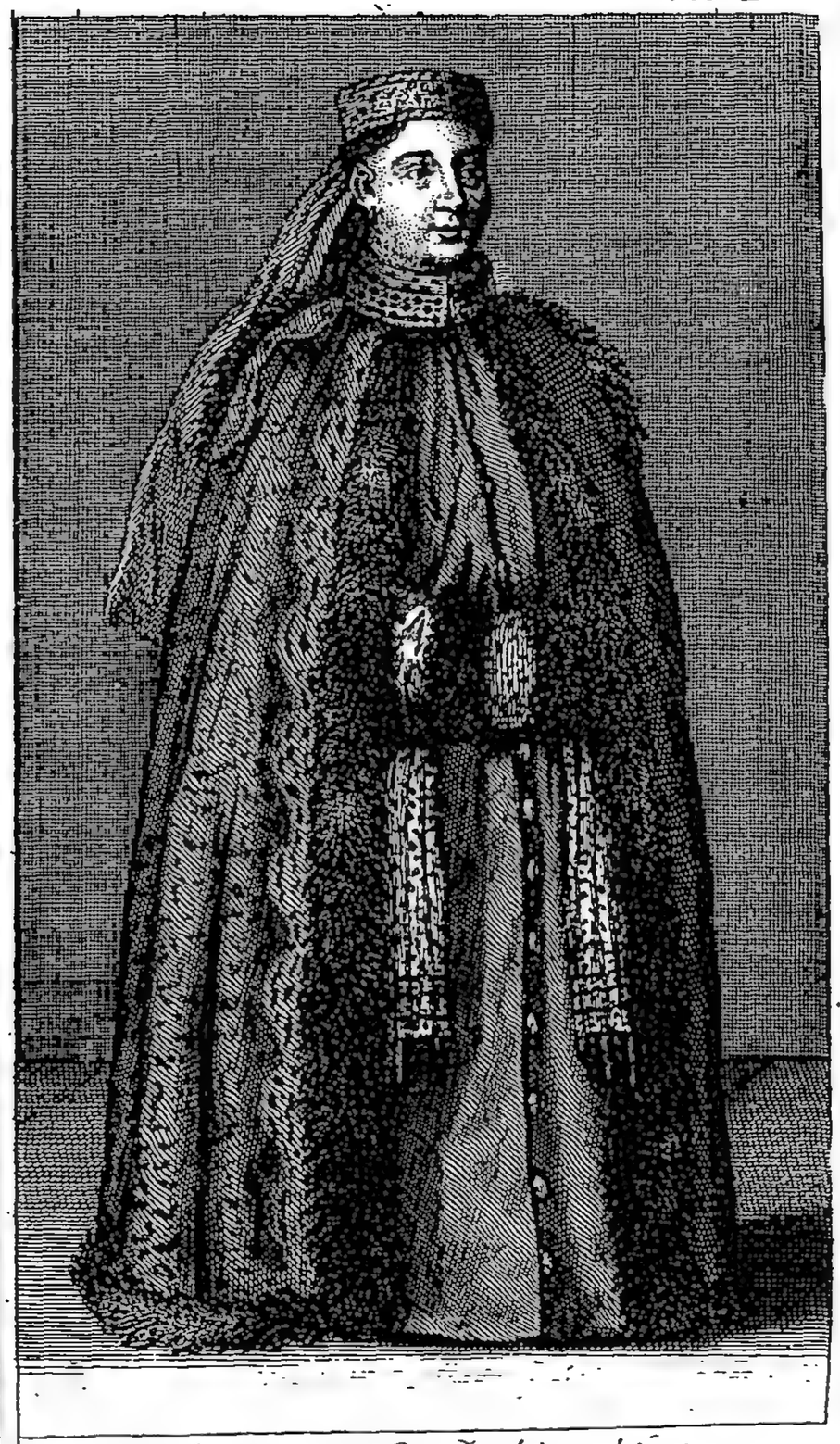
24. The land of Seefsk is bounded by Smolensko on the north, Belgorod on the eaſt, the Ukrain on the ſouth, and Zernigof towards the weſt: the chief town Seefsk, ſituate in 53 degrees north latitude, about two hundred miles ſouth-weſt of Moſcow.

Zernig.

25. The province of Zernigof, or Czernihow, bounded by Smolensko towards the north, the land of Seefsk towards the eaſt, the Ukrain on the ſouth,



The ancient habit of a Russian Lady



The habit of a Russian Virgin

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south, and part of Poland on the west: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Novogrodeck, situate in 53 degrees of north latitude, about sixty miles to the westward of Seefsk. 2. Zernigof, situate in 52 degrees north latitude, about two hundred miles to the southward of Smolensko.

Ukrain.

26. The Russian Ukrain, bounded by Zernigof on the north: Belgorod and the Don Cossacks towards the east: Little Tartary and Prodolia on the south, and Polish Ukrain on the west, from which it is divided by the river Nieper, or Boristhenes: the chief town whereof is Kiow, or Kiof (as in the maps) situate on the river Boristhenes, in 51 degrees north latitude, 700 miles south-west of Moscow; it was surrendred to the Muscovites by the poles in 1686. This country is inhabited by the Cossacks, and called Ukrain, which signifies a frontier, because it lyes upon the frontiers of little Tartary; with which country they are scarce ever at peace: for if the Turk, who claims the sovereignty of these Tartars, hath consented to a truce, it is with great difficulty the Tartars are restrained from their incursions into Muscovy and Poland; from whence they steal most of the slaves they sell to the Porte; but as the Cham of Tartary is supported by the Turks, so are the Cossacks by the Poles and Russians The Muscovites have sometimes penetrated into the Cham's country as far as Precop; having nothing more at heart than the conquest of that country; for till this is effected they can never be at rest, or make any improvement of that fine country which lyes upon their southern frontiers, On the other hand, should the Muscovite ever make himself master of Little Tartary and the north coast of the Black sea, the Turk is very sensible he would not stop here, but Constantinople would be in danger from their shipping; on which account the Grand Seignior garrisons all the considerable towns in Crim and Little Tartary with his own troops, and will not trust them in the hands of the Cham and his Tartars, lest they should by force or fraud be prevailed on to surrender them to his most dangerous enemies. The lower part of the Nieper, or Boristhenes, which runs through this country and Budziack Tartary into the Black sea, is scarce navigable, on account of the many cataracts which are found in it. The late Czar however had possessed himself of Kasikermen in Budziack Tartary near the mouth of this river, and fortified it probably with a view of making it navigable, and procuring a communication that way with the Black sea, as he had done with the Palus Mæotis, by the means of Asoph; but he was obliged to surrender both the one and the other, after the unfortunate battle of the Pruth, and be contented to be excluded entirely from the navigation of the Black sea.

Kasikermen surrendered to the Turks.

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Treats of the stature, complexion, shape, and habits of the Russians. Of their genius, temper, and vices. Of their diets, lodging, baths, exercises, diversions, festivals, salutations, and ceremonies. And of their posts, roads, carriages, and way of travelling.

Persons of the Russians.

THE Russians are of a good stature, a Dutch shape, and generally inclined to be corpulent; at least this is what they very much endeavour after and admire. Their features and complexions are tolerably good; and they are commonly blessed with a hale and vigorous constitution. They wear their hair short, and sometimes close shaved; but till the last reign valued themselves much upon their long beards and whiskers, which the late Czar compelled them to part with; sometimes by laying a swinging tax upon them, and at others by ordering those he found with beards on to have them pulled up by the roots, or shaved with a blunt razor which drew the skin after it; and by these means scarce a beard was left in the kingdom at his death: but such a veneration had this people for these ensigns of gravity, that many of them carefully preserved their beards in their cabinets to be buried with them; imagining, perhaps they should make but an odd figure in the grave with naked chins. The features and complexion of their women are not to be found fault with; but without a pretty deal of red in their faces they are not esteemed handsome; when they would describe a beauty therefore, they say, she is of a lively red, which is the highest compliment can be passed upon a Lady; and if nature has not furnished them with it, they seldom fail to lay it on in abundance, for they paint intolerably: their faces also were covered with patches heretofore, cut into all manner of shapes, as trees, flowers, animals, and sometimes coaches and horses. The virgins used to have their hair plaited, which hung down in two tresses on their backs, but married women put it up under a coif: they conform at present to the fashions used amongst us. The women are of a just height, a good shape, their limbs proportionable and well turned, and most of them are inclinable to be fat; but they still look upon black teeth to be more beautiful than white, as do their neighbours the Asiaticks. As to their habits, the men lately wore on their heads a cap in form of a sugar loaf turned up with furs, a vest and a loose robe over it down to their heels, like the Greeks, and boots on their legs: but the late Czar looking upon our dress as more commodious, when he returned from his travels obliged his subjects to conform,

Habits.

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conform themſelves to it; which ſome of the Ruſſians making a difficulty to comply with, he placed guards at the gates of their cities, who cut the clothes of all that paſſed by as ſhort as their knees, and inſtead of their fur caps, they now wear hats like other Europeans; but they ſeem to affect the gold lace of the Germans much more than the plain neat Engliſh dreſs. The women, whoſe dreſs did not differ much from that of the men's, except in the ordering their hair, at preſent follow the German or French mode.

Samoieds.

As to the Laplanders and Samoieds, who inhabit the northern parts of this empire, I have already obſerved that they are of the Tartar make, and clothe themſelves from head to foot with the skins of their rain-deer, ſewing two skins together with the hairy ſides outwards; ſo that they appear all over hair, like the animals they take the skins from, and have the hair next them too; the coat and cap is all of a piece; and next their skins, inſtead of linen, they wear a doublet made of a young fawn skin, which is much warmer.

Genius and temper of the Ruſſians.

The temper of the Ruſſians is not much admired; they are held indeed to have good parts, and capable of imitating any thing they ſee done; but are very deceitful, and intolerably proud and ſlothful, and can hardly be brought to learn any art or ſcience without the diſcipline of the whip. But there ſeems to be very good reaſon againſt their applying themſelves to mechanick arts; namely, that the government, or the Lords whoſe ſlaves they are, will employ their whole time if they are found to excel in any art, and allow them nothing for their pains; and that which paſſes for obſtinacy, at laſt may poſſibly be the reſult of prudence. A French traveller however gives this character of them, they are, ſays he, the proudeſt and moſt conceited people upon earth: till lately, they looked upon all other nations as barbarous; imagining themſelves to be the only polite mortals on the face of the globe. And when the late Czar would compel them to imitate the artiſts he brought over with him, the pride and contempt with which they looked upon their new maſters, was no ſmall hindrance to their proficiency. They have no notion of honour or diſintereſted views, but are entirely governed by ſelfiſh principles. The Czar himſelf uſed to call them a herd of brutes in the ſhape of men; and almoſt deſpaired of prevailing over their obſtinacy and perverſeneſs. Moſt of the young nobility whom he ſent abroad for their improvement, brought ſcarce any thing back with them but the vices of the nations they paſſed through; though there are ſome inſtances indeed of the Ruſſian nobility, who, upon their return home have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their capacity and polite conduct. Captain PERRY obſerves of the Ruſſians, that when they make the greateſt profeſſions of ſincerity and friendſhip, they are moſt to be ſuſpected of a deſign to injure you. The generality of the people are ſo far from having any ſenſe of ſhame for doing a baſe thing, that they value themſelves on over-reaching one another: an honeſt man and a fool with them are terms of the ſame import. Their vanity was in nothing more conſpicuous than in the numerous trains of uſeleſs and unneceſſary ſervants and dependents, with which the gentry ever appeared abroad; ſome of them you might ſee walking bare headed before their Lords, in the ſtreets of Moſcow; others following dreſſed in different colours and habits, to ſhew the different countries from whence they came: the maſter all the while on horſe-back, or in his ſledge, marching in the midſt of them as ſlow as foot could fall, in the coldeſt weather, for the ſtate of the maſter, or to give his retinue who were on foot an opportunity of keeping pace with him: and the trains of the Noblemen's Ladies were equally numerous; till the late Czar, who might be rather ſaid to fly than travel from one part of his extenſive dominions to another, ſet them a pattern of going abroad but with two or three ſervants and commanded the boyars (his nobility) and other people of condition to obſerve the ſame rule. He ordered alſo a liſt to be brought him of all the idle retainers in the boyars houſes, and made them ſerve in his troops; and notwithſtanding the large ſums offered, and powerful interceſſions which were made for releaſing ſome of them who were of good families, he would not hear of it.

Their predominant vice.

Drunkenneſs is ſo common in Muſcovy, that it is ſcarce eſteemed a vice; nay, ſome of our travellers carry it ſo far as to ſay, they make it part of their religion; and that they do not think they have kept a holiday as they ought to do, if they are not drunk before night; but ſuch expreſſions are not ſurely to be taken ſtrictly. The common people are more at leiſure at thoſe times, and conſequently have better opportunities of meeting with their friends and getting drunk, as we ſee they do every where elſe at ſuch times: but certain it is, the Ruſſians are more addicted to this vice than other nations, if we give any credit to travellers. Capt. PERRY ſays, if we ride thro' Moſcow on a holiday, we ſhall ſee both prieſts and people lye drunk upon the ground; and if you go to help one of them up, he will ſay by way of excuſe, it is holiday time: that their women of quality are ſo little aſhamed of drinking to exceſs, that they will acknowledge their having been very drunk, and return thanks to their friends who made them ſo, for the favour done them. The ſame gentleman relates, that for ſeveral years after he went into the country, it was uſual at all great entertainments, where the court was preſent, as well as at the houſes of private gentlemen, to make the whole company drunk before they parted, or they did not think themſelves



H. Burgh Sculp.t

The Habit of a Lapland Woman



H. Burgh Sculp.t

The Habit of a Lapland Man

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themſelves welcome; and the company were ſometimes forced to it, by locking up the doors, or ſetting a guard upon them that none might get away: and this cuſtom was extended even to foreigners. But at length Mr. WHITWORTH, her late Majeſty's Ambaſſador in Ruſſia, made ſuch effectual repreſentations againſt this force put upon him and his people to the Prime Miniſter, that they were afterwards allowed their liberty; and from this great example, the court of Ruſſia and people of diſtinction began to diſuſe this cuſtom of forcing liquor upon their friends. This muſt be allowed to be a noble inſtance of an heroick reſolution, thus to ſtem the torrent of a vicious cuſtom; and ſhews what a mighty influence men of figure have when they pleaſe to countenance virtue. But ſtill it may be made a queſtion, whether ſome of our countrymen are not more likely to introduce the Ruſſian cuſtom of drinking to exceſs amongſt us, than our miniſters are to reform that people; for however Mr. WHITWORTH might be ſo happy to diſcourage this brutiſh cuſtom by his example and repreſentations to the Ruſſian court during his embaſſy there, they do not ſeem at preſent leſs addicted to tipling than they were formerly. A miniſter who was at that court ſince Mr. WHITWORTH, relates, that at the firſt entertainment he was invited to by Admiral APRAXIN he was obliged, after having drank down a dozen bumpers of Hungary wine at dinner, to take off a full quart of brandy at two draughts; whereupon he loſt his ſenſes, but had the comfort of ſeeing moſt of the company fallen upon the floor before him. At another entertainment for a victory obtained over the Swedes, he obſerved, the firſt health was began to the mercy of GOD, the ſecond to all brave ſailors the third to all faithful allies, the next to all brave ſoldiers, and others ſucceeded of the like nature; that on an invitation to the late Czar's palace at Peterhoff on the coaſt of Ingria, the company were plied ſo hard with Tockay wine at dinner, that they could ſcarce ſtand; and were nevertheleſs obliged afterwards to empty each of them a bowl of a quart, which did their buſineſs at once; and though the Czar was ſo wiſe to forbear drinking himſelf, he was far from diſcouraging this exceſs in the company: on the contrary, four and twenty hours had not paſſed before he made the ſame company drunk again; and as this is the greateſt favour can be done a Ruſſian, poſſibly his Majeſty indulged his people in this vice to ingratiate himſelf with them, and that they might not oppoſe the great deſigns he had in view. And as to the foreign miniſters, there might be ſomething of deſign alſo in thus perpetually plying them with ſtrong liquors.

Food. As to their diet, the common people of Ruſſia, and indeed the whole nation, are much more uſed to fiſh than fleſh, eſpecially ſalt fiſh; their faſts taking up near two thirds of the year, when they are abſolutely prohibited by their religion to taſte of fleſh: and in this they ſeem to place the greateſt part of religion, even their children obſerving it with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs; and as they eat no fleſh at theſe times, neither will they taſte of milk or eggs, or any thing that has any relation to it. They eat melons, cucumbers, turneps, and other garden ſtuff in great abundance, and chooſe rye bread rather than wheat, tho' they have enough of both. They will march a fortnight or three weeks very contentedly when they are in the army, if you ſupply them but with ſaccary, which is rye bread broken into ſmall pieces and baked a ſecond time, eſpecially if they are allowed a dram now and then. Caviere made of the roes of ſturgeon ſalted and dried, is a great diſh amongſt them; and people of condition have out of Lent a variety of fleſh and fowl at their tables. But before the company ſits down, the maſter or miſtreſs of the houſe of what quality ſoever, always preſents every one of the gueſts with a cup of brandy on a plate with her own hands; and among particular friends all the company ſalute the Lady. The firſt courſe at an entertainment uſually conſiſts of hams, tongues, and other cold ſavoury diſhes, that the liquor may reliſh the better, I preſume; with theſe ſtand ſeveral made diſhes, dreſſed with oil, olives, onions, and garlick; which having remained upon the table about an hour, the ſecond courſe, conſiſting of ſoups and boiled and roaſt meat, is brought in; after which follows the deſert, and liquor in abundance; though this goes round pretty freely all the time, the healths being began at the beginning of the meal, in large cups of the faſhion of a bell.

Liquors. Their liquors are either mead, or quaz, a ſort of ſmall mead made with honeycombs; but they are of late years pretty much come into the drinking of beer: the profit of which the government engroſſes, all the brewhouſes and places where beer is retailed being the Czarina's, and private houſes forced to have licences of the government to brew. It is generally very ſtrong, or the Ruſſians would not value it; and as it is, they ſeldom conclude without a dram of brandy or ſpirits of which laſt they diſtil great quantities, and it may be had at reaſonable rates; but of theſe alſo the government has the profit. They uſed to begin their entertainments at ten in the morning, and by twelve or one would drink themſelves aſleep; and after a ſhort repoſe begin to drink afreſh: for it is a general cuſtom among the Ruſſians, whether rich or poor, to ſleep after dinner; and this probably may be one reaſon of plying foreigners ſo hard with liquor, ſo much complained of, that they want to

get

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get rid of them and go to reſt; and probably ſome Engliſh gentlemen may have the ſame inducements for forcing the glaſs; or perhaps they would deter their company by this means from viſiting them again: or there may poſſibly be a farther reaſon, namely, to expoſe the weakneſs of their friends, and triumph over their infirmities. But I hope there are not many of our gentlemen who have ſo much of the Ruſſian in their tempers.

Lodgings.

As to the lodging of the common people, it has been obſerved already, that a houſe ſeldom conſiſts of more than one room; a fourth part whereof is taken up by the ſtove, which is a large oven with planks laid over it, ſo that it appears like a ſquare table within doors; upon which lye as many of the family as can, and the reſt upon broad benches or ſhelves fixed round the room, for the ſtove or oven being well heated, all the place is exceeding warm; thoſe that can afford it have quilts or mattreſſes to lye on, but moſt of them are content with the bare boards; and for ſheets they were ſcarce heard of in Ruſſia, till the late Czar introduced our cuſtoms among his people: now indeed the quality imitate us in our beds as well as other furniture, but the coldneſs of the climate will never permit them to diſuſe their ſtoves; eſpecially ſince in theſe they dreſs all their meat. Formerly their whole furniture conſiſted only in their ſtove and their broad ſhelves, with their kitchin utenſils, and the pictures of their ſaints, which covered that end of the room oppoſite to the door. As for chairs and ſtools they had but little occaſion for them, ſitting croſs-legged on the floor, or benches, like the people of the eaſt, till the late reform.

Salutations and ceremonies.

The antient way of ſalutation was by an inclination of the head; and the greater the quality of the perſon ſaluted, the lower was the reverence. Before their Prince, a nobleman, a magiſtrate, or their particular Lord, they proſtrated themſelves with their faces to the ground, after the manner of the eaſt; and never addreſſed their ſuperiors in the firſt perſon; as I deſire this or that, but little PETER or JOHN your ſlave entreats this or that favour. As to the women, it ſeems, they cannot yet be brought to make a curtſey, but bow their heads when they ſalute a friend according to antient cuſtom. When any perſon makes a viſit; on entring his friend's houſe, he firſt looks about for the ſaint, who is uſually painted on a board, and ſet on a ſhelf againſt the wall at the upper end of the room, and ſometimes there are as many as will reach from one ſide of the houſe to the other; if the paint is almoſt worn off, as it happens often, and there be no candles burning before them (as there are every holiday) the ſtranger asks in the firſt place where is the God: and having diſcovered it, makes a low reverence towards the place; and if his devotion be very warm, falls on his face to the ground before it, croſſing himſelf and ſaying, Goſpodi pomoli; or, the Lord have mercy upon me; after which he turns about and ſalutes the maſter of the family, and the reſt of the company; and the Lady preſents him with a dram, as has been obſerved already, and ſuffers him to kiſs her cheek; after which ſhe uſed to withdraw, and appears no more during the entertainment: but the late Czar introduced the cuſtom of the Ladies converſing more familiarly with the other ſex, and diſcountenanced their being ſhut up in their apartments after the manner of the Aſiaticks; by which he entirely won the hearts of the Ruſſian females.

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Bathing.

Bathing they uſe both as a diverſion and a remedy againſt diſtempers. The quality have bagnios in their own houſes; but both theſe and the publick bagnio's pay a tax to the government, from whence ariſes a conſiderable revenue. The Ruſſians of both ſexes frequent the bath twice a week; there being one apartment for the men, and another for the women: but travellers relate that both the one and the other will come reeking hot out of the bagnio in the coldeſt weather, and run about the fields naked, that they will in this condition throw themſelves into the water, or pour cold water on their heads, and ſometimes cover themſelves with ſnow, that you can diſcover nothing but their noſe and eyes. As to the common people, a modern traveller aſſures us, he hath ſeen both men and women come naked out of the bath, and run about in the ſnow promiſcuouſly, without any manner of ſhame; nor would they avoid a ſtranger if he came in their way, but rather ſport with him. So that however people of condition might formerly keep up their wives and daughters, and deny them the converſation of their male friends, the vulgar do not ſeem to be touched with the plague of jealouſy, or their wives with any great ſhare of modeſty: nor is it much to be expected among females, who give themſelves up to tipling, like the Ruſſian dames. The cuſtom of drinking ſtrong waters will ſoon deface all ſenſe of ſhame, and there may be very good reaſon for the better ſort of people to keep their wives retired, while they indulge them in drinking brandy. One would think they ſhould want no paint to bring a redneſs into their cheeks, which is ſo much admired by this people. But to return to the baths, it is obſerved of the Ruſſians who uſe themſelves to paſs ſuddenly from extreme heat to extreme cold, that they never catch cold, nor is a cough ever heard of amongſt 'em. Another writer acquaints us with ſome other ways they have to ſweat themſelves, in order to carry off any illneſs; they will, he ſays, heat an oven ſo hot that they can juſt bear to lye in it; after

which

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which five or six of them get in, and having stretched themselves at full length, the mouth of it is stopped up, so that they can hardly breathe; and when they can endure it no longer, they come out and throw themselves into the water, or into the snow, where they will lye an hour or two, according to the nature of their distemper. Others will get into a boat, and row till they are in a great sweat, and then plunge themselves over head and ears in the river; and some, he observed, after they had been swimming, would lay themselves down before a great fire, and have their limbs well rubbed with oil or grease, to supple them and make them vigorous and active. Their other exercises and diversions were either hawking, or coursing with greyhounds; and they seem to have some inclination for musick. Their musical instruments were the harp, bagpipe, hunting-horn, and kettle-drum, with which they made but very indifferent harmony. But the late Czar promoted consorts of better musick; and introduced plays, operas, and assemblies, as in the more polite nations of Europe. Nor did he think it beneath him to regulate these matters, and draw up rules for their behaviour with his own hand; being very sensible of the ill consequence which attends the abuse of such diversions, though he judged them absolutely necessary to ingratiate himself with his subjects, and make them contented with the other great alterations he was about to make. And whenever a Prince is about to introduce any thing new, or would divert the vulgar from prying too narrowly into the arcana of the administration, he will always find it necessary to encourage these kind of diversions, for the same reasons the late Czar did; and if it be never done with worse views, the people may be innocently diverted this way from animadverting on the conduct of their Governors. But among other amusements of the Russians, I had almost forgot the old custom of keeping dwarfs and jesters, and sometimes they have both in one. And this custom of keeping a fool or jester, was very much in vogue in this part of the world about a century ago; no considerable family was without one, who was permitted to be as witty and satyrical as he pleased, and make what remarks he saw fit for the diversion of the master and his company. All was taken in good part from the supposed natural, who was sometimes the archest fellow in the neighbourhood, and employed in speaking such truths as might have been resented from a person of another character. The late Czar frequently entertained his friends with his dwarfs and his jesters: two days after the marriage of the late Duke of Courland with his niece the Princess ANNE, the Czar, for the diversion of the noble company, which was assembled on this occasion, ordered a marriage to be solemnized between two dwarfs, with all the splendor that could have been observed at the nuptial of a sovereign Prince, only that all the officers employed in the ceremony, were of the same diminutive race with the bride and bridegroom. A very little dwarf marched at the head of the procession, carrying a Marshal's staff, the badge of his office, who was followed by the bride and bridegroom richly dressed; after whom came the Czar himself, with his Ministers, Kneezes and boyars (the Princes and nobility). After these marched three or fourscore couple of dwarfs of both sexes. And at the celebration of the wedding in the church, the Czar himself was pleased to hold the garland or nuptial crown over the bride's head, according to the rites of the Greek Church. A dinner was afterwards provided in the same hall where the Czar had entertained the Duke and Duchess of Courland two days before; and several small tables being set, suitable to the size of the guests, the bride and bridegroom were placed at separate tables, each under a canopy, and the rest of the guests being set at other tables, this little company was attended by the marshal and eight deputies, all dwarfs, who performed their parts with so much dexterity and mirth, as afforded great diversion to the noble spectators, and the healths went briskly round, as usual at a Russian wedding. After dinner the dwarfs began a dance, and by the oddness of their several figures, their mimick motion, and grimaces, highly delighted their superiors. One advanced with a high bunch on his back, and short legs; another was remarkable for a monstrous big belly; a third waddled along upon a pair of crooked legs, and a head of a prodigious size; and the rest were some way or other deformed, which provoked the laughter of the company. But surely it is a barbarous pleasure we take in viewing those of our own species, labouring under such unfortunate circumstances, and fit only for one of a Russian genius. The most considerable festivals among the Russians are, first, New-year's-day. A traveller, who lately assisted at this solemnity in Petersburg, informs us, that the late Czar on the first of January, O. S. repaired to the great church at Petersburgh, at four o'clock in the morning, where he officiated himself, and read divine service instead of the Patriarch, whose office he had thought fit to abolish, as participating too much of the sovereign power. Service being ended, the great guns were fired, and he returned to his palace, where he received the compliments of his ministers and nobility, to every one of whom he presented a cup of brandy, according to custom. Afterwards, being attended by the clergy and some Lords of the court, he made a visit to several of the nobility, singing the Russian Te Deum, and offering a wish for a happy new year to the family, as they entered.

Exercises and diversions.

Festivals.

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ed any perſon's doors. The maſter of every houſe hereupon preſented the Czar, as head of the clergy, with a handſome purſe of money, and invited his Majeſty and the company to an entertainment; but they did not remain at any houſe above two hours, and then removed to another, viſiting about five or ſix in a day; and this they continued to do for eight days ſucceſſively. Twelfth-day is another conſiderable holiday, when the conſecration of the waters is celebrated.

In the year 1719, the ſame gentleman relates, that he ſaw the Czar march in perſon at the head of ſeven battalions of his guards to the river Nova, which was then frozen, and having formed theſe troops into a ſquare upon the river, a hole was cut in the ice in the middle of the ſquare, and a little houſe ready framed ſet over it, ſtanding on ſeveral arches, which centered at the top; round which there was a gallery hung with ſcarlet cloth. Divine ſervice being ended at church, the proceſſion of the clergy began, the bells in all the churches ringing at the ſame time, four papas, or prieſts, with burning tapers marched before the Archbiſhop, whom the Czar had conſtituted to ſupply ſome part of the office of Patriarch; his Holineſs carried a large crucifix in his hand, ſet with precious ſtones, being ſupported by two other prieſts, and was followed by great numbers of Prieſts and other people; the clergy, richly dreſſed in their ſacerdotal habits, ſinging an anthem during the proceſſion. As they paſſed before the head of the regiment of guards, the Czar ſaluted them by lowering the point of his drawn ſword, which he held in his hand; after which the clergy advanced towards the houſe in the ſquare, and having ſaid the prayers of conſecration, a general diſcharge of the artillery was made, and three volleys of ſmall ſhot fired. In the mean time the prieſts drew up ſome of the conſecrated waters out of the hole, and gave it the people who ſtood about them, to drink: others brought their children to be baptized in the holy ſtream; and the clergy marching back again into the town, the mob crowded to the place to take up ſome of the water, with which they haſtened home, expreſſing abundance of joy. Cripples and infirm people alſo were carried thither, believing the waters to be repleniſhed with ſome healing virtues. Former Emperors uſed to attend the Patriarch at this ceremony when he mounted his horſe to begin the proceſſion, and again when he diſmounted; but the late Czar thought this too great a condeſcenſion towards a ſubject. On Palm Sunday there is another grand proceſſion of the clergy through the capital city, when the Patriarch uſed to ride at the head of them, on an horſe covered with white linen, carrying a book with a golden crucifix upon it in his left hand, and in his right a gilded croſs, with which he bleſſed the people; the Czar himſelf marching on foot before him, and holding the reins of his bridle in one hand, and a palm branch in the other. In the rear followed the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, nobility, and ſeveral hundred papas in their officiating habits. Thus they proceeded to the great church, all the bells in the city ſounding as on rejoicing days, for they do not ring their bells as with us; and from hence the Czar, with the nobility and Biſhops, uſed to go and dine at the Patriarch's houſe. This great eccleſiaſtick was not only ſupreme Judge in all religious matters, but in him was lodged a power for the reformation of manners, and he might paſs ſentence of death upon thoſe who tranſgreſſed his injunctions; without the concurrence of the temporal courts. But upon the deceaſe of the laſt Patriarch, which happened about the time the Czar returned from his travels, his Majeſty refuſed to ſuffer another to be elected in his room, but took upon himſelf to be the chief prieſt, as well as Prince of his people; and only conſtituted one of his Archbiſhops to execute ſuch a part of the Patriarch's office as he ſhould direct. I ſhall mention but two other rejoicing times, or annual feſtivals of the Ruſſians: the one is when the ſnow is fallen, and the waters frozen, that they can travel with their ſleds over land or water, whereever they pleaſe, in a direct line, without confining themſelves to the windings of the roads. The other is in the ſpring of the year, when the ice is ſunk, and there is a free paſſage in their lakes and rivers for boats and other veſſels. And this brings me to treat of their carriages, and way of travelling.

Travelling and carriages.

During the winter, which laſts about ſix months, when the ground is covered with ſnow, the ſled is the only carriage in this country. Upon this they load their goods, and in this the traveller rides. Thoſe in the northern part of the empire, viz. in Lapland and Samoieda, are drawn by rain deer; but in other parts of Muſcovy, uſually by a ſingle horſe. The rain deer does not much exceed the height of one of our common fallow deer, but they are much thicker, and their legs proportionably ſtrong. This animal alſo has a thin wide hoof, with which he can run over the top of the ſnow without ſinking: whereas in the middle of Ruſſia, where they are drawn with horſes, and the ſledges are heavier loaded, they cannot travel eaſily out of the beaten tract, which is hardened by being perpetually trampled on. The travelling ſled is almoſt of the ſhape of a little covered boat; and thoſe which people of condition travel in, are ſo cloſely ſhut up, that the leaſt air cannot enter them. On each ſide is a little window, and a ſhelf to lay proviſions or other neceſſaries upon. Over the head is fixed a lanthorn with wax candles, for they travel night and day. The lower part of the ſled is furniſhed with bedding, in which the

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the traveller wraps himself, having a stove at his feet, to preserve the wine and brandy, which stands in an adjoining box, from freezing; which is however frequently spoiled by the cold. The driver sits at the feet of the sled, or runs on foot to keep him warm. In this vehicle a man is carried swiftly night and day; there being no inns to bait at in many parts of the country: but upon the great roads the late Czar caused houses of entertainment to be set up at every fifteen or twenty miles distance, with mercuries to describe the way, and shew the number of miles from one place to another; and upon some of the roads, ordered rows of trees to be planted for several hundred miles together; particularly between Moscow and the city of Veronese. Post-stages were also fixed at fifteen or twenty miles distance, where horses are always laid ready for the conveniency of travelling, the peasants furnishing them on very moderate terms, for which they are exempted from all other duties; and this makes the communication between Petersburg, Moscow and Archangel extremely easy. In the year 1718 the posts were regulated after the manner of Germany. A little before the boy arrives at his stage, he calls out for a fresh horse, which is immediately put to, and he gallops along without intermission. An ordinary man will travel an hundred miles a day in one of these sleds; it being a flat country, and very little bad way to be met with: nay, the meadows, lakes, and rivers, which obstruct our travelling in winter, are the best part of the journey; and a man may go at this time through some countries where there is no passing in summer. The weather also in the midst of winter is generally settled and serene, and not near so subject to mists and fogs as in our island; and indeed it is a common observation, that upon the continent at a distance from the sea, the weather is much more settled, either in winter or summer, than it is near the coasts. So soon as the sled-way is fixed, many hundreds of sleds may be seen every day coming into Moscow or Petersburg, drawn for the most part by one horse each, for they slide with wonderful ease over the snow and ice; and the snow, by the frequent passing of the sleds, becomes as smooth and hard as ice itself; and no such thing as a thaw is ever known till the return of the spring: insomuch that the price of carriage in winter by sleds is not above a fifth part of what it is by wheel carriages in summer. Tho' what preserves their roads very much at that time of the year is, that their waggons are very light, and usually drawn but by a single horse. The usual way of travelling in summer is on horseback, or by water. Coaches are in some use among the quality; but I do not find that they ever travel journies in stage-coaches, as with us; and it is certain this is scarce practicable in Russia for a great part of the year. The late Czar caused roads to be laid out, and ways cut through woods, in a direct line from one city to another, and canals to be made from river to river, to render the communication easy between one part of his dominions and another, particularly between the Baltick and Caspian seas. Oak timber is now brought by water from Casan to Petersburg, which is upwards of a thousand miles, and as they have all other naval stores there in great abundance, it is computed that the Muscovite can now build and rig out a fleet upon easier terms than any other Prince in Europe; which he could not do before, having no oaken timber within a great many hundred miles of Petersburg, and there was scarce any possibility of bringing any thither by land carriage. These canals are not only convenient on account of bringing up floats of timber, and merchandize, but for supplying Petersburg, the capital city, with provisions; which is now grown so populous, and stands in so barren a soil, that it could not possibly subsist, if it was not supplied in the summer time by water carriage; and what is still worse, Petersburg stands so very low, that their fortifications have been several times destroyed, and great quantities of merchandize driven away by the inundations.

CHAP. VIII.

Treats of the nature of the soil, their husbandry and gardening, and of their plants, animals, and minerals; with some farther observations on the air, winds, and seasons.

Soil and husbandry.

RUSSIA for the most part lying upon a flat, and being extremely well watered with lakes and rivers, is one of the most fruitful countries in the world; and as the late Czar has rendered the communication of one part of the empire with another extremely easy, by laying out new roads, or repairing the old ones, and cutting navigable canals wherever he found it necessary, the northern parts, which wanted the corn and fruits that are so plentiful in the south, are now tolerably well supplied with both. As to the Laplanders and Samoieds indeed, who have little commerce with the rest of Russia, they neither plow, nor sow, nor plant, there being not warmth enough to ripen grain or fruit; nor have they grass sufficient to feed herds of cattle; but live on the flesh of deer, bears, or other wild beasts, fowls, or dried fish: and turneps, or other roots serve them for bread. Their rain deer feed upon a kind of moss, which they find upon the ground or trees, and with this they grow fat in winter. The most fruitful and best cultivated part of Muscovy I take to be the kingdom of Casan, and those other countries which lye next

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to the banks of the Wolga. Here rye may be purchaſed for ſix pence a buſhel, and wheat for nine pence. The ſeed time for the rye is before the winter begins, but for all other grain, after the ſnow is off the ground, in April or May; and it is reaped in Auguſt. In thoſe countries which lye at a diſtance from rivers they ſow but little grain, not only becauſe they cannot vend it, but the country people, who have no properties in any thing, and know that all the fruits of their labour belong to their Lords, chooſe to be at as little trouble as may be; grazing therefore being the more lazy employment, they uſually ſpend their time in feeding of cattle, or gathering ſuch fruits as the earth produces of itſelf.

Ruſſia, ſays captain PERRY, in general, is a very level fertile country, abounding with whatever is neceſſary for human life; it is intermixed with paſture, arable lands, woods, lakes and rivers; and wherever I have travelled, which has been almoſt on all ſides of the Czar's dominions, ſays he, there may be ſeen many delightful ſituations. The country to the ſouthward of Camiſinca, (which ſtands on the Wolga in the latitude of 49 degrees), as it is in the beſt climate in the world, ſo it is for the moſt part extremely fertile and pleaſant. In the ſpring of the year, as ſoon as the ſnow is gone, which ſeldom lyes on the ground hereabouts longer than three months, the warm weather ſucceeds, and the tulips, roſes, lilies of the valley, pinks, ſweet-williams, and many other fine flowers and herbs ſpring up ſpontaneouſly, without any culture. Aſparagus, the beſt that can be eat, grows ſo thick, that it may be mowed. The graſs in the meadows is up to the horſes bellies, and all kinds of fruits are found here in autumn, without the aſſiſtance of a gardner to cultivate them. Nor does the husbandman ever want a crop of grain, where he plows and ſows his ground. But the Cœban Tartars ſo haraſs this country by their excurſions, that the inhabitants have almoſt all forſaken it.

As the Ruſſes travel over theſe deſerted plains, and make fires to dreſs their food, it happens ſometimes that the long graſs, which is neither mowed nor eat by cattle, but dries upon the ground, is ſet on fire, the flames ſpreading on every ſide for twenty or thirty miles round, and are not extinguiſhed as long as any of this kind of fewel is left, or ſome lake or river puts a ſtop to it: in the night time the flames are ſeen at a great diſtance, and in the day a cloud of ſmoke aſcends, which gives the traveller an opportunity of avoiding it. The ſame accident happens often on the weſt ſide of the river Don, which the Ruſſes call ſtep, or deſert, not becauſe the country is barren, but deſerted by the inhabitants on account of the excurſions of the Crim Tartars. But to return, and give ſome farther account of their plants and fruits. CHAP. VIII.

The woods and foreſts of Ruſſia, eſpecially in the northern parts of it, produce ſcarce any other trees for timber, or firing, but fir-trees and birch, and with theſe they are very plentifully ſtored. Towards Caſan and the ſouthern part of Muſcovy they have great plenty of oak timber, elm, and other wood fit for all manner of uſes. Fruit trees they have of all kinds in the ſouthern parts of Ruſſia, except grapes; and in that cold climate of Ingria, where Petersburg ſtands, they have brought their gardens to greater perfection than could be expected. Vineyards there are none in the Ruſſian dominions in Europe; but as the late Czar planted ſeveral about Aſtracan in Aſia, poſſibly the Muſcovites may ſome time or other introduce them into their ſouthern dominions in Europe; the ſoil or climate being not at all improper for them. The garden-ſtuff which the Ruſſians chiefly feed on, are melons, cucumbers, onions, garlick and muſhrooms, the laſt of which they have great quantities of, and pickle them up againſt their times of faſting. They have great plantations alſo of hemp and flax, of which they export abundance annually to all the kingdoms of Europe; and as their fir trees furniſh them with vaſt quantities of pitch and tar, they can of the product of their own country rig out a royal fleet, which however was never attempted till the laſt reign. Plants.

From their fruits and plants I proceed next to inquire into their animals, wild and tame; and theſe are horſes, oxen, buffaloes, goats, hogs, ſheep and rain deer among their tame cattle. Their horſes are not of a large breed; but like thoſe of Scotland, hardy and ſerviceable, and are ſeldom ſhod either in ſummer or winter. They have alſo greyhounds, but no hounds as I can learn, neither do I ſee what great uſe they could be of in a country which is covered with ſnow all the winter. Their wild beaſts are bears, foxes, hogs, elks, deer, wolves, wild horſes and wild ſheep. Capt. PERRY relates, that he eat part of a wild ſheep, which was purſued into a river by a wolf, and he thought it tenderer and much to be preferred to tame mutton: but the wool of theſe ſheep is coarſe, ſhort, and good for little. The wild horſe skin is a thick warm fur, and made uſe of at Moſcow for the lining the covers of their ſleds. They have alſo martens, ſables, ermins, and two kinds of hares, one of which turn white in the winter, and change their colour again in the ſummer to a gray. Their bear skins alſo in the north are ſome of them white; and ſome foxes are black, but theſe are very ſcarce. Their skins and furs are ſome of the moſt valuable goods imported from Ruſſia; and they uſe great part of them Animals.

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them at home, for lining their clothes in the winter ſeaſon, both men and women. A late traveller relates, that he ſaw a gown made of ſables of the deepeſt black, valued at a thouſand pounds and upwards, which the Czar made the Grand Seignior a preſent of. I ſhall make but one obſervation more in relation to their wild animals, which indeed Capt. PERRY hath made before me, and that is, that they are not near ſo dangerous to travellers as they are generally repreſented; tho' I cannot be entirely of his mind, that they will never ſet upon a man till they are provoked: when they do, I believe they muſt be urged by the extremeſt hunger, and can meet with nothing elſe to prey upon, or perhaps in defence of their whelps, or ſome other ſuch like occaſions: for he obſerves, that notwithſtanding this country is full of bears and wolves; the Ruſſes travel every where alone through the woods winter and ſummer, and yet there is ſcarce ever ſuch a thing heard of as a man's being attacked or hurt by a wild beaſt. That he had very often ſeen bears and wolves upon the road, and endeavoured to ſhoot them, but they always run away. When he was employed in making the canal near Camiſinca, and frequently obliged to travel with his people between Moſcow and that place through a deſert country, they uſed to bait their horſes by the woods ſides in the night time, and make fires to warm themſelves, when the wolves would come out in great numbers and make a hideous howling; but durſt not come near; though he does not doubt but they would have ſeized the horſes if there had been no men with them. A wild boar, or a bear, if a man comes up cloſe and fires, will make directly at him; if the beaſt be not brought down at once, the perſon who attacks him will be in a great deal of danger, unleſs timely relieved by his friends: but if a man fires at a wolf and miſſes him, the creature will run away. There is no country in Europe better ſtocked with bees, and their woods accordingly afford vaſt plenty of honey, inſomuch, that mead, or quaz, is their moſt ordinary drink; and their candles are all made of wax, though I ſhould have obſerved, that the common people content themſelves with a deal ſplinter lighted, which they frequently carry in their mouths when they are about any buſineſs within doors.

As to ſerpents, ſcorpions, and other poiſonous inſects, I do not find that this country is much infeſted with them; but travellers complain much of the ſwarms of gnats and other flies in ſummer, which will not let them reſt night or day, and are extremely troubleſome upon the road. The ſeas and rivers of Muſcovy abound with excellent fiſh of ſeveral kinds, among which the bolluga, a fiſh about eight or ten feet in length, is generally eſteemed preferable to ſturgeon: of the roes of this fiſh the Ruſſian caviere is made, as well as of the roes of ſturgeon; which being ſalted and preſſed for keeping, is ſent into all parts of Europe: but chiefly to thoſe countries which border on the Mediterranean. Their rivers alſo abound with ſturgeon, ſterlet or ſtrelet, as ſome write it; citera, ſalmon both red and white, ſandack, carp, perch, tench, jacks, crawfiſh, and other river fiſh. The ſterlet is a ſmall fiſh with a ſharp noſe, the fleſh whereof is ſaid to reſemble that of the ſturgeon; but the fat is of a more delicious taſte. The citera is of much the ſame nature as ſturgeon, but the fleſh whiter, and eats admirably well dreſſed any way. The ſandack is in ſhape like a whiting, but ſix or eight times as large, and firm as a cod: this the Engliſh ſalt up and eat with butter and eggs, like our common ſalt-fiſh. The citera and ſterlet are generally moſt admired of any of their river fiſh; but Mr. PERRY prefers their white ſalmon.

Of land and water fowl they have as great plenty as they have of fiſh; and no place abounds more with hawks of all kinds, particularly faulcons; and hawking accordingly is one of their principal ſports. The woods and gardens about Moſcow are full of ſinging-birds, of which there being but few in the barren neighbourhood of Petersburg, the government purchaſed as many as came to ſix or ſeven hundred pounds, and let them fly in the woods about that capital, where it is ſaid they have multiplied conſiderably; notwithſtanding the climate is ſo much colder than that they were brought from. But it is obſerved however, that the ſeverity of the weather drives moſt of the feathered race to the ſouthward in the winter. Not only their wild geeſe, ſwans, ducks, ſnipes, and other water fowl; but vaſt numbers of feldfares, thruſhes, and other land birds, retire ſouthwards as the cold weather approaches, and return again in the ſpring: which is the reaſon no doubt that we are ſo well ſtocked with them in the winter. There are alſo in Ruſſia good ſtore of pheaſants, partridges, heath-cocks, and other game; and their partridges, as well as hares, it ſeems, turn white in winter towards the north.

Minerals.

There are ſome copper mines in Ruſſia near Caſan, and a great many iron mines and works; particularly near Moſcow, and Veroneſe, and on the ſide of the Onega lake, where the Ruſſians do not only caſt great guns and mortars, but forge all manner of ſmall arms, with which their army is ſupplied: and it is ſaid, they will in a ſhort time be enabled to furniſh other nations with them at a cheaper rate than they can provide themſelves at home, all proviſion being extremely cheap. In the year 1718. a board, or college, as they ſtyle it, was appointed for the regulation and improvement of their mines, which were before upon a very good foot; and it is reported that they have diſcovered a gold ſand in

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ſome of the rivers which run into the Caſpian ſea, and underſtand how to refine and ſeparate the ore from the droſs. Brimſtone and ſalt-petre alſo are the produce of this country, and they already make moſt of the gunpowder they ſpend.

Farther remarks upon the air, winds, and ſeaſons.

I ſhall conclude this chapter with ſome remarks of Captain PERRY's, upon the air and ſeaſons in this part of the world, which I had over-looked when I was treating on this ſubject: he relates, that the Czar frequently diſcourſed of ſending ſome people to diſcover whether there was any paſſage by the north-eaſt, or Frozen Ocean (contiguous to his dominions) to China and Japan, but was of opinion there was none; and that his country really joined to America; from whence he ſuppoſed that part of the world was firſt peopled, when there was not ſuch vaſt quantities of ice, and the cold was more moderate than it is at this day. The captain alſo is of opinion, that when the extreme northern parts were firſt inhabited, thoſe countries were more temperate than they are at this day, or men would not have choſen, or been eaſily driven to inhabit ſuch a barren and uncomfortable climate: and thinks it may be demonſtrated, that at the beginning of the world there was no ice upon the ſurface of the waters: that the firſt froſts could not make it of any conſiderable thickneſs, and the ſun lying ſix months every year upon it, muſt prevent its growing to any great bulk for ſome time; though poſſibly it might increaſe ſomething every year; and that this vaſt body of ice which is now found in thoſe ſeas within the arctick circle, has been the gradual work of many thouſand years: and as the body of ice has in courſe of time been thus augmented by degrees, ſo the cold by the reflection from it has been rendered more ſevere, and extended farther ſouthward than it was at the beginning of the world. He proceeds afterwards to produce ſome inſtances to ſupport this hypotheſis, and ſhew how the inhabitants of theſe northern countries are affected by the reflection both of heat and cold. The Engliſh merchants, who uſed to travel annually between Moſcow and Archangel (the latter of which places lyes in 64 degrees of north latitude, and hath one and twenty hours ſun in the middle of ſummer) obſerve, that it is common there to find the weather ſo extremely hot, that they can ſcarce bear any clothes on when the wind is ſoutherly, and rolls on the heat that way which is reflected from the earth: but if the wind happens to ſhift ſuddenly to the northward, and blow from the Frozen Ocean, the air is changed at once, and they are obliged to put on their furs. That this alteration of the weather, from extreme hot to extreme cold, happens moſt frequently in June, or the beginning of July, when the ice is ſtill driving in the White ſea. On the other hand, in the beginning of the winter, in the months of September and October, when the ſurface of the earth is juſt frozen, and the ſnows are fallen ſome degrees to the ſouthward of Archangel, but the ice is not yet gathered in the White ſea, then, as if the poles had ſhifted ſtations, the operation of the winds is directly contrary. The ſouth wind which comes off the land, and blows over a long track of ſnow, occaſions an hard froſt; but the north wind which comes directly from the ſea, not frozen up at that time, is ſenſibly warm, compared with that which comes from the ſouthward: and that at Wologda, which is half way between Archangel and Moſcow; and at Moſcow it ſelf, and all other midland places, in the depth of winter, when the ſnow covers the face of the whole country, then it freezes as hard with one wind as with another; and from theſe and ſome other inſtances, he infers, that cold as well as heat is conſiderably augmented by reflection; and as there was not thoſe mountains of ice in the north ſeas in the firſt ages of the world, as there is now, conſequently it was not ſo cold within the arctick circle, as it is at preſent; and men as well as beaſts might probably paſs from the continent of Europe to America by land then, though it ſhould be admitted that this is impracticable at preſent.

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Treats of their trade, ſhipping, navigation, manufactures and coins.

TWO hundred years ago, Ruſſia having no communication with any other ſeas than the White ſea, and the Frozen Ocean, at that time unfrequented, and indeed perfectly unknown to any other nation, had then but a very ſlender ſhare of foreign trade. Their furs and other merchandiſe came to us through Livonia, which was under another Sovereign, and were embarqued at the ports of Narva, Revel, Pernaw, or Riga; but in the laſt year of the reign of King EDWARD the ſixth, a ſociety of Engliſh merchants being incorporated by the name of, 'The merchants adventurers for the diſcovery of 'lands, &c. unknown,' of whom SEBASTIAN CABOT was the firſt Governor, fitted out three ſhips, viz. the Admiral called the Bona Eſperanza, of 120 tuns, commanded by Sir HUGH WILLOUGHBY. The ſecond, called the Edward Bonadventurer of 160 tuns, commanded by Captain RICHARD CHANCELLOR. And the third called the Bona Confidentia of 90 tuns, and commanded by Captain CORNELIUS DUFORTH. Theſe three ſhips ſet ſail from Deptford the 11th of May 1553. But Captain CHANCELLOR being ſeparated from the other two by a ſtorm on the coaſt of Norway, ſteered for Ward-Houſe, the moſt northerly part of Norway, as had been

First voyage to Ruſſia.

agreed

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agreed on in case of such an accident. Here he waited seven days in expectation of the other two ships, and receiving no intelligence of them, he stood to the eastward; and first discovered the bay of St. Nicholas, so denominated from the monastery of St. Nicholas, which lyes at the bottom of the bay, and is also known by the name of the White sea. Captain CHANCELLOR learnt here that the country was called Muscovy, and that JOHN BASILOWITZ, or VASILIWITS, was then Sovereign of it. The Governor as well as the rest of the natives, received the Captain and his people with great humanity, furnishing them with provisions; and expressing a desire of trading with them, as the Captain had proposed: but the Governor did not think fit to enter into any treaty on this subject till the Great Duke was acquainted with it; and therefore dispatched an express immediately to Moscow, with intelligence that the English had found the way into the bay of St. Nicholas, or Archangel, and desired to establish a trade there: whereupon the Great Duke (the Russian Emperor) ordered that post-sledges and other conveniencies should be provided to attend on the Captain and his people to Moscow. Captain CHANCELLOR on his arrival there, presented the great Duke with a general letter from King EDWARD VIth. directed, 'To all Kings, 'Princes, Rulers, Judges and Governors of the 'earth,' importing, that whereas GOD had implanted in the hearts of all men a desire of friendship and intercourse with one another, and that justice and humanity required us to treat those kindly, who through great dangers brought their merchandize from distant countries to supply what might be wanting in the places they visited, and take off the product of their country in return: heaven having ordained that all things should not be found in any region, but one country be supplied by another, that thereby friendship might be promoted and extended to all. For the establishing and advancing of which desirable ends, several of his subjects had undertaken this voyage. To whom, on their petition, he had granted his Royal licence, particularly to Sir HUGH WILLOUGHBY, and others his trusty and faithful servants, engaged in this expedition to visit countries unknown, as well to procure such things as were wanting in his dominions as to supply other nations with the produce of his kingdoms, to their mutual advantage, and that an indissoluble and perpetual league and friendship might be established between them. He desires therefore that they will treat his subjects with humanity, and supply them with such things as they wanted, and declares he should be ready to shew the same kindness towards such of their subjects, or servants as should arrive in his dominions. Dated at London in the 14th day of the month of May, in the year of the creation 5515, and in the seventh year of his reign.

King EDWARD's general letter to all Princes for promoting trade.

The Captain having delivered this letter to the great Duke, he bid him welcome, and after some enquiries concerning the King his master, invited him and his people to a magnificent entertainment in the palace; and having conferred other favours upon them, and expressed his desire of establishing a trade and intercourse between the two nations, he dismissed Capt. CHANCELLOR with a letter to King EDWARD VI. wherein having recited the several kingdoms and provinces he was Sovereign of, he acquaints his Majesty that his servant RICHARD CHANCELLOR and his company arrived on the Russian coasts in the twentieth year of his reign, and had delivered him his Majesty's letter for the settling of commerce, &c. And that he had thereupon issued his orders that Sir HUGH WILLOUGHBY should be well entertained wherever he landed: but that he had yet received no intelligence of him. That he was desirous the King's subjects should resort to his country and traffick there; and that both their ships and persons might remain in perfect security, and have their free mart, with all other liberties through his whole dominions, with all kinds of merchandize, to go and come at pleasure; and invites his Majesty to send over a minister to reside at Moscow. Dated at Moscow the second month of February, in the year of the world, according to the Russian account, 7060. To this letter was affixed a broad seal, on which was the impression of a man in armour on horseback fighting with a dragon; and to the original written in the Russian language was annexed a translation in High-Dutch.

A letter from the Duke of Muscovy to King EDWARD.

Captain CHANCELLOR returned to England in the beginning of the year 1554. when he found King EDWARD dead, and Queen MARY advanced to the throne. The following year the company fitted out the Edward Bonadventure again, commanded by Captain CHANCELLOR, and another ship, with several agents and factors to settle a trade with Russia, who carried with them letters from King PHILIP and Queen MARY, authorizing them to treat with the Russian ministers for establishing commerce between the two nations; wherein they thank the great Duke for the favour shewn to Captain CHANCELLOR and his company, and desire a continuance of his favour to such of their subjects as should resort to his country, and that he would appoint Commissaries to treat with the said Captain CHANCELLOR, GEORGE KILLINGWORTH and RICHARD GRAY, bearers of these letters, and authorized for that purpose, and grant such other liberties and privileges to the company of merchants adventurers, as the said bearers in their name should settle with the Russian Commissaries.

Second voyage.

Letters from King PHILIP and Queen MARY to the Duke of Mosco.

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ries. Captain CHANCELLOR with the reſt of the company's agents were well received at the Ruſſian court, and invited to dine with the great Duke, at leaſt in the ſame room, for he ſat at a table by himſelf bare headed, and not far from him the Patriarch and ſeveral of the nobility. A ſeparate table was appointed for the Engliſh in the middle of the room, oppoſite to that of the Duke, who ſent them ſeveral diſhes from his own: after dinner they were called up to the Duke's table, who preſented every one of them with a cup of drink with his own hand, and taking hold of Mr. KILLINGWORTH's beard, which was five feet and two inches long, and of a yellowiſh colour, he put it into the Patriarch's hand, who admired it as a particular bleſſing; and I am apt to believe that one reaſon of pitching on this gentleman as an agent to this court, was his having ſuch a mighty beard, it being obſerved what a particular veneration the Ruſſians had for beards. But to proceed, Mr. KILLINGWORTH being informed that the two ſhips under the command of Sir HUGH WILLOUGHBY were found in a creek near Kegor upon the coaſt of Lapland by ſome fiſhermen, Sir HUGH and all his company, conſiſting of ſeventy perſons, having been frozen to death there; he procured the ſhips to be brought into the bay of St. Nicholas, and ſaved great part of the merchandize and effects. It appeared by the journals on board theſe ſhips, that they had been beating about to the northwards on the coaſt of Greenland, and arrived at this place the 18th of September, 1553. That they had ſent parties of men into the country ſeveral ways to ſearch for inhabitants, but found none, and that moſt of the company were alive in January, 155⅓. It is ſuppoſed that they periſhed rather with cold than hunger, becauſe their papers mention great numbers of deer, bears, foxes, and other wild beaſts in the country, which would have ſubſiſted them, neither was all the proviſion ſpent they had on board.

The two ſhips found in Lapland, in which Sir HUGH WILLOUGHBY and all his people periſhed.

Privileges granted to the Ruſſia company by the great Duke.

The company's agents and the great Duke's commiſſaries having had ſeveral conferences upon the ſubject of trade, that Prince granted to SEBASTIAN CABOT, the Governor, Sir GEORGE BARNES, &c. Conſuls, Sir JOHN GRESHAM, &c. Aſſiſtants, and to the commonalty of the aforeſaid fellowſhip and their ſucceſſors for ever, amongſt others, the privileges and immunities following:

1. That the ſaid company, their agents and factors, with their ſhips, goods and merchandize might enter into any of the cities or territories of Ruſſia by ſea, land, or freſh waters, and there remain and traffick with the merchants and people of any nation whatever, and with the ſame, or any other goods or merchandize, depart into any other country at pleaſure, without any reſtraint or paying any toll, cuſtom or impoſition whatſoever, for their ſhips, merchandizes, or other effects; without ſtanding in need of any other ſafe conduct, or licence general or ſpecial from the government, than this preſent grant. CHAP. IX.

2. That the Engliſh ſhould be ſubject to, and governed only by ſuch perſons as the company ſhould appoint; and thoſe who fled from juſtice, ſhould be delivered up to the Engliſh company by the Ruſſians.

Captain CHANCELLOR returning home with this grant from the Ruſſian Emperor, the company obtained a new patent from their Majeſties, PHILIP and MARY, dated the 1ſt of February, in the firſt and ſecond year of their reign; by which it appears that the Marquis of Wincheſter Lord-Treaſurer, the Earl of Arundel Lord-Steward of the houſhold, and moſt of the great officers of ſtate, as well as ſeveral of the Aldermen of London, were members of this corporation; and SEBASTIAN CABOT appointed Governor for life, with four Conſuls, and twenty four Aſſiſtants for the year enſuing, which were to be elected annually. This ſociety were incorporated by the name of, 'The Governor, Conſuls, 'Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip, and Commonalty of Mer-'chants, adventurers to lands, territories, &c. un-'known and unfrequented.'

And by the ſaid letters patents, full power and authority was given to the company and their agents, to ſail to all ports, dominions, territories, and places unknown or undiſcovered, before their late adventure, under the royal banner, ſtandard, flags, and enſigns; and to erect and fix them there, or on any the lands and ſhores, cities, towns, or iſlands of any infidel Princes; and to ſubdue and poſſeſs their dominions, as well as all other lands hereafter to be diſcovered, and to reduce them under the power of the crown of England: and all other people, whether natives or foreigners, were, by the ſaid grant, prohibited and debarred from trafficking with, or reſorting to ſuch countries as ſhould be diſcovered, or to any part of the Ruſſian empire, without the licence of the ſaid company. In the year 1556, the company ſent two ſhips to Ruſſia, doubly manned, to bring home Sir HUGH WILLOUGHBY's two ſhips which had been frozen up in Lapland: theſe being brought into the bay of St. Nicholas, Capt. CHANCELLOR in the Edward, having on board OSEP NAPEA, Ambaſſador from the Ruſſian Emperor to the court of England, ſet ſail from Archangel on the 20th of July, 1556, in company with the Philip and Mary, and the two ſhips of Sir HUGH WILLOUGHBY's; one of which foundered on the coaſt of Norway; and the other having ſeveral Ruſſian merchants on board, was ſeparated from the reſt in the voyage, and never heard of more, both of them ſuppoſed to

An Ambaſſador from Ruſſia to the Engliſh court.

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Captain CHANCELLOR, and three ships loſt coming home.

to be decayed by their remaining ſo long in thoſe ſeas; and to add to the misfortune, Capt. CHANCELLOR in the Edward being driven from his anchors on the coaſt of Scotland, the ſhip ſplit upon the rocks, and the Captain, with ſeveral Ruſſians as well as Engliſh mariners were loſt, but the Ambaſſador, with ſome few of the company eſcaped to ſhore, where they were indifferently treated by the Scots. The news whereof coming to the Engliſh court, Queen MARY diſpatched ſome gentlemen into Scotland to the Regent there, deſiring the Ruſſian Ambaſſador might be kindly uſed, and his effects reſtored, which were recovered from the wreck, and the Ambaſſador was afterwards brought up to London, where he made his entry in great ſtate, being attended by an hundred and forty merchants of the Ruſſia company, with their ſervants in one livery. He was met alſo by the Lord MONTAGUE and three hundred horſe by order of the court, a little way out of town; and at Smithfield-bars, by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen on horſe-back, and rode between the Lord Mayor and the Lord MONTAGUE through the city, to an apartment prepared for him in Fenchurch-ſtreet.

Thus were the Engliſh eſtabliſhed in the Ruſſian trade, and enjoyed the ſole benefit of it for twenty five or thirty years without interruption, when the Dutch began to put in for a ſhare of it. But this was not the principal deſign of that great company erected in the reign of EDWARD VI. for making new diſcoveries; it was not long before that the Spaniards and Portugueſe had fixed themſelves in America and the Eaſt-Indies, whereby they engroſſed moſt of the trade of the world, and amaſſed a prodigious treaſure; this incited the Engliſh to attempts of the like nature, who hoped to find a ſhorter paſſage to the Indies by the north-eaſt or north-weſt, and thereby to put in for a ſhare of thoſe beneficial trades; or rather to diſcover ſome countries equally rich to the northward, which neither the Spaniards nor Portugueſe had yet frequented: for all Europe ſeemed to acquieſce at firſt in the partition the Pope had made of the new diſcovered countries in the eaſt to the Portugueſe, and thoſe in the weſt to the Spaniard. It was fourſcore years at leaſt, before the Engliſh, or any other nation in Europe attempted to trade or ſend colonies, either to the Eaſt or Weſt-Indies after they were diſcovered; for which there may be theſe two reaſons given; firſt, that the Engliſh were then good Catholicks, and poſſibly thought themſelves obliged to obey the Pope's determination in the matter; and ſecondly, the Spaniards and Portugueſe were then the moſt conſiderable maritime powers, and able to defend their reſpective diſcoveries againſt all other nations; and we find they made no ſcruple of ſinking our ſhips whenever they met with them in thoſe ſeas where they pretended to have the ſovereignty: and notwithſtanding the reformation which followed, ſhould, one would have thought, have abated our veneration for the Pope's deciſion; we ſtill for many years neglected the beaten road to the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, and threw away our ſhips and men, in attempting an impracticable paſſage thither, by the north-eaſt and north-weſt, for near fifty years ſucceſſively, wherein the Dutch followed our ſteps; in which attempts however we happened to eſtabliſh a trade to Ruſſia in the manner above related, and fell into the whale fiſhery on the coaſt of Greenland, which I ſhall enlarge upon when I come to ſpeak of that country, and return now to the trade of Ruſſia, which was confirmed to the aboveſaid company, by ſeveral patents of our ſucceeding Kings, as well as by act of parliament in the eighth year of the reign of Queen ELIZABETH; and their privileges in Ruſſia were alſo ſeveral times confirmed by the Emperors of Ruſſia. But the Dutch at this day have an equal, if not a better ſhare in that trade, and we pay the ſame duties of import and export as other nations.

The Dutch no ſooner found the way to Ruſſia, than according to their conſtant cuſtom all the world over, they began to magnify the power of their ſtate, to vilify the Engliſh, and endeavour to ſupplant them in their trade; which occaſioned often an abridgment of the privileges of the Engliſh, and hardſhips to their merchants and factors; but they were not entirely deprived of the advantages granted them by the crown of Ruſſia, until the murder of King CHARLES I. when the Dutch, though themſelves enemies to monarchy by principle, repreſented the Engliſh as the moſt abandoned race of men, advocates of anarchy, and deſtroyers of their Princes; who deſerved to be extirpated by all civilized nations: which had ſuch an influence on the Ruſſians, that the Dutch gained their ends. And indeed the horrid parricide, though perpetrated by a few miſcreants, being often imputed to the whole nation by our enemies, makes us univerſally deteſted by thoſe who are ignorant of the force the nation was under, and the many brave attempts that were made to reſcue his Majeſty out of the hands of his rebellious ſubjects. Since that unhappy æra 48, the Engliſh have been obliged to pay ſuch cuſtoms as the Ruſſians were pleaſed to demand, which they raiſe and vary, according to the caprice of their Princes, and are ſeldom leſs than five per cent. on merchandiſe.

But to proceed, The company of Engliſh adventurers did not only endeavour to diſcover a north-eaſt paſſage to China and India by ſea, but ſent their factors and agents through Muſcovy, into Perſia and Usbeck Tartary; to endeavour to

open

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open a communication with thoſe countries by land.

Captain ANTHONY JENKINSON, who carried back the Ruſſian Ambaſſador OSEP NAPEA, in the year 1557, was firſt employed to trace out a way from Muſcovy to the Eaſt Indies, and to endeavour to open a trade with Perſia; and the *Engliſh company, to ingratiate themſelves with* the Ruſſian Emperor, whoſe permiſſion and aſſiſtance were neceſſary to carry on the deſign, procured ſeveral mechanicks and artiſts to enter into his ſervice, and embark themſelves for Moſcow with their agent, Captain JENKINSON. Theſe people were extremely acceptable to the Ruſſian court; and the Captain found no difficulty in obtaining the great Duke's recommendatory letters to the Kings and Princes, through whoſe dominions he propoſed to paſs. Accordingly he ſet out from Moſcow, on the 23d of April, 1558, and arrived at Aſtracan the 14th of July following; which city and kingdom the then Emperor JOHN BASILOWITZ had made a conqueſt of about ſix years before. Here Captain JENKINSON, with his company, embarqued themſelves, with their merchandize, in a veſſel with ſome Mahometan paſſengers, on the ſixth of Auguſt; and falling down the river Wolga, entered the Caſpian ſea on the tenth, from whence they ſteered eaſtward to the mouth of the river Jaick, and afterwards to the ſouth-eaſt, arriving at Manguſlave, on the coaſt of Usbeck Tartary, on the third of September, 1558, where having provided camels, and other neceſſaries, they ſet forward for Sellizure, upon the ſame coaſt, in the company of a caravan, conſiſting of a thouſand camels: the country through which they paſſed, was divided among ſeveral Tartar Princes of the Mahometan perſuaſion, who were perpetually rambling from place to place, like the Arabs, and like them, exacted what they pleaſed of the caravans, and ſometimes plundered them. From Sellizure the caravan travelled to Urgence, and from thence to Boghar, now Bochara, ſituate near the river Oxus, one of the principal cities of Usbeck Tartary. Boghar was then a great mart, whither the merchants of India, China, and Ruſſia reſorted, with the goods of their reſpective countries; but the wars between the Tartar Princes at this time prevented the caravans coming from China, as uſual; Captain JENKINSON diſpoſed however of ſome of his Engliſh cloth, but to no great advantage, the Perſians meeting with it at a better hand by the way of Turkey; and the Cham, or Prince, of Samarcand, the capital of Usbeck Tartary, being about to lay ſiege to Bochar, Captain JENKINSON was obliged to haſten his departure from that city, and return the ſame way he came, to the coaſts of the Caſpian ſea. He ſet forward on the 8th of March, 1558-9, with a caravan of ſix hundred camels; having in his company ſeveral Ambaſſadors from the Tartar Princes to the Emperor of Ruſſia, and arrived at the Caſpian ſea the 23d of April; where they found the bark they came in plundered of all her tackling, which took them up ſome time to furniſh themſelves *with again.* They arrived, however, at Aſtracan the 28th of May following; where waiting ſometime for a convoy, and rowing all the way againſt the ſtream up the river Wolga, it was the ſecond of September, 1559, before he returned to Moſcow again.

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As to the ſhipping of Ruſſia, it was very inconſiderable till the reign of the late Czar PETER. This Prince having opened a paſſage into the Black ſea, by the taking of Aſoph, about the year 1695, apprehended it would be of mighty advantage to him to eſtabliſh a royal fleet on that ſide, with which he might be able to force a trade with Turkey, and even penetrate through the Boſpho-

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rus and Helleſpont into the Mediterranean ſea, if the Grand Seignior ſhould refuſe him paſſage. Accordingly he immediately ſent to Holland for builders and artificers to inſtruct his people in building ſhips; and to Italy, and to Venice for workmen to build his gallies; and having provided all materials, directed a fleet of forty men of war, ten ſtore ſhips and bomb veſſels, twenty whole gallies and thirty half gallies, with other veſſels, to be prepared and equipped for ſea ſervice, within the ſpace of three years: ſeveral of the principal nobility, whoſe wealth conſiſts in the number of their ſlaves, as well as the revenues of their lands, being obliged each of them to build a man of war at their own charge: nor were the inferior gentlemen, tradeſmen, merchants, or even the religious in the monaſteries, exempted from contributing to the charge of building this navy. The Czar ſoon after declared his intentions to travel while this fleet was equipping, ordering many of the young nobility to attend him, or to travel into different countries, in order to improve themſelves in ſhip-building, navigation, and other arts and ſciences. I ſhall not here trouble the reader with a diary of the Czar's journey; but obſerve, that the Dutch knowing his Majeſty's paſſion to be inſtructed in maritime affairs, had repreſented to him, by their agents at Moſcow, that no people were ſo well verſed in theſe, as well as other arts and ſciences, as the good people of Holland: that their navy was more numerous and powerful, and their ſhips better built, than thoſe of any other nation in Chriſtendom; and accordingly his Majeſty being thus prepoſſeſſed with an opinion of the Dutch, bent his courſe firſt towards that polite people. As his Majeſty drew near the United Provinces, a deputation was ſent from the States General to attend the embaſſy, (for the Czar travelled incognito, as a private gentleman, in the train of his Ambaſſadors.) They made the Ambaſſadors large preſents, and declared that their High Mightineſſes had given orders for defraying their charges while they remained in their dominions. The magiſtrates met them in their formalities, and the garriſons were under arms at every town they paſſed through, the guns ſaluting them from the ramparts. When they approached the city of Amſterdam, the moſt conſiderable burghers, with a numerous train of young fellows, in their gayeſt equipages, went out to meet them, and the women crowded the windows and balconies as they paſſed. The night concluding with a magnificent fire-work upon the water, before the houſe provided for the Ambaſſadors. But the Czar, who propoſed to himſelf chiefly the making himſelf maſter of the art of ſhip-building, having learned enough of the Dutch language to make himſelf underſtood, while he was at Moſcow, took a little houſe near the Eaſt-India ſhip-yard, where he lived ſome months, with two or three of his noblemen and fellow labourers, where he worked part of the day with the axe among the ſhip-builders, diſguiſed in the habit of a Dutch skipper, and at other times diverted himſelf with ſailing and rowing upon the water, or receiving viſits from ſome of the principal burghers, who ſhewed him all their fine collections of art or nature, that he might retain the ſame great opinion of their country their factors had inſtilled into him at Moſcow; nor did he refuſe to make a private viſit ſometimes, and would be very free and merry in a ſelect company which he approved of: but having had an opportunity here of ſeeing ſeveral Engliſh ſhips, and admiring their beauty and proportion, at a private interview with King WILLIAM, he determined to ſee England, and had a houſe provided for him in York-buildings, by the Thames ſide; but ſhip-building being his principal buſineſs, he ſoon removed to Mr. EVELYN's houſe at Deptford, where a backdoor opened into the King's yard; and the Engliſh builders ſhewed him their draughts, and the method of laying down by proportion any ſhip or veſſel of what bulk ſoever, with the rules for moulding and building a ſhip according to it; with which he was extremely delighted, and ſaw practiſed both in the merchants and King's yards; which made him wiſh he had ſpent leſs time in Holland, where their method is not ſo artificial: he obſerved to his friends, that he ſhould have been a bungler in the art of ſhip-building, if he had not ſeen England; and reſolved to have all his ſhips built after the Engliſh model for the future: and for that end took ſeveral Engliſh builders home with him; the chief of whom was Sir ANTHONY DEAN's ſon, whoſe father was ſeveral times mobbed, and in danger of being pulled to pieces, for inſtructing the French in that art, by the command of the Engliſh court; and what the conſequence may be of letting the Ruſſians into the ſecret, and giving them ſo much aſſiſtance, both from England and Holland, towards eſtabliſhing a royal navy, the wiſeſt man cannot foreſee: if they have made ſo good uſe of their time already, what may we expect in another age? The Czar ſeemed moſt pleaſed with the converſation of the Marquis of Carmarthen while he was here, who complied with him in his humour of ſhip-building, and rowed and ſailed with him upon the water, whenever he was diſpoſed for theſe amuſements; which ſo endeared the Marquis to his Majeſty, that he made him a grant of the ſole importation of tobacco into his dominions, which was formerly prohibited by their Patriarch as a profane weed, unqualifying a man for divine ſervice, who was polluted with the filthy ſmoke proceeding from it. The

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open a communication with thoſe countries by land.

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Czar also acquainted himself with almost every other mechanic art; sometimes he visited the watch-makers, sometimes the smiths and gun-founders, losing no time while he remained in England, which was about three months, and at his departure King WILLIAM presented him with the Royal Transport, then the finest yatch in England, built in the fashion of a frigate, and carrying twenty four guns, contrived by the Marquis of Carmarthen, purely for the King's use in crossing the water, during the war with France.

The Czar the chief ship-carpenter.

When the Czar returned into Muscovy, he made a draught of a man of war of fifty guns with his own hands, set her upon the stocks at Veronese, and caused himself to be declared master-builder. He took upon himself also the title of a sea captain, and gradually rose to that of Vice Admiral, acting suitably to the command he assumed in all engagements, and on other occasions; and by his example prevailed on his nobility to take up with inferior posts in the fleet at first, and advance leisurely from one employment to another; that when they arrived at a considerable post they might not be ignorant of their duty. But I shall defer the enlarging on the royal navy till I come to treat of the Russian forces by sea and land, and return to the trade and shipping of the merchants of Russia.

The Russians begin to trade in their own bottoms.

As the Sovereign is the most considerable merchant in Muscovy, his ships at present serve indifferently for men of war and merchant-men; but the Russians have not made any attempts towards a foreign trade in their own bottoms, till very lately. The ships sent to Cadiz a year or two ago with naval stores, perhaps are the only instance of their carrying abroad the product of Muscovy in their own vessels, at least towards the ocean. It is true, they have for near two hundred years past had some vessels on the Caspian sea, with which they traded to Persia and Usbeck Tartary: but as they were very unskilful sailors, that trade has hitherto been but inconsiderable; what it may arrive to now the Russians are masters of the southern and western coasts of the Caspian sea, in the dominions of the King of Persia, as they were before of the northern shores, is another consideration. If they maintain their footing in Gilan and Mazanderan, the richest provinces of Persia, will they not be able to furnish Europe with Persian silks much cheaper than any other nation? And may they not also easily open a communication with India and China, by the way of the Caspian sea; caravans going annually from Usbeck Tartary, (situate on the east side of the Caspian) to both those countries? and as the Muscovites are already the only people who have any shipping on the Caspian sea, and are now so much improved in their navigation, they will find little difficulty in maintaining the dominion of it; and probably compel all countries situate near that sea, to deal with them upon their own terms. And as they have now made their rivers navigable, and cut canals quite through their country, and thereby opened a communication between the Caspian sea and the Baltick, and even with the White sea and the Northern ocean, what can prevent their distributing the rich commodities of Persia and the East Indies to all the nations in Europe? If their government ever think fit to encourage this traffick, must England and Holland be every year at the expence of furnishing out a royal fleet, to oppose their getting out of the Sound? For I am afraid they are already become so powerful at sea, that neither the Swede nor Dane, and perhaps their united forces, can scarce hinder their passage into the ocean that way; and though the Sound were blocked up they have still the White sea open: and I am apt to think we shall hardly ever venture the royal navy of England within the polar circle to meet with them. In short, the English and Dutch have so long furnished the Russians with ship-builders, instructed them in the arts of war, navigation, and other sciences, and rendred them so expert and formidable, that nothing can prevent their engrossing most of the trade of the world but their own mismanagements; especially if we consider how easy it is for them to open a communication again with the Black sea, by the means of their rivers which fall into it, which puts the trade of Turkey and the Mediterranean into their hands; especially if they should have a navy of superior force to the Turks, to the Euxine, which may be no difficult matter, the Turks declining as the Russians improve in shipping and navigation. But let us consider farther, the product and manufactures of Russia, without which it will be found very difficult for other nations, particularly the maritime powers, to subsist. It is from hence chiefly we furnish ourselves with pitch, tar, hemp, planks, and fir timber for masts of ships, &c. And since a communication has been opened between the Wolga and the Baltick, by means of new canals, it is said, they will be able to furnish the Dutch, and other nations, with corn cheaper than they can have it at Dantzick, Koningsburg, or any other port in the Baltick; and the Dutch alone do not load less than a thousand ships in the Baltick with corn every year. Add to this, that the Russians having oak timber, and all other naval stores of their own growth, need not be obliged to any other nation for them; and, consequently, can fit out ships on much easier terms than their neighbours. But to proceed, Russia also affords pot-ashes, Russia leather, furs, linen, iron, copper, seal-skins, train oil, rosin, caviere, tallow, wax, isinglass of two

Advantages of Russia in point of trade.

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two ſorts, one ſort uſed in the windows of ſhips, and the other in making glue.

As to their manufactures they have lately ſet up, of ſilk, woollen, and linen, I have already obſerved, that the two former do not yet turn to any great account: woollen cloth they are ſupplied with from Pruſſia at preſent, which they uſed to have from England. The King of Pruſſia has of late years much improved that manufacture, by inviting foreigners into his dominions; and though it is acknowledged to be much inferior in goodneſs to the Engliſh cloth, the Ruſſians, for reaſons beſt known to themſelves, chooſe to deal with Pruſſia rather than with England. As to the linen manufacture, they have ſufficient for their own uſe, and export great quantities of coarſe linen for towels, called Ruſſia diaper: and as they have plenty of good flax, will probably, in time, bring that manufacture to as great perfection as their neighbours. They make their own gunpowder, out of the brimſtone and ſalt-petre the country produces, and may probably tranſport great quantities of it in time; there being abundantly more than ſufficient for their own uſes: and as labour is very cheap, and they have plenty of iron and ſteel, it is ſuppoſed they may be in a capacity ſhortly to furniſh foreigners with fire arms, as hath been obſerved already. Theſe are ſome of the many advantages Ruſſia hath of her neighbours, in point of trade. I ſhall next enquire into the diſadvantages this people lye under in that reſpect. And firſt, the government monopolize the principal commodities of the growth of the country, buying up large quantities of them, and then ſetting an extravagant value upon them, prohibit the ſubject to ſell any of the ſame kind of goods to foreigners, till the Czarina's are diſpoſed of. Again, when any foreign merchants arrive, the government will not ſuffer a ſubject to purchaſe them, until the Czarina is firſt ſerved; whereby foreigners are ſometimes compelled to part with their effects at ſuch prices as the officers of the Crown are pleaſed to ſet upon them. The taxgatherers are empowered to enter the houſes of the natives, to ſearch for goods, and arbitrarily to aſſeſs and levy the duties laid upon them in all inland places, whereby the people are immenſurably grieved. Add to this the oppreſſion of their Governors, and their petty officers, and they have but ſmall encouragement to apply themſelves to any manufactures. If they have by their induſtry or ingenuity gained any thing, it is all at the mercy of their Governors; for which reaſon every one affects to be thought poor, leſt he ſhould be haraſſed and plagued till he is obliged to part with what he hath.

The common people therefore may be found loitering away their time, in moſt of the villages of Ruſſia, ſeldom endeavouring to provide more than will juſt keep them from ſtarving, which does not require much pains in that plentiful country. If they do get any money, they bury it, as their Lords did lately, leſt the Czar ſhould ſeize on it: but of late, it is ſaid, the Grandees have found the advantage of lodging their money in foreign banks; but neither in the one caſe nor the other, does the money circulate as it ought to do in every trading country. Another great diſcouragement to all ingenuity and induſtry is, that if a man be found to excel in any art, or to be a better workman than his neighbours, he is perpetually employed by his ſuperiors, whoſe ſlave he is, allowing him nothing for his labour; whereby his family are reduced to a ſtarving condition, if they cannot provide for themſelves; and while the Ruſſian government thus continues to tyrannize over the ſubjects, and gives them no greater ſecurity in their properties, perhaps we ſhall be in no great danger of their rivalling us in point of trade: but ſhould it ever enter into the heart of the Ruſſian Emperors to enfranchiſe their people, and ſecure to them the products of their induſtry, which the late Czar was about to do, no nation in Europe, probably, would make a greater figure.

Trade of England with Ruſſia.

As to the trade of England with Ruſſia, it was once exceeding advantageous to us, when we exported cloth, and other woollen manufactures thither; but ſince they have their cloth from other markets, and we purchaſe the product of Ruſſia chiefly with treaſure, the exchange muſt of conſequence be againſt us. We might, it is ſaid, with good management, receive our naval ſtores from our American plantations: but notwithſtanding the acts which have paſſed for the encouragement of that trade, I do not find any greater progreſs made in it yet; but we ſeem ſtill under a neceſſity of fetching our fir timber, planks, and other naval ſtores from Ruſſia; how much ſoever it might be to our advantage, and whatever other branches from trade may be in a flouriſhing condition at preſent, it does not require any great cunning to ſee that this is not.

Coins.

I ſhall here add a word or two in relation to the ſtate of the Ruſſian coins, and, it ſeems, ſix and twenty years ago they had no other ſilver coin then copecks, or pence, half copecks, and quarter copecks; and theſe were of full weight, and proportionable to the pureſt coins of other countries. But the Czar, after the loſs of the battle of Narva, with all his artillery and baggage, in the year 1700, finding ſome difficulty in raiſing a ſupply for the enſuing campaign, came to a reſolution of calling in the old money, and melting it down, and delivering out new copecks and half copecks in their room, not more than three fifths of the weight of the former:

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and an allay has been ſince ordered to be mixed with the ſilver, which renders them ſtill worſe. But it being obſerved that the people hoarded up the old money, and were backward in bringing it to the mint, ten per cent. profit was offered in new money, to all that would bring in their old coin. And large money was ordered to be coined, as rubles, half rubles, quarter rubles, and ten, five, and three copeck pieces. The ruble was before but an imaginary coin, amounting to an hundred copecks; but now a dollar, which was but the value of fifty-five copecks, or pence, being recoined, and a little allay added to it, was made to paſs for a ruble, or an hundred pence; and at the ſame time the Czar would be paid for all the produce of his country in ſpecie-dollars. This brought a conſiderable ſum of money into the Czar's treaſury at firſt, and ſerved the preſent turn; but the exchange, on which trade depends, ſoon fell to between thirty and forty per cent. and the price of every thing, eſpecially what was purchaſed in foreign countries, advanced proportionably. Even the Czar himſelf was ſoon after a ſufferer by his debaſing the coin; the clothing his army, and all other foreign commodities which Ruſſia wanted, were held at extravagant prices; forty-five per cent. was given for the return of money into the Swediſh Pomerania, where his army lay: and equal to this was found the difference of exchange between his own country, England, and Holland; as he experienced in the men of war he purchaſed there. For whatever value a Prince may ſet upon the baſe coin of his own country, foreigners will take it for no more than its intrinſick worth, unleſs compelled to it, as the foreign merchants ſometimes were in his own ports. Another grievance our merchants juſtly complained of, was, that after they had commiſſioned their factors to buy up any commodity in the country, new duties were frequently laid upon them, which occaſioned their being held up at ſuch extravagant rates that they were loſers by importing them. Theſe are very great diſcouragements to trade; and was not the merchandize we bring from Ruſſia abſolutely neceſſary, towards the building and rigging out our fleets, we ought certainly to diſcontinue it. But ſhould a Prince ever ſit upon the throne of Ruſſia, well acquainted with the true intereſt of his people as well as his own, and make proper improvements of the variety of uſeful materials which that empire produces in the greateſt plenty, their trade would flouriſh, and riches flow in upon them, proportionably to the vaſt extent of their country: and as power is a conſtant attendant on wealth, the Emperor of Ruſſia would probably become the moſt potent Monarch in Europe. Which brings me in the next place to conſider the prerogatives of the Prince, the conſtitution of the government, and the forces and revenues of this mighty empire.

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Treats of the arms of Ruſſia, the imperial ſtyle, the prerogatives of the Prince, the conſtitution of the government, degrees of nobility, and the forces and revenues of the empire.

The arms of Ruſſia.

THE arms of Ruſſia are, or, an eagle diſplayed ſable, bearing on its breaſt a ſhield gules, charged with a cavalier argent, (St. GEORGE, or St. MICHAEL) fighting with a dragon; and over the heads of the eagle are three crowns, viz. thoſe of Moſco, Caſan, and Aſtracan. As to the titles of theſe Princes, we ſcarce find two of them aſſuming exactly the ſame: JOHN BASILOWITZ, in his letter to King EDWARD VI. of England, ſtyles himſelf, 'Great Lord and Emperor of all Ruſſia, Great Duke of Wolodimer, Moſco, and Novogorod, King of Caſan, King of Aſtracan, Lord of Pleskow, Great Duke of Smolensko, Tweria, Inghoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, &c. Lord and Great Duke of Novogorod in the Low Country; of Ceringo, Rezan, Polotskoi, Roſtow, Jariſlaw, Bielezero, Liefland, Oudoria, and Condenſa; Commander of Siberia and the north parts, and Lord of divers other countries.' ISBRANT IDES, in his dedication of his travels to the late Czar PETER, ſtyles him 'Emperor of the whole (Great, Little, and White) Ruſſia:' and, beſides the provinces above enumerated, 'Czar of Daour and Samoieda, Commander and Lord of the Iverſhian countries; the Kartalinſchian, Gruſinſchian, and Kaberdinſchian dominions, of Circaſſia and Georgia, and many other countries, eaſt, weſt, and north; the inheritance of his anceſtors.

Imperial ſtyle.

But notwithſtanding the Czars of Muſcovy have heretofore been ſtyled Emperors by the Engliſh, viz. in the reign of EDWARD VI. as appears by a letter from King PHILIP and Queen MARY to JOHN BASILOWITZ; and in the reign of CHARLES II. by a memorial preſented to the Ruſſian court by the Earl of Carliſle: and perhaps by the Dutch, on account of the advantages they received by the Ruſſian trade: yet, it ſeems, the Ruſſian Princes were not generally acknowledged Emperors by the other powers of Europe, till the laſt Czar PETER ALEXOWITZ laboured the point, and procured that honour for himſelf and his deſcendants. And what after all are we to underſtand by this title of Emperor which is not included in that of King? The Romans firſt gave the title Imperator to the commanders of their armies, and afterwards appropriated it to the Sovereigns of that empire.

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And the Emperor of Germany, as ſucceſſor to the Cæſars, has long enjoyed that title. But no Princes in Europe beſides, unleſs the Czars of Muſcovy, have aſpired to this honour. Their neighbours however, have thought fit to gratify them in it; though ſome think that no Prince ought to enjoy the title of Emperor, but one who is King of Kings, or Patſhaw, as the eaſtern nations term it, one who hath ſovereign Princes within the bounds of his empire, who have ſome dependance on him, as the Emperor of Germany hath. But ſo complaiſant, or profuſe, of this honour are our modern writers and travellers, that they give this title of Emperor to almoſt every infidel Prince, whether he aſſumes it himſelf or not: as to the Sovereigns of China, India, Turkey, and Morocco, which might, for any thing I can ſee to the contrary, be as juſtly applied to any ſovereign Prince in Chriſtendom. We ſtyle the Crown of England an imperial crown, becauſe it is independent, and hath no ſuperior: and it was not long ſince under debate, it is ſaid, whether our Princes ought not to aſſume the imperial ſtyle in their acts of ſtate: but as this would have given us the precedency of France and Spain we could never have expected they would have acquieſced in it, unleſs we had returned the compliment, and ſo made as many Emperors as there are Kings in Europe; and poſſibly, as Kings have multiplied in the laſt age, they may grow up into Emperors in the next, if their ambition for a feather be as predominant as that of ſome of their predeceſſors.

The late Czar, however, was ſo weary of the tedious recital of his other titles, in all petitions and acts of ſtate, that he ordered only the following words ſhould be uſed in ſuch inſtruments, viz. Voffeas Milleſtia Viſhia Sudaria, i. e. To his moſt highly gracious Majeſty; and that inſtead of the petitioner's ſtyling himſelf golup, or ſlave, he ſhould write himſelf ſubject for the future.

The antient and preſent Ruſſian government.

The antient Ruſſes, as well as the Turks, I take to be of Scythian or Tartarian extraction. It is agreed by all that they were a wandering people, like the Scythian Nomades, or the preſent Tartars, their ſucceſſors; without any fixed habitation, but rambling from place to place, for the convenience of paſture and forage for their flocks and herds. And it is ſaid that the very name of Ruſſia imports a wanderer. Ruſſia Rubra, now a province of Poland, is ſuppoſed to have received its name from them. Volhinia, another province of that kingdom, was alſo poſſeſſed by the Ruſſes: Kiow, the capital of Volhinia, being the firſt city where they fixed the ſeat of their monarchy. Their Sovereign WOLODIMER, having extended his conqueſts very far to the eaſtward, laid the foundation of the city which goes by his name, about the year of our Lord 1000, and removed the ſeat of the empire thither; and marrying the daughter of the Emperor BASILIUS PORPHYROGENESTA, introduced Chriſtianity among his people. Many more of the Tartar hords left their rambling life about the ſame time the Ruſſes did, and fixed themſelves in that country at this day denominated Ruſſia, or Muſcovy; their reſpective leaders aſſuming the power of ſovereign Princes, which it is not improbable they exerciſed in their wandering ſtate. Among theſe were the Dukes of Moſco, Novogorod, Smolensko, Roſtow, Rezan, &c. But the Ruſſians being the moſt potent hord, in time made moſt of their neighbours ſubmit to them. The Tartars of Caſan, Aſtracan, &c. apprehenſive of the growing power of the Ruſſes, made head againſt them, and anno 1237, after a war of ſome continuance, obliged the Ruſſes to pay them tribute for near two hundred years; though many brave attempts were made by the Ruſſians to ſhake off their yoke. DANIEL, or DANIELOU, ſirnamed CALETTA, who reigned in the thirteenth century, removed the ſeat of the monarchy to Moſcow, and it is ſaid, firſt took upon himſelf the title of Great Duke: but whether the Moſchi, a people mentioned by antient writers among the Scythian Nomades, gave name to this city and province, or whether the river Moſcowa, on which the town is ſituated, communicated its name both to the people and country, is not eaſy to determine at this day; neither doth it ſeem very material. JOHN BASILOWITZ, or VASILIWICH GROTZDIN, was the firſt who united the ſeveral dukedoms and principalities, tributary to the Ruſſians, under his dominion, which were before ſubject to their reſpective Princes, and governed according to their ſeveral cuſtoms. This Prince, it is computed, began his reign anno 1450: he ſhook off the Tartar yoke, and expelled them from the caſtle of Moſcow, where they had till then a garriſon, and added the dukedoms of Novogorod and Twere to his dominions, as his ſon did thoſe of Pleſcow and Smolensko; but JOHN, or IVAN, BASILOWITZ, his grandſon, who began his reign anno 1540, made the greateſt addition to the Ruſſian empire; for he conquered the kingdoms of Caſan and Aſtracan, and was firſt acknowledged Sovereign of that vaſt country of Siberia, from whence the Ruſſians have their furs. It was in this Prince's reign alſo that the Engliſh diſcovered the port of St. Nicholas, or Archangel, and eſtabliſhed a trade with Ruſſia, which till then had never been viſited by the ſhipping of any nation whatever. The Coſſacks, or Czercaſſes, who inhabit Ukrania, ſituate between the rivers Don and Nieper, ſubmitted to the Czar ALEXIS MICHAELWITZ, father of the late Czar

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Czar PETER. The Calmucks, the Circaſſian, and Georgian Princes, have many of them alſo ſubmitted to the Ruſſians; and the great conqueſts the late Czar made in Livonia and Sweden have been already mentioned. Thus much ſeemed proper to obſerve, concerning the original and growth of his vaſt monarchy, the better to underſtand the antient and preſent conſtitution of it.

Muſcovy then is compoſed of many large provinces, formerly independent kingdoms and principalities, in moſt of which the feudal tenures prevailed: the reſpective Princes reſerving firſt lands ſufficient to maintain their houſholds, which are called their demeſn lands, parcelled out the reſt among their officers and followers, on condition of bringing into the field a certain number of horſe, proportionable to the lands they held, (for few nations fought on foot antiently.) And with the lands and villages, the natives inhabiting them alſo were made over, and became the inheritance of the perſon to whom they were conveyed; deſcending with their iſſue as the lands deſcended, which in England was called villainage But the crown of Muſcovy ſtill reſerved a power over theſe villains paramount to that of their immediate Lords, of employing them in any ſervices the neceſſity of the ſtate might require, or of taxing them for the ſupplying their forces either with money, or proviſions in kind, in ſuch proportion as the Prince ſhould direct. The Sovereign alſo reſerved a right of reſuming any grant, and transferring the eſtate to another: but otherwiſe the lands deſcended to the iſſue male of the perſon to whom they were granted. When the Ruſſian Princes, by alliances, treaties, or pure force happened to add any neighbouring principalities to their dominions, they ſuffered them at firſt to be governed by their own laws, and their own Princes, paying only certain taxes, and raiſing forces, when required, proportionable to the exigencies of the ſtate: but theſe ſubjected powers regretting the loſs of their ſovereignty, and uneaſy at finding themſelves under a foreign yoke, probably projected the throwing it off: however, this we are pretty well aſſured of, that the Ruſſian Sovereigns charged them with it, and under pretence of plots and conſpiracies of the vaſſal Princes to re-inſtate themſelves in their antient dominions, cauſed moſt of the tributary Sovereigns, with their families, to be maſſacred; making their territories provinces of the Ruſſian empire. Theſe were the practices of the Emperor JOHN BASILOWITZ GROTZDIN, who began his reign anno 1450, and of JOHN BASILOWITZ his grand-ſon, who reigned from the year 1540, to the year 1584, from which cruel and arbitrary proceedings, the latter obtained the title of the tyrant; and the conquered royalets and their nobillty have ſince been looked upon and treated as ſlaves by the Czar, as the commonalty were before, and are yet by the nobility. This is the conſtitution of Ruſſia, and pretty near this, was the condition of any other northern nations originally, particularly of the Saxons, who are derived from the Scythians as well as the Ruſſians; only their Generals and officers, who held their lands by knights ſervice or eſcuage, that is to ſay, on condition of finding a certain number of horſe, or performing ſome other ſervices to the Sovereign were freemen; the commonalty were generally ſlaves, even thoſe who held their lands by ſoccage tenure, and are called freeholders at preſent, were obliged to plough and manure their Lords lands, and do other baſe ſervices at firſt. Their ſtate was very little better than that of villains: and yet, this is the happy conſtitution ſome would reduce us to again. This nation, of all others, ought never to look too far backwards! who is ſo little acquainted with the antient conſtitution, as not to know the property of all the lands in Britain was originally in the Sovereign; and that there are no lands, even at this day, but hold mediately or immediately of the crown? which ſhews the intereſt the crown once had in them. But the wars of the Barons with their Princes had this great good effect; that both ſides, in order to gain the commonalty to engage the more heartily in their quarrel, enfranchiſed many of their tenants, accepting of a part of the profits of their lands, or a certain rent in lieu of other ſervices. The Sovereign alſo condeſcended not to lay any burthens or taxes on the commonalty without their conſent; and thus we became freemen and freeholders. But this I believe no man in his wits will affirm was our original conſtitution, or the conſtitution of any other nation antiently. But as we have the grants of ſo many of our Princes eſtabliſhing the ſubjects of this kingdom in their liberties and properties, and theſe confirmed by many acts of parliament, let us rejoice in our happineſs, and be upon our guard, leſt we fall again under Saxon or Ruſſian tyranny. But to return from this digreſſion; the monarchy of Ruſſia is hereditary, though it hath had frequent interruptions from the rebellion of the ſubject. The influence of foreign Princes, or the appointment of the reigning Prince for the Sovereign on the throne, hath frequently taken the liberty of paſſing by the next in ſucceſſion, and naming a more remote relation of the Royal family to ſucceed him when he ſaw fit; but till of late, the ſalique law hath taken place in Ruſſia, and all females been excluded from the crown. This the late Czar PETER altered in favour of the late Czarina, who was the firſt female Empreſs that ever ſat on the throne of Ruſſia. The adminiſtration indeed has been ſometimes

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times in the hands of a woman formerly, as it was during the minority of the late Czar and his brother, when the Princeſs SOPHIA their ſiſter took the reins of government into her hands, and was very near uſurping the throne herſelf, as ſome have ſuggeſted, to the excluſion of Czar PETER. But to ſhew how their Princes have ſucceeded, I ſhall give a ſhort abſtract of their ſucceſſion from WOLODIMER.

WOLODIMER I. To WOLODIMER, who died Anno 1015, ſucceeded WOLODIMER II. his ſon, by ſome called JARISLAW, having built the city of that name; and died anno 1146, being ſucceeded by WOLODIMER III. his ſon: after whom reigned VITZEVOLDUS, the ſon of the laſt WOLODIMER; and after him GEORGE, who was murdered by BATTUS, a Tartarian Prince, in the year 1237; by whoſe intereſt, JARISLAW, the brother of GEORGE was advanced to the throne, on condition of becoming tributary to the Tartars. To JARISLAW ſucceeded ALEXANDER his ſon; and to ALEXANDER, DANIEL; who removed the imperial ſeat to Moſcow. IVAN, or JOHN his ſon ſucceeded him; and after him another JOHN, the ſon of the laſt; to whom ſucceeded DEMETRIUS IVANOWITZ, who obtained ſeveral victories over the Tartars, but loſt his life in a battle with them. After DEMETRIUS reigned, BASIL DEMETRIWITZ, who drove the Tartars out of Ruſſia, and made a conqueſt of Bulgar; but being influenced by his wife, paſſed by his ſon, and left the crown to his brother GEORGE; who at his death appointed his diſinherited nephew, JOHN BASILIWITZ GROTZDIN to ſucceed him, who began his reign, as is computed, about the year 1450. This Prince firſt took upon him the title of Emperor, and united the tributary dukedoms under one head; he diſinherited his eldeſt ſon, and appointed BASIL IVANOWITZ, his ſon by a ſecond wife, his ſucceſſor; he began his reign anno 1492, and was ſucceeded by his ſon JOHN BASILOWITZ the tyrant, anno 1540, who was ſucceeded by FEODOR, or THEODORE his ſon, who marrying the ſiſter of BORIS FEODORWITZ GADINOW, his brother-in-law, BORIS murder'd both him and his brother DEMETRIUS, and uſurped the throne. He had reigned but a very little while before a certain monk, named GRISKA UTROPIA, perſonated the murdered DEMETRIUS, and being ſupported by the Poles, made himſelf maſter of ſome conſiderable places in Muſcovy; whereupon the uſurper, BORIS, died of grief, it is ſaid; and notwithſtanding the nobility proclaimed the uſurper's ſon, FEODOR BORISIWITZ, the pretended DEMETRIUS entred Moſcow in triumph within two months afterwards, and was crowned Emperor, having ſtrangled the young FEODOR and his mother; but the Pretender having married the daughter of a Poliſh Palatine, and promiſed to introduce the Roman Catholick religion, and to prefer the Poles who had aſſiſted him, gave ſuch a general diſguſt to the Ruſſians, that within a year after his coronation, while he was ſolemnizing his wedding with the Poliſh Princeſs, the Ruſſians fell upon his guards, and having made their way to his apartment in the caſtle, murdered him; and ZUSKI, one of the conſpirators, and allied to the former Royal family, mounted the throne. But there aroſe ſtill another counterfeit DEMETRIUS, who being aſſiſted by the Poles, depoſed ZUSKI, ſhaved his head, and thruſt him into a monaſtery. The impoſtor however being diſcovered, the Ruſſian nobility, who were under the power of the Poliſh army, conſented that ULADISLAUS, ſon of the King of Poland, ſhould be their Sovereign. They continued but a very little while of this mind, entring into a conſpiracy to drive the Poles out of the kingdom; of which the Poliſh General having ſome intimation, ſet fire to the city of Moſcow, and fell upon the Muſcovites before they were prepared to receive them; and it is ſaid, that no leſs than two hundred thouſand Ruſſians periſhed in the flames, or by the ſword, and almoſt the whole city was laid in aſhes. The Poliſh General afterwards came to a treaty with the Ruſſian nobility, and agreed to march out of the country, carrying with him a prodigious treaſure into Poland, which the army had plundered the Ruſſians of, during the fire at Moſcow. Soon after, MICHAEL FEODORWITZ, deſcended from the Emperor JOHN BASILOWITZ, and ſon of the then Patriarch, was unanimouſly recognized by the Ruſſians for their Sovereign, anno 1613, from whom the preſent Royal family of Ruſſia are deſcended. MICHAEL was ſucceeded by his ſon ALEXIS MICHAELOWITZ, anno 1645. after whom the crown deſcended to his ſon FEODOR, or THEODORE ALEXIOWITZ, anno 1675, who dying in the year 1682, without iſſue, left the crown to his two brothers, JOHN by the ſame mother, and PETER his half-brother. Though ſome aſſure us that FEODOR appointed the Czar PETER, his half-brother, only to ſucceed him; being ſenſible of the incapacity of JOHN to govern, but that the Princeſs SOPHIA, of the whole blood to FEODOR and JOHN, by her intrigues, procured JOHN to be declared joint Emperor with PETER, who was then very young. She had an intention alſo, as the Czar PETER afterwards ſuggeſted, to have uſurped the throne herſelf; having corrupted the Strelitzes, or Ruſſian guards, conſiſting of twenty or thirty thouſand men, and drawn them over to her party. The Prime Miniſter, Prince GALLITZIN, was alſo charged by Czar PETER to be in the plot. But however that matter really was, Czar PETER,

DEMETRIUS III.

ULADISLAUS.

MICHAEL.

ALEXIS.

THEODORE II.

JOHN, and PETER the laſt Emperor.

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on pretence that there was a conſpiracy againſt his life, retired to the ſtrong monaſtery, or rather fortreſs of Troitza, about a day's journey from Moſcow: hither he ſummoned the nobility in the year 1689, declaring that he had very narrowly eſcaped the hands of the conſpirators. He ſummoned alſo the guards, or Strelitzes to Troitza, who obeyed his ſummons; and having by the moſt exquiſite tortures made ſome few of them confeſs that there was a plot to have murdered him, his wife, his mother, and all their near relations; and that the Prime Miniſter GALLITZIN, and his ſiſter SOPHIA were in the conſpiracy, the people were ſo wrought upon by this real or pretended horrid plot, that Czar PETER found no difficulty in diſpoſing of thoſe who were not in his intereſt, as he ſaw fit. Accordingly he ſhut up his ſiſter SOPHIA in a monaſtery; and the Prime Miniſter GALLITZIN, a moſt deſerving ſtateſman, who laid the foundation of all the late improvements in Ruſſia, he baniſhed with his family into Siberia. Several of the Strelitzes, who were to have had an hand in the intended aſſaſſination, as was given out, he tortured and put to death; and this he ſeemed under a neceſſity of doing, to keep up the credit of the plot. But ſurely the Prime Miniſter would not have eſcaped with ſo mild a puniſhment as baniſhment, if he had actually been in a conſpiracy to aſſaſſinate the Czar: nor is it eaſy to believe that the Princeſs SOPHIA, the Prime Miniſter, and the whole body of the Strelitzes ſhould have ſurrendered themſelve into the power of the Czar, without ſtriking a ſtroke, if they had been engaged in ſo black a conſpiracy as they were charged with.

But here the reader may reaſonably expect ſome farther account of the life and actions of this Emperor (as great a Prince in many reſpects as ever appeared in the world, by what means ſoever he obtained the empire) a ſummary whereof follows.

An abſtract of the late Czar's life and actions.

The late Czar PETER was ſon of the Czar ALEXIS MICHAELOWITZ, (who died the 8th of February 1676) and of NATOLIA KIRIHOWNA NARISKIN his ſecond wife, who died the fourth of February 1694. He married the Lady OTTOKESA FEDEROWNA, the daughter of Boyar FEODOR ABRAMAWITZ LAPUCHIN, from whom he was ſeparated in 1692, and afterwards took to his embraces the Lady KATHARINA ALEXIOWNA, but did not declare himſelf married to her, until the year 1711, though he had cohabited with her many years before. He had by the firſt venter, the Prince ALEXIS PETROWITZ, born the 18th of February, 1690, who died the ſeventh of July 1718, N. S having been ſolemnly condemned to death by his father, in a great council, conſiſting of the clergy, nobility, and great officers, civil and military; whoſe opinions being demanded by the Czar, unanimouſly declared the Czarowitz guilty of the crimes laid to his charge; the principal whereof were, that he had been in a conſpiracy to depoſe his father, and fled into foreign countries, to avoid the puniſhment he deſerved. But the Prince died a natural death before the ſentence was executed upon him; and it is the opinion of moſt men, that the Czar never intended it ſhould have been executed. The Czarowitz married the Princeſs CHARLOTTE CHRISTIANA SOPHIA, daughter of LEWIS RODOLPHUS, Duke of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttle, and ſiſter of the preſent Empreſs of Germany. She died the firſt of November 1715, leaving iſſue, the Princeſs NATALIA, born the 14th of July, 1714, and the Czarowitz, Prince PETER ALEXOWITZ, born the 23d of October, 1715. The iſſue which the late Czar had by his ſecond Empreſs, the preſent Czarina, are the Princeſs MARY, born the 20th of March, 1713, and married to the Duke of Holſtein the 5th of December, 1724. The Princeſs ANNA MARGARETTA, born the 19th of September, 1714, Prince PETER, born the 8th of November, 1715, whom the late Czar had declared his heir; but he died at Petersburg, the ſixth of May, 1719. Prince PAUL, born at Weſel, Jan. 13th 1717, who died the ſame day; and the Princeſs NATALIA, born the 31ſt of Auguſt, 1718.

The late Czar PETER reigned jointly with his brother JOHN until the year 1696; when the Czar JOHN died, leaving iſſue three Princeſſes whom he had by the Lady PROSCOVIA FEDEROUNA SOLTICOW, his conſort, viz. the Princeſs KATHARINE, married to CHARLES LEOPOLD Duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin the 19th of April 1716. The Princeſs ANNE, married to FREDERICK WILLIAM Duke of Courland, the 13th of November, 1710, who left her a widow the year following; and the Princeſs PROSCOVIA, who yet remains unmarried.

Czar PETER finding the Turks engaged in war with the Emperor of Germany, the Poles, and Venetians, in the year 1695 raiſed an army of eighty or ninety thouſand men, and laid ſiege to Aſoph on the Black ſea; but the Turks throwing freſh ſupplies of men and ammunition into the town from time to time, he was forced to raiſe the ſiege after he had lain four months before the place. Next year, the Czar having recruited his army, and prepared a fleet of ſmall veſſels and gallies, to prevent the Turks throwing relief into the town, as they had done the preceding year, he ſat down before this important place again, and took it, allowing the garriſon no better conditions, than to march out with their arms. And in this ſiege, it is ſaid, the Czar firſt obſerved what vaſt advantage a fleet might be to him in his intended deſigns of enlarging his empire; and ſoon

soon after set out to travel, in order to instruct himself and his subjects in the art of navigation, ship-building, &c. as above related. While he was at Vienna, in his return home from England and Holland in the year 1698, receiving repeated advices of a conspiracy to declare the throne of Russia vacant, on account of his absence, he hastened to Moscow, where he found the rebels had been defeated by general GORDON, a native of Scotland in his service; and having made some examples of the principal rebels, he spent the following year, 1699, in regulating his revenues, reforming abuses in the civil government, and putting trade upon a better footing than it used to be; but was so intent upon nothing, as building a fleet, and new disciplining his army, according to the models he had seen abroad.

In the year 1700 he made a truce with the Grand Seignior for 25 years, and declared war against the King of Sweden; in the beginning of which he was very unfortunate, losing more than half his army, and all his artillery at the battle of Narva. In the year 1702 he gained a victory over the Swedes at Stagnitz in Livonia; which opened a way to the taking of the towns of Wolmar, Marienburg, Dorpt, and Notteburg. In Marienburg it was that he met with his second spouse, the present Czarina, whom he took from an inferior officer of the Swedes, on the day she was married, at the wedding dinner, before her husband had bedded her, as is generally reported in Russia. He took the city of Narva in the year 1704, and in 1705 the Russian army entered Lithuania, under the command of Marshal CZEREMTOFE, in favour of AUGUSTUS King of Poland, their ally; but were defeated near Warsaw, by the Swedish General, Count LEWENHAUPT. The campaigns of 1706 and 1707 also proved disadvantageous to the Czar and his allies. In the year 1709, the King of Sweden having marched into the Ukrain, on an invitation from MAZEPPA, General of the Cossacks, was entirely defeated at Pultowa by the Muscovites; most of his troops being cut to pieces, or made prisoners; the King, with a thousand or fifteen hundred horse only escaping over the Boristhenes to Bender, under the dominion of the Turks. In 1710 the Czar made his triumphant entry into Muscow, and the same year, his troops made themselves masters of Riga, and almost all Livonia. In the year 1711 the Turks broke the truce with the Russians; whereupon the Czar, in hopes of an insurrection in his favour in Moldavia and Wallachia, marched as far as the banks of the Pruth; where being destitute of all provisions, and having lost one half of his army by the sword, famine, or the hardships they suffered, they were surrounded and attacked by the Turks, and must inevitably have perished, or surrendered at discretion, if the late Czarina, who was then in the camp, had not mustered up all the dollars she could borrow of the officers, and made a present of them to the Grand Vizier; whereupon that General was content to let the Czar march off with his army, upon condition of his surrendring Asoph, and all his other fortresses on the Black sea, or near the mouths of the Don and Nieper; whereby all the Czar's projects on that side were defeated. However, having thus escaped the hands of the Turks, he made himself master of the Swedish Pomerania in the year 1713, and in 1714 his fleet, under the command of Admiral APRAXIN, beat that of the Swedes in the gulph of Finland. In the year 1715 he established the academy marine at Petersburg, and in 1716, the Patriarch of Muscovy dying, he caused himself to be declared head of the Church, and protector of their religion, in much the same manner as HENRY VIII. of England did; seizing upon the revenues of several of the monasteries, and converting them to his own use, after that laudable pattern; but deputed the Archbishop of Rezan however to execute some parts of the patriarchal office. In the year 1717 he visited the kingdom of France, and having taken a view of their palaces and publick buildings, and honoured the royal academy of sciences with his presence, expressing his desire to be a member of it, and to keep a correspondence with them; he returned the same year into Russia. The year 1718 was taken up with the trial of the Czarowitz and his adherents, on whom he exercised great severities. In the year 1719 he was preparing to make a descent upon Sweden, when he received advice of the death of CHARLES XII. King of Sweden, and of his being succeeded by the Princess ULRICA ELEONORA his sister, with whom the Czar entred into a treaty at the island of Aland; but the negotiations being broken off, the Czar went on with his intended descent, burning several cities, and ravaging the country in a terrible manner, and destroyed also some of their best copper works. In 1721 a treaty was concluded between Russia and Sweden; by which the Czar was to remain in possession of Livonia, Ingria, part of Carelia, and the district of Wybourg, (but I shall give the exact limits of the dominions of Sweden, when I come to treat of that country.) On the day the peace was proclaimed, the Czar was declared by the Senate, father of his country, and Emperor of all the Russias; which title of Emperor, most of the powers of Europe have indulged him in, and even the English, by way of courtesy, have done it formerly, but I do not find that King GEORGE hath yet gratified the Russian court in this particular. In the years 1722 and 1723, the Czar taking advantage of the civil wars of Persia, made himself master of some of the best provinces

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of that kingdom; particularly of Gilan, Mezanderan, &c. ſituate on the ſouth weſt of the Caſpian ſea; and ſeveral Georgian and Circaſſian Princes in the neighbourhood of Perſia having thrown themſelves under the protection of the Ruſſian empire at the ſame time, they ſeem much better eſtabliſhed in the Perſian dominions than the Turk.

The Ruſſians ſworn to the ſucceſſion.

In the year 1722 the late Czar cauſed the ſenate, the great officers of ſtate, the nobility, &c. to take an oath of fidelity to him, and to ſwear that they would obey whomſoever he ſhould nominate for his ſucceſſor. And in 1724 he cauſed the Empreſs CATHARINA, his Royal Conſort, to be crowned, and the ſtates of the nation, both eccleſiaſtical and civil, to ſwear allegiance to her.

Czarina crowned and declared ſucceſſor to the Czar.

About the latter end of January 1724-5, the Czar found himſelf very ill with a great cold, which was ſoon after attended by a colic and ſtrangury, occaſioned by an abceſs in the neck of the bladder; which turning to a gangrene, he expired on the eighth of February in the moſt violent agonies, aged fifty two years, ſeven months, and ſeven and twenty days. Immediately after his death, the ſenate publiſhed the following declaration, viz.

Czarina proclaimed.

'Be it known unto all men by theſe preſents, 'That it hath pleaſed Almighty GOD, after an 'illneſs of twelve days, to take out of this world, 'the moſt ſerene and moſt potent Prince, PETER 'the Great, Emperor and abſolute Sovereign of 'all the Ruſſias, Father of his country, and our 'moſt gracious Lord, to exalt him to his eter'nal glory. That the order of ſucceſſion of the 'Ruſſian empire hath been regulated by his Im'perial Majeſty of glorious memory, by his de'claration of the 5th of February 1722, which 'hath been publiſhed to the whole nation, and 'confirmed by the oaths of all the eſtates aſſem'bled, that the perſon whom his Imperial Ma'jeſty was pleaſed to appoint, ſhould ſucceed 'him. In purſuance whereof, in the year 1724, 'he commanded his dear conſort, our moſt gra'cious Empreſs and Lady, the Lady CATHA'RINA ALEXIEWNA to be recognized and 'crowned, on accouut of the innumerable, great, 'and important ſervices ſhe had performed for 'the advantage of the Ruſſian Empire, which are 'amply ſet forth in the declaration of the 15th of 'November 1723.

'For which reaſons the ſenate or council of 'regency, the ſacred ſynod, &c. have unani'mouſly ordered, and cauſed to be notified by 'this preſent declaration, that none may pre'tend ignorance thereof; that all perſons, eccle'ſiaſtical, civil, and military, of what eſtate or 'condition ſoever they be, ſhall be faithful and 'obedient to the moſt ſerene and moſt potent 'Empreſs and Lady, the Lady CATHARINE 'ALEXIEWNA, abſolute Sovereign of all the 'Ruſſias.' Soon after, the ſenate, the ſynod, and all the great officers, civil and military, renewed the oath they had taken to the Empreſs at her coronation. Notwithſtanding the meanneſs of her former condition, and that ſhe was by birth a foreigner, the whole Ruſſian nation unanimouſly ſubmitted to her; nor have we heard of any inſurrection or conſpiracy formed againſt her to this day.

The Czarina, as hath been intimated already, was a native of the city of Marienburg in Livonia, and firſt married to a Swediſh lieutenant, (ſome ſay he was but a ſerjeant or corporal) and that the Czar having made himſelf maſter of Marienburg about the year 1702, took her from her husband on the very day of their marriage, before ſhe was bedded, and kept her many years before he declared himſelf contracted to her. This Lady is moderately tall, ſhe hath black hair, and a good complexion, and as much fat, as renders her agreeable. She attended the late Czar on board his fleet, and in the field, and hath ſhewn more courage and conduct than uſually falls to the ſhare of that ſex, and was a means of extricating the Czar out of the greateſt difficulties; particularly when he was ſurrounded by a numerous army of the Turks, on the banks of the Pruth, and there appeared ſcarce any poſſibility of eſcaping; then did ſhe apply herſelf ſo dextrouſly to the weak ſide of the covetous Vizier, that he did not only ſuffer the Ruſſians to march off, but ſupplied their half-ſtarved army with proviſions; inſomuch, that thoſe who were mortal enemies the day before, treated each other the next, as brethren and friends. She is now about forty two years of age, and treads exactly in the ſteps the late Emperor had traced out for her; and probably after her death will tranſmit the crown to his grandſon, the preſent Czarowitz. The regard ſhe already ſhews for that Prince, the apparent heir of the crown, cannot but very much endear the Empreſs to her ſubjects, and ſecure her from any attempts againſt her government. This Prince is now about eleven years of age, and hath a court aſſigned him ſuitable to his rank. However the Czarina might be inclined to paſs him by, in favour of her own daughter, who is married to the Duke of Holſtein, ſhe may probably look upon ſuch a ſtep as impracticable, or at leaſt the ſucceſs too hazardous to attempt.

Nobility of Ruſſia.

As to the nobility of Ruſſia, we hear of no other antiently than their Knez or Knazey, their Boyars, and Vaivodes. The Knez were Dukes or Sovereigns of their reſpective principalities of which the empire of Ruſſia is compoſed, or the poſterity of ſuch Dukes. And when the Duke of Muſcovy united ſeveral of theſe principalities under

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under his dominion, he at firſt gave himſelf the title of Great Duke. The Boyars were the antient nobility in the ſeveral dukedoms or principalities, and the Vaivodes are the Governors of provinces, who have all theſe royalets and noblemen under their juriſdiction, being veſted both with the civil and military power, except in great towns, where juſtice is adminiſtred by a body of the burghers, or principal citizens. The Vaivode is ſeldom continued above three years in that poſt. At preſent the honours of Knez and Boyar are never conferred on any; the late Czar having created Princes, Counts, Margraves, &c. after the manner of Germany; but ſtill both their honours and eſtates deſcend, and are diſtributed equally among their male poſterity, and not according to their ſeniority, unleſs the father advance the fortune of one brother above the reſt. The late Czar, upon obſerving how the great families in England were ſupported by leaving the bulk of the eſtate to the eldeſt ſon, had an intention to have altered the laws of his country accordingly; but his people ſeemed ſo averſe to the project, that he did not inſiſt upon it. This ſplitting the honour among all the children, makes it very cheap, as well here as in Germany; and if their deſcendants are not preferred in the court or the army, as they uſually are, they are reduced often to very ſtrait circumſtances. A gentleman who was lately in Ruſſia, ſays, he hath ſeen a Duke at the plough-tail.

There are ſtill an inferior kind of gentry in Ruſſia, out of whom they conſtitute their diacks, who are clerks, regiſters, or aſſeſſors to the civil Magiſtrate; and are frequently denominated chancellors by our modern travellers. Theſe frequently ſit in their courts of juſtice, and determine cauſes in the abſence of the Governor, whoſe ſubſtitutes they are. The reſt of their gentry, who have no employments at home, uſually ſerve in the army or fleet; and the late Czar obliged thoſe of better quality to learn navigation, and other parts of the mathematicks to qualify them for the ſea-ſervice, engineering, &c. whereby he employed abundance of idle hands, who were ſtarving with honourable titles, and made them ſerviceable to their country.

Councils. The Czarina hath a numerous privy-council, out of whom no more are aſſembled than have a particular ſummons to attend. There are alſo other boards or councils eſtabliſhed for every conſiderable branch of buſineſs. As for the navy, the treaſury, the army, trade, mines, &c. The Senate. ſenate is compoſed of eight or ten of the principal nobility and great officers of ſtate, who preſide over the other boards, and ſeem to have the whole executive power committed to them by the Prince. As to the legiſlative authority, this is ſolely in the Sovereign, who frequently however calls to his aſſiſtance ſome of the dignified clergy and nobility on ſolemn occaſions.

On the trial of the late Czarowitz, the Czar PETER, his father, ſummoned not only the nobility and clergy, but all the general and field officers of the army, and commanders of the fleet, to hear the proceſs, and give their opinions upon the evidence produced againſt that Prince; but I defer ſpeaking of their civil government and adminiſtration to another time; and ſhall proceed next to enquire into the forces and revenues of the Ruſſian Empire; from whence we ſhall be beſt able to judge of the prerogatives, or rather unbounded power of this Monarch. As to the antient way of forming their armies, by obliging the nobility and gentry to bring into the field a certain number of ſoldiers, in proportion to the value of the lands they held of the crown; this is in Muſcovy, as well as other countries, pretty much diſuſed at preſent. They are a militia that few Princes put any confidence in: but in Muſcovy, when the ſtate hath occaſion to raiſe new troops, or recruit the old, the ſenate, or council of regency at Petersburg, iſſue their orders to the Governors of the reſpective provinces, to levy a certain number of men, according to the extent of their juriſdiction; and the Governor accordingly orders every forty or fifty farms to raiſe a man, and ſend him to the rendezvous appointed; whereby they do not raiſe leſs than twenty thouſand men every year, without any charge to the government; and when they have an extraordinary occaſion for men, theſe levies are extended, even to the families of the Ruſſian nobility; who keeping numerous retinues of ſervants, have ſometimes every fourth or fifth ſervant drawn out to ſerve in the Czar's troops; and in much the ſame manner they uſed to raiſe men for the ſea-ſervice. At firſt indeed they took none but watermen off the great rivers; but as their fleet of men of war and gallies is ſo much encreaſed, they fetch them from any of the provinces; nor do they truſt to the Governors to ſend up poor underſized men, but officers are ſent from court to pick out the cleverеſt fellows they can meet with, to put on board the fleet. Forces.

When any fortification or publick building is to be erected, canals dug, or rivers made navigable, the workmen and artificers of the province are only ſummoned in: but as the works of Petersburg and ſome other places required vaſt numbers of hands, labourers were ſummoned in from all parts of the empire thither. They are uſually furniſhed with travelling charges and ſubſiſtence for ſix months; after which they return home, and their places are ſupplied by others. It is not to be conceived what numbers of Ruſſian peaſants and labourers have periſhed in theſe ſervices: in the fortifications of Taganrock on Pioneers, &c.

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the Black ſea only, it is ſaid, more than three hundred thouſand peaſants periſhed by hunger and diſeaſes, contracted by their lying in the fens and marſhes about it. And in the works of Petersburg and Cronſlot, above twice that number were ſwept away. I have ſaid before, an hundred thouſand were deſtroyed there; and though that be an incredible number, I have ſince been aſſured, that there were not leſs than a million of thoſe unfortunate wretches deſtroyed in the works of Petersburg and Cronſlot only.

The government are at very little charges, either in maintaining their armies or workmen. Formerly every farm in the province, where they quartered, was obliged to ſend in a certain quantity of corn or oatmeal; but when the greateſt part of the army advanced to the northern parts of the empire, the peaſants were obliged to ſend in the corn and proviſions required, as far as Petersburg, or wherever the rendezvous of the grand army was; which became a heavier charge on the husbandman, than the tax itſelf; whereupon great complaints ariſing, commiſſaries of the firſt quality were appointed to take care of the delivery of the proviſions, and to aſſeſs the country, to defray the charges of it. But ſo many frauds were committed in the management of this affair, and the peaſants ſo intolerably oppreſſed, that many of them were obliged to run away and abandon the villages; which gave occaſion to a moſt ſevere ſcrutiny into the conduct of the miniſtry during the Czar's abſence, in the year 1715, when the greateſt officers of ſtate underwent the bataogs, publickly whipped, and ſtigmatized like common malefactors, ſome impriſoned, and others baniſhed into Siberia; which did for a time, at leaſt, prevent the oppreſſion of the poor peaſants. But to return to the Ruſſian land forces, the body of ſtrelitzes, or guards, amounting to thirty or forty thouſand men, who were compoſed of the inferior gentry, or deſcended from younger branches of great families, having been concerned in ſome inſurrections againſt the late Czar, he diſperſed them in the frontier garriſons, or ſent them upon the moſt deſperate ſervices in the late war; whereby they were moſt of them cut off, and the reſt are now inrolled among the other troops at leaſt; they have no diſtinguiſhing character, above the other regiments. In the room of theſe the Czar introduced a new body of troops, exerciſed and diſciplined after the modern way, but by ſuch inſenſible degrees, that it was not taken notice of by the ſtrelitzes themſelves, till it was too late to oppoſe it. The Czar raiſed at firſt only a company of fifty men, clothing and exerciſing them after the German manner, by the aſſiſtance of ſome foreign officers he entertained in his ſervice; and to induce others to imitate him, he ſerved in this little company himſelf, firſt as a drummer, then corporal, and afterwards ſerjeant, till he gradually roſe to be captain, appearing at certain times at their head, and exerciſing them himſelf. The Ruſſians imagined that he did this only for his diverſion, and the ſtrelitzes ſeemed delighted with the performance of their exerciſes: whereupon this little body was augmented from time to time, till it grew into a battalion, and afterwards into ſeveral regiments, and became a match for the ſtrelitzes. They are now reckoned to be about ten thouſand men, and go under the denomination of the preobanski guards; beſides which, the Muſcovites have now near an hundred thouſand regular troops, commanded either by officers which have been invited into their ſervice from abroad, or ſuch as have been taken out of this nurſery of the preobanski guards. Theſe forces are kept under the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and all well clothed and armed, the foot are not inferior to thoſe of any nation whatever; their horſe too conſiſt of good bodies of men, but their horſes are ſmall, and they cannot be brought to keep them ſo well as they ought. But there is no power in Europe which maintains ſo great a force with ſo little charge, as may be gathered from what has been obſerved already of the peaſants being obliged to ſupply the army with proviſions, &c.

Foreign troops and diſcipline introduced.

Before the late Czar's time the Ruſſians had no proper officers peculiar to the artillery, and knew but little of carrying on a ſiege; but the late Czar after his return from his travels eſtabliſhed a regular artillery, making it regimental, like thoſe of other nations; having ſeveral of his own ſubjects who ſerved as captains and officers in this artillery, who are pretty good gunners and engineers: but the Ruſſian army, beſides the regular troops, is compoſed of Coſſacks, Calmucks and other Tartars, who have thrown themſelves under the protection of this crown. There are alſo the black regiments, as they are called, a ſort of militia, not much relied on. The Coſſacks, as hath been obſerved already, inhabit the Ukrain, ſituate between the rivers Don and Nieper, above the cataracts of the laſt river, from whence they are called the Zaporowski Coſſacks, za ſignifying above, and porogi a waterfall. They were formerly ſubject to Poland, but not thinking themſelves well uſed, they put themſelves under the protection of the Turks, and afterwards of the Muſcovites; HETMAN, their General, having obtained advantageous conditions for them, as that they ſhould not be ſubject to any duties, or taxes, and be governed by their own laws and magiſtrates; and that no Ruſſians, or foreigners, ſhould be obtruded upon them; and particularly, that they ſhould be at liberty to brew, or make their own liquors without paying any exciſe for beer, brandy, mead, &c. In conſideration whereof, their General

Artillery.

Coſſack troops.

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ueral obliged himſelf to bring ſixty thouſand horſe into the field whenever the Czar required it. But the Ruſſians I find have very much oppreſſed this people by quartering their armies upon them, and the like; inſomuch, that on the death of the late Czar they ſeemed very ready to transfer their allegiance to another power; but the Czarina found means to pacify them, by promiſing a reſtoration of their rights and privileges. The Calmucks alſo are obliged to raiſe a certain number of troops when the government requires them: but commanded by their own officers. They are a ſtout hardy race, and want only diſcipline to render them good ſoldiers. Theſe and the reſt of the Tartar troops uſually compoſed the vanguard of the army, and make miſerable havock wherever they come: it was theſe gentlemen who ravaged Livonia in that dreadful manner during the late war.

Calmucks.

I come now to enquire into the condition of the naval forces of Ruſſia; and as has been intimated already, before the laſt reign they had ſcarce a ſhip of their own, or a man amongſt them that knew any thing of navigation; but the late Czar obſerving how abſolutely neceſſary a fleet was in his wars with Turkey and Sweden; and that other nations uſually made a figure, and encreaſed in wealth in proportion to the number of their ſhipping, he invited mathematicians and artificers from all countries to inſtruct his people in navigation, and the art of ſhip building; travelling alſo himſelf to England and Holland for this end, and obliging the nobility and gentry of Ruſſia to ſend their ſons to all maritime countries in Europe to be inſtructed in marine affairs: inſomuch, that during the firſt war with France, there was not a man of war, it is ſaid, in the Engliſh, or Dutch fleet, but had two or three noble Ruſſians on board; and many more were diſperſed in their ports and ſhipyards to learn the trade of a ſhip carpenter, though none made ſo great proficiency as the Czar himſelf, being deſervedly acknowledged the maſter builder. The firſt fleet he built conſiſted of forty or fifty men of war, beſides a great number of gallies at Veroneſe, which were deſigned for the Black ſea after the taking of Aſoph; and he was at a prodigious expence of men and money in fortifying the harbour of Taganrock, near the mouth of the Don, for their reception; but upon his being obliged to ſurrender Aſoph to the Turks, this fleet became of no ſervice, but lay and rotted in the river. This, however, did not diſcourage the Czar, but having fortified the iſland of Cronſlot in the gulph of Finland, which opened him a communication with the Baltick, he proceeded with unwearied diligence to build another Royal Navy, in which he had ſuch ſucceſs, that he was able to engage the Swediſh fleet, and gave them ſeveral defeats during his reign. And at preſent the Ruſſians can fit out above fifty men of war of the line in the Baltick, beſides frigats, and ſeveral hundreds of gallies; and ſome of their men of war are ninety gun ſhips, as good as can be built, and ſupplied with all manner of neceſſaries: but though there be no want of hands, they are very much at a loſs for ſailors. They may force as many countrymen as they pleaſe into the ſervice, they can never work their ſhips with theſe in an engagement. The ſame misfortune happened to France in the late war; they could build or buy as many, and as fine ſhips as the Engliſh and Dutch, but they could never find mariners to man them. Nor can any nation ever become very formidable at ſea, till they obtain a good foreign trade, which alone can ſupply the government with ſailors in any exigency. There is one way, indeed, of procuring foreign mariners, and that is by advancing their pay conſiderably beyond the pay of other powers; but the Ruſſians have been hitherto ſuch ill pay-maſters, and uſed the foreigners they have invited over ſo very indifferently, that they are not likely to man their fleet this way in haſte: and however, they may be a match for the Dane, or Swede, they will not be able to look the Engliſh, or Dutch, in the face at ſea till they have a better foreign trade.

Naval forces.

From treating of the Ruſſian forces, I proceed to enquire into the revenues of that crown. A late writer who ſpent above twenty years in the court of Muſcovy, obſerves, that notwithſtanding the great expences the Czar was put to in raiſing and maintaining his fleets and armies in the laſt wars, and carrying on ſo many vaſt buildings and fortifications, yet had he contracted no debts, but always found freſh ſupplies in his dominions to ſupport every enterpriſe he went upon. As to the perſonal ſervice of the ſubjects, and the proviſions they are obliged to ſupply both the forces and workmen with, which are engaged in publick buſineſs; theſe were mentioned under the laſt head. I come now to that part of the revenue which conſiſts of ready money, and this is either conſtant or variable: the conſtant revenue ariſes chiefly from the ordinary taxes, which every Ruſſian peaſant is obliged to pay for his houſe and lands as follows:

Revenues of the empire.

	Copecks, or pence.
To the war office	25
To the admiralty	10
For recruits	6
Contribution money for horſes kept for travellers in the ſeveral governments	11
Towards brick-kilns	3
Towards lime-kilns	3
For materials for the fortifications of Petersburg	4
Towards poſt horſes	5
For the ſupport of pricauſes, or offices	1
For extraordinary expences	½
	68 ½

Theſe

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These taxes are still collected in most provinces, according to the number of houses and farms that were found in each village at a visitation made in the year 1679. But in consideration that the number of inhabitants were probably much increased since that time, Commissaries were appointed, in the year 1710, to make a particular survey of the number of houses in each village, with the names of the masters, and their respective families; but this was put in execution only in the governments of Moscow and Kiow, and here the nobility in a great measure rendered the care of the government ineffectual; for the wealth of most part of them consisting in villages and farms, they make it their business to skreen the peasants, as much as possible, from publick taxes; and if the Commissaries are not to be corrupted, which does not often happen, they will even order their peasants houses to be taken to pieces and carried off the ground, which may be done in a few hours, as they consist only of timbers let into each other at the four corners; and though this evasion be very well known, the Senate wink at it, and suffer this tax to be collected according to the estimate made in 1679, except in the two governments above-mentioned, where the abuse is too gross to be passed by.

The country people also are taxed for their bagnios, gardens, bee-hives, ponds, mills, fisheries, and other possessions of the like nature. Their mills pay a fourth part of the clear profits they are supposed to make, which is exacted pretty strictly from the mills which belong to the clergy and common people, but the nobility find means to get themselves eased. The bagnios of the peasants pay fifteen pence per annum each: and as to their gardens, fisheries, &c. the duty bears no proportion to the present value, but they pay according to what they were antiently valued at, whether they are run to decay, or improved.

In the new conquered countries of Livonia, the district of Dorpt pays according to their capitulation 25000 rubles, Riga 60[illegible], Oesel 9000, and Revel 15000. Besides the ordinary taxes abovementioned, the inhabitants of the great towns pay a ground rent to the government for their houses, which are not built on white ground, (or on such lands as were antiently granted to great men and exempted from taxes) at the rate of five copecks a year for every fathom square: and there is also a personal tax laid on all those who exercise trade and handicrafts in proportion to their supposed gains: an ordinary citizen pays a ruble annually for his bagnio: a man of wealth, or a nobleman, three rubles per ann. and this is almost the only duty the nobility pay for their houses, which are free from other taxes.

The clergy are not exempted from taxes: their Bishops are possessed of great estates, and are never spared in levying the publick duties. In the beginning of the late war with Sweden, when the government was reduced to some distress, all the church lands were seized, as well those belonging to the Bishops, as the monasteries, and united to the demesns of the crown; but in the year 1711, the Bishops lands were restored to them again, the government being under some apprehension of an insurrection: however, the court, after the president of France, continue to demand a free gift of the clergy, besides their other taxes, every three or four years. Most of their largest monasteries also procured part of their lands to be restored; but the Czar having laid his hands on the patriarchal lands, entirely suppressed that dignity. The secular clergy, as they are less respected than any persons in Russia, so are they grieved with severer taxes than any other subjects. The minister of the place pays six copecks, or pence, to the government for every house in his parish, though he sometimes raises not so much from them; he pays also a farther tax on account of his being a priest, and another for every child he hath; and as he hath more frequent occasion for the bagnio than a common man, being obliged to bathe after conjugal embraces before he can perform divine service, he pays a ruble, or nine shillings for the bagnio, whereas a farmer pays but fifteen pence. The following state of the fixed revenue is given us by a late writer, viz.

Custom revenue.

Governments.	Towns.	Burgher Houses.	Peasant Houses.	Rubels.
Moscow	39	17301	236672	1149687
Petersburgh	28	8324	132652	408627
Kiow	56	1864	25816	114857
Archangel	20	4302	92298	374276
Riga	17	1771	42555	83039
Asoph	17	958	40700	154933
Siberia	30	3740	36154	222080
Casan	54	2545	20571	344064
Nizegorod	10	3694	78562	259581
	271.	44499.	705980.	3111144.

And notwithstanding Asoph hath been since restored to the Turks, the villages laid to that government are most of them still under the dominion of Russia, and therefore the revenues of them are not to be totally deducted in this account. The reason of the disproportion between the number of towns and the burgher houses in the government of Kiow is, that this government comprehends Ukrania, or the country of the Cossacks, the natives whereof are exempt from taxes, and therefore only the number of Russian houses is mentioned, which are liable to the publick duties. It is much the same in the government of Asoph, where the Don Cossacks inhabiting

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inhabiting the plains near the river Don, are alſo exempted from taxes, as remaining an outguard againſt the Tartars. Riga and Smolensko, with the places belong to them, are but one government; and the reaſon they yield ſo little at preſent is, the devaſtation which was made the laſt war in Livonia, of which Riga is here reckoned the capital. The uncertain or variable revenue is, 1. That which is laid upon the ſubject on ſome extraordinary emergency: as in the year 1711. when the war commenced with the Turks, &c. and theſe are not always alike, but ſuitable to the occaſion. In the year 1716. the following extraordinary duties were laid upon every houſe, whether thoſe of burghers or peaſants, viz.

Variable revenue.

	Copecks, or pence.
For furniſhing Petersburg and Riga with proviſions	57
For ſupplying the admiralty at Revel with materials	24 ¾
Every hundred houſes to furniſh one day labourer, for whoſe charges each houſe was rated at	3
Five hundred houſes to find one carpenter, and pay towards maintaining him.	1
For ſalaries of landraths, or provincial commiſſioners, juſtices, and other civil officers, purſuant to an order of the 28th of January 1715	10
	95 ¼

2. The coinage is another article, which brings in a revenue to the crown. There are two mints at Moſcow; in one of which nothing is coined but copper money, at the rate of two pounds of copper for a ruble; in the other the ſilver ſpecies of all ſizes are coined; and it is computed that both theſe offices yield the Czar about two hundred thouſand rubles per annum.

3. The monopoly of ſtrong liquors brings in a conſiderable revenue to the crown, none are allowed to ſell beer, mead, or ſpirits drawn from corn but the Czar's agents, unleſs in Ukrania, or Livonia; and as no nation is more addicted to drinking than the Ruſſes, this brings in a conſiderable ſum; eſpecially, if it be conſidered that the liquors vended in publick houſes are ſold at twice the price of the prime coſt. As the ſoldiers and labourers receive one half of their pay in proviſions, and the other half in money; it is obſerved, they lay out the latter immediately at the ale-houſe, ſo that great part of the money the government iſſues for the maintenance of the troops, ſoon returns into the treaſury again. The revenue ariſing by ſtrong liquors is uſually computed at a million of rubles per annum.

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4. The government monopolize alſo the trade of tobacco, pot-aſhes, weedaſh, tar, iſinglaſs, ſalt and Siberia goods, under which they include thoſe which come thro' Siberia from China; but what advantages they reap from theſe monopolies is uncertain.

5. All other goods in which the ſubject is permitted to trade, pay duty of import, or export: there is no town in Ruſſia where there is not a tolbooth, at which the merchant enters his goods, but they reckon only five general cuſtom houſes, viz. thoſe of Archangel, Petersburg, Aſtracan, Kiow, and Moſcow.

Cuſtoms.

CHAP. XI.

Treats of the civil government, laws, and puniſhments of the Ruſſians.

BOTH the civil government and the levying the publick taxes, are under the direction of the Governors of the reſpective provinces, as hath been intimated already; except ſuch cauſes as relate to the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, and the civil government of their cities and great towns; the latter of which is at preſent adminiſtred by the principal citizens and townſmen, who are denominated burgher-maſters. Before the regulations made by the late Czar, ſays Mr. PERRY, the lives and fortunes of the people ſeemed to be abſolutely at the diſpoſal of the Governors of the reſpective provinces. They uſed each of them to have a court in the city of Moſcow, where they reſided; conſiſting of a bench of diacks or judges, whoſe buſineſs it was to hear and determine cauſes brought before them from inferior diſtricts, within the juriſdiction of each Governor, to ſign orders, as well relating to the taxes, as the military ſervice, and examine all controverſies relating to them; and to make a report from time to time to their reſpective Lords, of ſuch matters as came before them. The Governor ſeldom gave himſelf the trouble of examining any cauſe himſelf, but determined according to the repreſentation his diacks or ſubſtitutes were pleaſed to make; and from theſe courts antiently there was no appeal. Every Governor alſo had a power of appointing the Governors of the cities and diſtricts within his province; and each of theſe inferior Governors had their diack or judge, with a court in each city, called a precauſe where he ſat to adminiſter juſtice, and to take care of the Czar's revenue. Every man pleaded his own cauſe, without being tied up to any particular form, and the diack was ſole judge of the matter; only in capital caſes, a ſtate of the fact was to be tranſmitted to the Governor of the province at Moſcow, before the offender was executed. The Governor had no ſtated ſalary, but uſually at the entrance on his government,

Civil government.

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The country people also are taxed for their bagnios, gardens, bee-hives, ponds, mills, fisheries, and other possessions of the like nature. Their mills pay a fourth part of the clear profits they are supposed to make, which is exacted pretty strictly from the mills which belong to the clergy and common people, but the nobility find means to get themselves eased. The bagnios of the peasants pay fifteen pence per annum each: and as to their gardens, fisheries, &c. the duty bears no proportion to the present value, but they pay according to what they were antiently valued at, whether they are run to decay, or improved.

In the new conquered countries of Livonia, the district of Dorpt pays according to their capitulation 25000 rubles, Riga 600, Oesel 9000, and Revel 15000. Besides the ordinary taxes above-mentioned, the inhabitants of the great towns pay a ground rent to the government for their houses, which are not built on white ground, (or on such lands as were antiently granted to great men and exempted from taxes) at the rate of five copecks a year for every fathom square: and there is also a personal tax laid on all those who exercise trade and handicrafts in proportion to their supposed gains: an ordinary citizen pays a ruble annually for his bagnio: a man of wealth, or a nobleman, three rubles per ann. and this is almost the only duty the nobility pay for their houses, which are free from other taxes.

The clergy are not exempted from taxes: their Bishops are possessed of great estates, and are never spared in levying the publick duties. In the beginning of the late war with Sweden, when the government was reduced to some distress, all the church lands were seized, as well those belonging to the Bishops, as the monasteries, and united to the demesns of the crown; but in the year 1711, the Bishops lands were restored to them again, the government being under some apprehension of an insurrection: however, the court, after the president of France, continue to demand a free gift of the clergy, besides their other taxes, every three or four years. Most of their largest monasteries also procured part of their lands to be restored; but the Czar having laid his hands on the patriarchal lands, entirely suppressed that dignity. The secular clergy, as they are less respected than any persons in Russia, so are they grieved with severer taxes than any other subjects. The minister of the place pays six copecks, or pence, to the government for every house in his parish, though he sometimes raises not so much from them; he pays also a farther tax on account of his being a priest, and another for every child he hath; and as he hath more frequent occasion for the bagnio than a common man, being obliged to bathe after conjugal embraces before he can perform divine service, he pays a ruble, or nine shillings for the bagnio, whereas a farmer pays but fifteen pence. The following state of the fixed revenue is given us by a late writer, viz.

Custom revenue.

Governments.	Towns.	Burgher Houses.	Peasant Houses.	Rubels.
Moscow	39	17301	236672	1149687
Petersburgh	28	8324	132652	408627
Kiow	56	1864	25816	114857
Archangel	20	4302	92298	374276
Riga	17	1771	42555	83039
Asoph	17	958	40700	154933
Siberia	30	3740	36154	222080
Casan	54	2545	20571	344064
Nizegorod	10	3694	78562	259581
	271.	44499.	705980.	3111144.

And notwithstanding Asoph hath been since restored to the Turks, the villages laid to that government are most of them still under the dominion of Russia, and therefore the revenues of them are not to be totally deducted in this account. The reason of the disproportion between the number of towns and the burgher houses in the government of Kiow is, that this government comprehends Ukrania, or the country of the Cossacks, the natives whereof are exempt from taxes, and therefore only the number of Russian houses is mentioned, which are liable to the publick duties. It is much the same in the government of Asoph, where the Don Cossacks inhabiting

inhabiting the plains near the river Don, are alſo exempted from taxes, as remaining an outguard againſt the Tartars. Riga and Smolensko, with the places belong to them, are but one government; and the reaſon they yield ſo little at preſent is, the devaſtation which was made the laſt war in Livonia, of which Riga is here reckoned the capital. The uncertain or variable revenue is, 1. That which is laid upon the ſubject on ſome extraordinary emergency: as in the year 1711. when the war commenced with the Turks, &c. and theſe are not always alike, but ſuitable to the occaſion. In the year 1716. the following extraordinary duties were laid upon every houſe, whether thoſe of burghers or peaſants, viz.

Variable revenue.

	Copecks, or pence.
For furniſhing Petersburg and Riga with proviſions	57
For ſupplying the admiralty at Revel with materials	24 ¾
Every hundred houſes to furniſh one day labourer, for whoſe charges each houſe was rated at	3
Five hundred houſes to find one carpenter, and pay towards maintaining him.	1
For ſalaries of landraths, or provincial commiſſioners, juſtices, and other civil officers, purſuant to an order of the 28th of January 1715	10
	95 ¾

2. The coinage is another article, which brings in a revenue to the crown. There are two mints at Moſcow; in one of which nothing is coined but copper money, at the rate of two pounds of copper for a ruble; in the other the ſilver ſpecies of all ſizes are coined; and it is computed that both theſe offices yield the Czar about two hundred thouſand rubles per annum.

3. The monopoly of ſtrong liquors brings in a conſiderable revenue to the crown, none are allowed to ſell beer, mead, or ſpirits drawn from corn but the Czar's agents, unleſs in Ukrania, or Livonia; and as no nation is more addicted to drinking than the Ruſſes, this brings in a conſiderable ſum; eſpecially, if it be conſidered that the liquors vended in publick houſes are ſold at twice the price of the prime coſt. As the ſoldiers and labourers receive one half of their pay in proviſions, and the other half in money; it is obſerved, they lay out the latter immediately at the ale-houſe, ſo that great part of the money the government iſſues for the maintenance of the troops, ſoon returns into the treaſury again. The revenue ariſing by ſtrong liquors is uſually computed at a million of rubles per annum.

4. The government monopolize alſo the trade of tobacco, pot-aſhes, weedaſh, tar, iſinglaſs, ſalt and Siberia goods, under which they include thoſe which come thro' Siberia from China; but what advantages they reap from theſe monopolies is uncertain.

5. All other goods in which the ſubject is permitted to trade, pay duty of import, or export: there is no town in Ruſſia where there is not a tolbooth, at which the merchant enters his goods, but they reckon only five general cuſtom houſes, viz. thoſe of Archangel, Petersburg, Aſtracan, Kiow, and Moſcow.

Cuſtoms.

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Treats of the civil government, laws, and puniſhments of the Ruſſians.

BOTH the civil government and the levying the publick taxes, are under the direction of the Governors of the reſpective provinces, as hath been intimated already; except ſuch cauſes as relate to the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, and the civil government of their cities and great towns; the latter of which is at preſent adminiſtred by the principal citizens and townſmen, who are denominated burgher-maſters. Before the regulations made by the late Czar, ſays Mr. PERRY, the lives and fortunes of the people ſeemed to be abſolutely at the diſpoſal of the Governors of the reſpective provinces. They uſed each of them to have a court in the city of Moſcow, where they reſided; conſiſting of a bench of diacks or judges, whoſe buſineſs it was to hear and determine cauſes brought before them from inferior diſtricts, within the juriſdiction of each Governor, to ſign orders, as well relating to the taxes, as the military ſervice, and examine all controverſies relating to them; and to make a report from time to time to their reſpective Lords, of ſuch matters as came before them. The Governor ſeldom gave himſelf the trouble of examining any cauſe himſelf, but determined according to the repreſentation his diacks or ſubſtitutes were pleaſed to make; and from theſe courts antiently there was no appeal. Every Governor alſo had a power of appointing the Governors of the cities and diſtricts within his province; and each of theſe inferior Governors had their diack or judge, with a court in each city, called a precauſe where he ſat to adminiſter juſtice, and to take care of the Czar's revenue. Every man pleaded his own cauſe, without being tied up to any particular form, and the diack was ſole judge of the matter; only in capital caſes, a ſtate of the fact was to be tranſmitted to the Governor of the province at Moſcow, before the offender was executed. The Governor had no ſtated ſalary, but uſually at the entrance on his government,

Civil government.

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vernment, in which he remained three years unleſs removed for ſome notorious miſmanagements, the people preſented him with three or four thouſand rubles, and his diacks or ſubſtitutes alſo had conſiderable preſents made them. But notwithſtanding the Governors had no ſalary, it is obſerved that they uſually grew very rich, during their ſhort adminiſtration; for ſays my author, *Mr. PERRY*, in every cauſe the firſt ſtep is to bribe the Judge; money is known to be taken on both ſides, and he who bribes higheſt uſually carries his point. Another perquiſite belonging to the Governor was, the profits ariſing from the aſſeſſing and collecting the publick taxes, which they uſed to bring up under a guard to their office at Moſcow, where the accounts of their receipts and diſburſements were made up, and ſent into the office of the great treaſury, which ſeldom examined very nicely into their conduct; but this branch of buſineſs has been ſince put into the hands of certain merchants aad burgher-maſters, whom the Czar preſumed would do him more juſtice in his revenue. But the moſt villainous way theſe Governors and their ſubſtitutes had of raiſing money, was the procuring people to be falſly accuſed, or encouraging frivolous petitions againſt them, and then examining them with threats, ordering them to be baſtinadoed or whipped almoſt to death, if they would not buy off the puniſhment with a ſwinging fine: and I do not perceive they are in a much better condition at this day. The late Czar indeed gave permiſſion to any of his ſubjects to petition him directly againſt the oppreſſions and injuſtice of his officers and magiſtrates; but then if the ſuggeſtions in the petition were held groundleſs or frivolous, the petitioner was to ſuffer death; as the judge was on the other ſide, if they were found to be true. But the hazard being ſo very great, there have ſcarce any been found bold enough to petition; they chooſe rather to acquieſce under an unjuſt judgment.

Laws.

As to the laws of Muſcovy, there are no other than their antient cuſtoms, which the late Czar collected into a body; I have not yet met with them, but it ſeems they are of very little uſe to the common people, who are all ſlaves to their reſpective Lords, and can have no properties but what they may be diveſted of, except the merchants and tradeſmen in their cities and great towns, whoſe fortunes however the government can command.

Criminal proſecutions

The puniſhments for criminal offences ſeem to be arbitrary: the Judge or Governor may inflict corporal puniſhments, put the offender to death, or impriſon him as he ſees fit; of which a very late writer hath given us ſome inſtances: he was preſent, he ſays, at the great court at Moſcow, the dernier reſort, where the Vice-Czar ſat in perſon; above two hundred ſuitors or petitioners appeared before him, Ruſſians, Siberians, Aſtracanians, Coſſacks, Calmucks, and Tartars, ſome of them came with complaints, and others to give in their accounts; of whom thirty were diſpatched that morning. The criminals he puniſhed arbitrarily, there being no appeal from his ſentence: his ſevere and rigorous executions had rendered him the terror of the country. Mercy he ſeemed a ſtranger to, and his very ſpeech and looks were enough to make the people tremble. The Czar had a very great regard for him, becauſe he was never moved by any reſpect to perſons, or bribes, in the adminiſtration of juſtice; and he had cauſed ſome thouſands of robbers and murderers to be put to death; which had not however proved a ſufficient remedy for thoſe crimes, our author obſerves; inaſmuch as the Ruſſians ſeem very indifferent as to life or death, and undergo capital puniſhments with an unparallelled indolence. Towards the latter end of his adminiſtration, he at one time hanged up two hundred robbers upon iron hooks by the ribs; the dread of which, ſtruck ſuch a terror into their brethren, that their number ſoon after diminiſhed. The priſons of Moſcow are full of theſe criminals, who ſubſiſt by begging, and ſome of them remain there all their lives. When the country is at any time infeſted by robbers, the Governor uſually orders ſome offenders to be executed for an example; and if their magiſtrates were not very ſevere, it would be impoſſible to live in any tolerable ſafety. The ſame writer relates, that Prince MENZIKOFF, paſſing through a town, was attacked by the inhabitants, who knew him very well: that ſeveral of his retinue were killed, and he very narrowly eſcaped by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe; for which he afterwards cauſed all the inhabitants, guilty or not guilty, promiſcuouſly to be hanged, not ſparing the miniſter of the pariſh; which ſhews, that whatever laws they may have, their grandees act as arbitrarily as if they had none, and the Sovereign deals with them in the very ſame manner as they do by their inferiors.

Puniſhments. Bataogs.

Of their puniſhments Mr. PERRY gives us the following account. The firſt he calls the bataogs; where the offender is laid flat on his face, with his back bare, and his legs and arms extended, while two perſons whip his back with bataogs or ſmall ſticks, of the thickneſs of one's little finger; one of them ſitting on his feet, and the other at his head, who continue to beat him until the perſon who directs the puniſhment bids them hold their hands. The greateſt men, as well as the meaneſt ſlaves, ſuffer this puniſhment, which is ſometimes inflicted with that ſeverity, that the perſon dies under it; and yet the power of inflicting it is lodged in every perſon who hath power over another; as in noblemen, gentlemen, officers,

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officers, masters, &c. who on any real or pretended fault, without any trial, arbitrarily exercise this discipline on those under their power; and the person punished is obliged to own himself in a fault, or be bataoged till he does. He must also fall down before his Lord with his face to the ground, and thank him that he hath been so merciful to inflict no more stripes on him. It is not an uncommon thing for their subjects or inferior judges and magistrates to undergo this punishment, and yet be continued in their post. It is not the custom of Russia to turn their officers out of business for little knavish practices, but to inflict corporal punishment on them, or put them into some inferior employment.

The knout is another kind of punishment, but not inflicted without trial as the last, unless by the command of some great man. The knout is a thick hard thong of leather, about three feet and half in length, fastened to a stick near a yard long; for lesser crimes the offender is taken up on the back of another man, and the hangman gives him as many strokes on the bare back, as the Judge directs; which are laid on with that force, that the blood flies at every stroke; and their executioners are such artists at it, that they will lay them on by the side of each other, from the top of a man's shoulders down to his middle.

When the knout is given for great offences (which punishment is also called the pine) the offender's hands are tied together behind his body, and then he is drawn up by them with a pully; a great weight being at the same time hung at his feet, and being thus hoisted up, his shoulder bones are dislocated, and his arms come right over his head: while he is hanging in this posture, the executioner is ordered to give him a certain number of strokes with his whip or knout; which is usually executed very leisurely, while a subdiack, or clerk of the court, examines him as to his guilt, the number of his accomplices, &c. after which he is taken down, his bones reduced, and he is remanded to prison. But if he be charged with treason, or some other capital crime, after the offender is taken down, he is tied to a long pole, as upon a spit, and his raw back held to the fire, till the examiners have extorted such a confession from him as they deem sufficient, which the subdiack or clerk takes down in writing. But if the person will not accuse himself, and the proof is not clear against him, and he can hold out against this variety of tortures, which perhaps is inflicted two or three weeks successively, he is sometimes acquitted; otherwise, after all his sufferings he is put to death.

Hereticks, or those who are deemed such, are burnt to death: of which a late writer has given us an instance in the person of a Russian priest, who publickly preached against the worship of pictures, and invocation of saints; and on a publick festival, hewed to pieces with an ax, the pictures of the Blessed Virgin MARY, and Saint ALEXIUS, painted upon wood (for they suffer no carved work in their temples) he shewed great resolution at the stake, and preached to the people against idolatry to the last moment.

LE BRUN relates, that he saw a woman who had murdered her husband at Moscow, set up to the neck in the ground, who died the next day; but that many of them will live several days in this condition, before they expire: in extreme cold weather they cannot hold out long. A great man formerly was seldom called to account for killing a peasant, or any other person under his power, and if it was taken notice of, a fine to the government was all the punishment inflicted on him; but they seem to be more tender of the lives of the common people of late. There are instances, where the Czar hath punished their Governors very severely, for oppressing his subjects under their care, in the last reign.

CHAP. XII.

Treats of their language, characters, learning, chronology, religion, marriages, and funerals.

THE religion of the Russians being the same with that of the Greeks, already so largely treated of, except that they have some superstitions peculiar to themselves; I shall have but little to observe here upon that head; and therefore have brought their language, learning, matrimonial, and funeral rites into the same chapter, with which I shall conclude the state of Russia.

Their language is a mixture of the Sclavonian and Polish. Their characters they have from the Greeks, but something altered and augmented, the number of their letters being thirty eight. Their Æra was the creation of the world; which they reckon to be seven thousand two hundred and thirty four years old, but have very little besides tradition to found this opinion upon. Their year began the first of September, which they kept with great solemnity; admiring the goodness of GOD, in creating the world in autumn, when corn, and all manner of fruits were ripe; not considering that when it is autumn in this part of the world, the spring is coming on in the southern latitudes. The late Czar ordered that their year should begin the first of January, and that the incarnation of our Saviour should for the future be their common Æra, as in the rest of Christendom; and on the first of January, 1700. O. S. he ordered a general jubilee to be proclaimed, and to be solemnized a whole week together with firing of guns, illuminations, and other expressions of joy; forbidding the Russians

Language. Characters. Æra.

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under a certain penalty to date the year in their writings from the creation any longer. Their ſtyle is the ſame with ours, though why we do not both follow the Roman or new ſtyle, when we are ſenſible this is the more correct, is a little unaccountable; unleſs it be, that becauſe we do not like the principles of the Roman Catholicks, we are afraid of countenancing them, by imitating their real improvements.

earning.

Learning and the liberal arts were, till very lately, perfect ſtrangers to Ruſſia. No people ever took more pains to excel, than theſe did to remain in ignorance. They were jealous of every foreigner who came amongſt them, leſt he ſhould introduce ſomething new; nor ever ſuffered a ſubject to travel, for much the ſame reaſon. The late Czar obſerving how mean a figure his country made, occaſioned by that profound ignorance which reigned in his dominions, about the year 1698, viſited England, Holland and Germany, in order to be acquainted with the cuſtoms of other nations, and obſerve the improvements which were made in arts and ſciences. And when the Czar left England, he obtained leave of King WILLIAM to take ſome young mathematicians out of Chriſt's hoſpital, together with Mr. FERGUSON, and other men of skill, to inſtruct his people in that ſcience, and particularly in navigation, ſhip-building and engineering. He agreed alſo with great numbers of artificers in England and Holland, and carried them over to Ruſſia; and ſoon after erected a large ſchool at Moſow, in which young lads were taught arithmetick at the Czar's charge, and allowed a handſome ſubſiſtence; and out of theſe he choſe the moſt ingenious, and ſent them into foreign countries, to qualify themſelves for the ſervice of his navy, &c. He employed alſo Mr. FERGUSON to teach aſtronomy, and other parts of the mathematicks, to calculate the eclipſes, ſhew how they would appear in Muſcovy, &c. His Majeſty alſo ordered globes, teleſcopes, and other mathematical inſtruments, to be brought over, diſcourſing frequently with his Lords on the motions of the heavenly bodies, &c. Before this there never had been ſo much as a ſchool to teach arithmetick, nor did they know the uſe of figures, but made uſe of beads ſet upon wires, with which they multiplied and divided in a tedious way, ſubject to very groſs miſtakes; and in many of the publick offices obſerved the ſame method very lately. As to the laity, they were perfectly ignorant of letters. If a perſon could read his mother tongue, he was reckoned ſufficiently qualified for holy orders. And yet it is not to be conceived with what contempt they looked upon other nations. The late Czar ſet up ſchools in all the great towns, and paſſed an edict, that whoever did not learn to read and write, and get a tolerable knowledge of the Latin tongue, or ſome other foreign language, ſhould be diſabled to inherit his father's eſtate, if it exceeded five hundred rubles per ann. And that no man ſhould be permitted to officiate as a prieſt who did not underſtand Latin. He ſet up printing-houſes alſo, and having procured ſeveral valuable books to be tranſlated out of foreign languages, diſperſed them through his dominions. Colleges were erected at Moſcow and Petersburg for teaching the liberal arts, libraries compiled, and a multitude of other improvements made, which I have already mentioned in the deſcription of the city of Petersburg, and other parts of this work. Elegant buildings, painting, ſtatuary, medals, antiquities, and whatever might entertain the curious, have alſo been introduced and encouraged in the laſt reign and the preſent, that Ruſſia in another age poſſibly may vye with the politeſt nations of Europe.

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As to their religion, it is ſaid Chriſtianity was firſt introduced among them in the reign of the Great Duke WOLODIMER, who marrying the daughter of BASILIUS the Grecian Emperor, became her convert about the year 989, though according to the tradition of the Ruſſians, St. ANDREW firſt planted the Goſpel in Muſcovy: but however that be, it is agreed that paganiſm had again overſpread the face of the country, and that Chriſtianity did not revive till about the tenth century. They had their Patriarch till the laſt reign, like the other Greek churches, who was veſted almoſt with ſovereign power, and might in ſome reſpects be ſaid to ſhare the empire with the Czar; for he was not only ſupreme in all eccleſiaſtical cauſes, but had a power of making laws for the reformation of manners, and might puniſh the offenders with death, by his ſole authority. And on Palm Sunday the Czar himſelf uſed to lead the horſe he rode on to the great church, carrying a palm branch in his hand before him. But here, it is true, the Patriarch repreſented our Saviour riding to Jeruſalem. But whether the late Czar thought theſe honours and prerogatives too great for a ſubject; or was apprehenſive a Patriarch might oppoſe the reformations he intended in church and ſtate; or laſtly, whether the vaſt poſſeſſions annexed to the patriarchate were any temptation to him, I ſhall not determine; but upon the death of the laſt Patriarch, the Czar ſeized his revenues, and entirely ſuppreſſed the office, or rather transferred it to himſelf: for he engroſſed all the power of the Patriarch, read the offices himſelf which the Patriarch uſed to perform on ſolemn occaſions, and ſubſtituted the Archbiſhop of Rezan to execute ſuch parts of the patriarchal function, as he could not attend himſelf. This alteration in their eccleſiaſtical polity was not well reliſhed by the Ruſſian clergy; and one of their Biſhops having talk-

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ed pretty freely upon the power the Czar had assumed, he ordered him to be degraded; but they represented that this could not be done, without a new Patriarch; whereupon the Czar created a Bishop after his own heart, who made no scruple of degrading the offending Bishop, by taking the mitre from his head. It is observable, however, that the late Czar did not take upon him to displace any Bishop by his absolute power, but caused them to be degraded in form, by some other Bishop; which is a circumstance that has not been always observed in some Christian countries nearer home. But the church of Russia hath still its Metropolites, Archbishops, and Bishops, like the rest of the Greek churches, and their sees are generally well endowed; but their secular priests have neither glebe nor tythes for their maintenance, as I can learn, but depend chiefly on some perquisites, which arise from the offices they perform, and their learning has hitherto been suitable to their maintenance; but by the late Czar's regulations, none are to be admitted priests, who do not understand Latin, as hath been observed already. They perform divine service in the same manner as hath been described in speaking of the Greek Church, and have as little preaching as their brethren in Turkey, except in Petersburg, and some of the principal cities, during Lent, when there is now and then a sermon.

Monasteries. There are many monasteries and convents of monks and nuns in Russia, the one governed by their priors, or archimandrites; and the other by their igumenes, or abbesses. They had large possessions of lands and villages, and a multitude of slaves belonging to them; and were exceeding rich in jewels, pearls and gold, till the late Czar seized their lands and rich goods to maintain his armies: and though he returned some part of them again about ten years afterwards, he annexed a great part of their lands to his own demesns. And observing that the shutting up so many young people in monasteries prevented the increase of his subjects: he ordered that no man under fifty years of age should be admitted into a religious house. Their nunneries remain in much the same state they did, whither women retire frequently from their husbands when they are ill used, and daughters from their parents; and after they are shaved, there is no reclaiming them. Prince GAGARIN, it seems, would have compelled his daughter to marry a courtier she did not like, whereupon she fled to a monastery and had her head shaved; and notwithstanding his quality, the Prince was obliged to submit to it. The husbands also sometimes force their wives into a monastery, that they may be at liberty to marry again: and parents and brothers send their daughters and sisters to convents that they may not be obliged to raise fortunes for them, as is frequently practised in Roman Catholick countries. They perform their devotions night and day, as in the Latin convents; and their fasts are as long and as severe as in the other Grecian churches. The Russians, like other Christians of the Greek communion, abhor all manner of carved images, as expressly prohibited by the second commandment; but no people deal more in pictures: they have the picture of GOD the Father, whom they draw like an old man, with gray hairs and a long beard. The picture of our Saviour on the cross and in the arms of the blessed Virgin, whom they make an agreeable young Lady, St. ANDREW, St. NICHOLAS, and St. SERGIUS are their favourite saints; and being painted on boards, are hung or set on shelves about their rooms; to whom every stranger who enters, first pays his reverence before he addresses himself to the family; and not a woman but hath a cross about her neck. One who travelled into Russia, observes, that though no people are more wantonly inclined than the Russians, they constantly take the cross off their mistresses necks, and cover all the pictures of their saints before they dare be familiar with them; as if they thought them really animated, and dreaded their being witnesses of those impure enjoyments.

Worship of saints.

The Russians of quality lay out immense sums in adorning the pictures of their saints with jewels; but the late Czar endeavoured to lessen their number, keeping only the cross and the picture of our blessed Saviour in his own palace, and his courtiers many of them followed his example: and when he observed that some of his Lords had filled the cabbins of their ships with pictures of this kind, he told them, one was enough to cross themselves before, and ordered all the rest to be removed out of the ship.

At Moscow there is a picture of the Virgin MARY, whose miraculous power if any one had doubted some little time ago, he would have run the hazard of being mobbed: they believe it to have been drawn by St. LUKE, and consecrated by the Virgin herself in these words, My grace, and my power be with this picture. They have peculiar tutelary saints in every family, and almost for every particular business; and if a man sees his friend prosper, he immediately applies to him to lend him the saint who has been so propitious to his family; and will even advance a sum of money for the loan of it. Pilgrimages to the bones, and relicks of their saints were discountenanced in the last reign, and are now pretty much disused. The late Czar also endeavoured to bring off his people from their rigorous fasts, which he found had been very fatal to great numbers of the labouring men and soldiers in his service: for when his army lay encamped in a plentiful country, perhaps their

CHAP. XII.

Lent came on, and they ſtarved with all neceſſaries about them; a little after they removed into a deſert, and then they would have eaten if they could have met with proviſion; and what between their real wants, and thoſe of their own making, it is inconceivable what numbers periſhed in the late war. Notwithſtanding the Czar brought his people off from many other of their antient cuſtoms, they ſeemed pertinaciouſly to adhere to this of faſting: a late writer ſays, he was acquainted with ſome old Ruſſians of quality who were very ill, and yet durſt not break the rules preſcribed them by their religion in this particular, till they had firſt obtained a diſpenſation from the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, which they ſent for with the utmoſt ſecrecy, the Czar having prohibited all applications to that Patriarch, being under an apprehenſion that his dominions would be drained of great ſums of money by that means. And thus much may be ſufficient to obſerve of the religion of Ruſſia, which differs but little from that of the other Greek churches, of which I have ſpoken ſo largely already in treating of Turkey in Europe. I ſhall only add, that the preſent government allow liberty of conſcience to all denominations of Chriſtians; and will admit foreigners to their religious worſhip, and to be buried in their church-yards; which are favours they would have made ſome difficulty in granting before the reformations made by the late Czar.

CHAP. XII.

As to their marriages and funeral rites, they are in a manner the ſame with thoſe of the other Grecian churches already deſcribed, only it is obſervable, that whereas they formerly kept up their wives and daughters, and would not let them be ſeen, the Czar has ſo diſcountenanced theſe blind bargains, that a gentleman has now the ſame liberty of waiting on his miſtreſs, and courting her as in this part of the world; and the married women meet at their entertainments and aſſemblies with the men, as in other parts of Europe. That immoderate mourning, and howling alſo, with which they uſed to attend their deceaſed friends to the grave, is now entirely laid aſide by the better ſort of people, and thoſe who are under the eye of the court; and they conform themſelves almoſt in every other reſpect, to the cuſtoms of their politer neighbours.

The weights and meaſures of Ruſſia, which I had omitted, are as follow: viz. forty Ruſs pounds make a pood, or thirty ſix pounds Engliſh. An arſheen, their common meaſure, is eight and twenty Engliſh inches.

THE PRESENT STATE OF SWEDEN.

CHAP. I.

Treats of the ſituation and extent of the kingdom of Sweden, of the air and climate, and of its ſeas, lakes, and rivers.

CHAP. I.

Boundaries and extent of Sweden.

SWEDEN, part of the antient Scandinavia, is bounded by Norwegian Lapland towards the north: by the dominions of Muſcovy towards the eaſt: by the Baltick ſea towards the ſouth: and by Denmark and Norway towards the weſt; extending from the 56th to the 69th degree of north latitude, and from the 10th to the 30th degree of longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London. But then within theſe bounds Finland is included, which I have already deſcribed as a province of Muſcovy, it having been entirely conquered by the late Czar. I find however that the Muſcovites in purſuance of the late treaty of peace, have reſtored

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CHAP. I.


Amsterdam I.
Kars Sound
Foreland
GREEN LAND
Ryke I.
Bell Bay
C. Look out
Hoppen I.
Cherry I.
North Cape
Sury I.
SWEDEN
To avoid too great a Contraction of the Scale, the North Part of Norway &c. is continued here.
Maelstroom
Rust
Torn
Iman-oogh
Octows
Holy Land
Snasen
Scongen
Holy Leen Land
Smullen
Hitturen
Scoendal
Pitha Lap.
Uma Lap.
Dronthem
Stoo-gen
Stro-nden
Ang-er
Nordm-aling
Iemptia
Medelpadi
Helsinga
SWEDEN
Lyma
Mora
Silan L.
Copper berg
Dalecar
Gefle
Upland
Upsal
Weſtmn.
Carolistar
Orebro
Nerica
Marieſtat
Sunder L.
Nykoping
E. Gott.
W. Gott.
Norkoping
Smaland
Oeland I.
Carlscrown
Bornholm I.
Rugen
GERMANY
Romdalehe
The North Point
Solendale
Land of Stadt
Fielde
Fiord
Dofre
Guldal
Sapen Fiord
BERGEN
Bergen
Gaarde
Land of Bommel
Salzburg
ANSLO
Stavanger
Timens
Lister Land
The Naze
Lemwick
JUTLAND
Sylt I.
Tonningen
Kiel
Lubeck
Hamburg
HOLSTEIN
THE MAN OCEAN
THE BALTICK or EAST SEA
Stockholm a large populous and trading City, Situated in a vaſt Bore in the Baltick Sea, it's Capital of Sweden Long. 37. 40. Lat. 59. 50.
820 miles Dist. from Frederick
London 17° W. of Moscow 6° N. E. of Amsterdam 6° E. of Vienna
65
60
55
5
10
15
75
80
70

SWEDEN and NORWAY

Agreeable to Modern History.

By Herman Moll Geogrupher

The greatest Length of Sweden from Lemen on the South, to ye most Northern Part of Lapland, is about 810 miles & from the frontiers of Bahus on ye West, to ye Farthest side of Swedish Finland on ye E. about 840 miles in Breadth, ye Area including Pomerania & ye I. of Rugen is almost twice as large as France. The Provinces of Ingria, Livonia, Bremen, & Verden, & part of Finland, which were lost in ye Reign of Charles the XI. contain about 78369 Square miles, which is above 20 times more in quantity than the 7 United Provinces. And almost as large as Great Britain, & 2783 Square miles more than all Italy.

60 120 180

English miles.

25 30 35 40 D. E. from London

65 60 55

CHAP. I.

restored five of the seven provinces of Finland to the Swedes again, retaining only the districts of Xexholm and Carelia, to the northward of the river Nye; and of these Sweden hath made an absolute cession to Muscovy, as well as of the rest of the Swedish dominions to the southward of that river, namely, of Ingria, Estonia, and Livonia, the richest and most commodious of all the Swedish territories, and which that crown would never have parted with, but upon the last necessity. Part of the Swedish Pomerania in Germany, with Bremen and Verden, having been also relinquished to other powers by the Swedes; so that Sweden is now reduced almost within its antient bounds, of which I shall take farther notice, when I come to the description of Germany.

Mountains of Sweden.

The most considerable mountains in this country are the Dofrine hills, being a long chain of high rocky clifts, which separate Sweden from Norway, and are almost continually covered with snow. There are also a multitude of other stony barren mountains dispersed over the whole country, which give it but a disagreeable aspect; and from these fall innumerable rivers, or rather torrents, not many of them navigable, on account of the rocks and cataracts which obstruct their passage; they form however several considerable lakes, the chief whereof are the Wener and the Weter, either of them near an hundred miles in length; and the Meller, on which Stockholm stands. The seas of Sweden are the Ore Sund or Sound, which divides Gothia and Schonen from Denmark: the Baltick or East Sea, which flows between Sweden and Germany, and between Sweden and Livonia: the Bothnick bay or Bodenzee, which separates Sweden from Finland: and the gulph of Finland, which divides Finland from Livonia; but of this the Muscovite has in a manner the dominion at present, being possessed of Wybourg, Petersburg, Narva, Revel, and indeed of almost all the other ports upon it. Monsieur MOTRAYE observes of the Baltick sea (of which all the rest are but branches) that its waters are not near so salt as those of the ocean; which he ascribes to the many rivers that fall into it, and the currents sitting out of the Baltick into the ocean, and the Baltick receiving no waters from thence; consequently there is no tide in the East sea.

Air and seasons.

As to the air and seasons, these are much the same as in the northern parts of Muscovy already described. They have seven months winter in some parts, and in others near nine, when the snow covers the ground, and their lakes, seas, and rivers, are frozen up. They travel also in sledges over the snow, as in other northern countries. In Lapland they have the sun for two months together in summer time, without any intervening night; and in the winter, a night proportionably long. At Stockholm, the capital city, the sun is eighteen hours above the horizon, at the summer solstice; and consequently they have but little comfort in that planet in the depth of winter: and as the winter is extremely cold, their summers, it is said, are proportionably warm; especially in the vallies, which are surrounded by woods and mountains, where the heat is reverberated from side to side for many hours together, without intermission. The country is generally healthful, as may be discerned from the hale complexion, and robust constitutions of the natives.

CHAP. I.

CHAP. II.

Treats of the respective provinces of Sweden, and of their chief towns, palaces, and publick buildings.

Grand divisions of Sweden.

THE six grand divisions of Sweden are 1. Gothia, or Gothland, bounded on the north by Proper Sweden: on the east and south by the Baltick sea: and on the west by the Sound.

1. Gothland.

2. Sweden, properly so called, or Old Sweden, is bounded on the north by Swedish Lapland: on the east by the Bothnick bay: on the south by Gothland: and on the west by the Dofrine hills, which divide it from Norway.

2. Sweden.

3. Swedish Lapland, being bounded by Wardhuys, or the Norwegian Lapland, on the north: by Muscovian Lapland on the east: by Sweden Proper on the south: and by the mountains of Daarfield, which divide it from Norway on the west.

3. Lapland.

4. Finland, bounded by Kimi Lapmark on the north: by Muscovy on the east: the gulph of Finland on the south: and by the Bothnick gulph towards the west.

4. Finland.

5. The Swedish dominions in Germany, which were lately the Upper Pomerania, Bremen and Verden. But as these were entirely conquered by the Danes and their allies in the late war, and Sweden hath by a peace resigned her interest in Bremen and Verden to King GEORGE, and her right in Stetin, &c. to the King of Prussia, there remains but little in the possession of the Swede in Germany, except the city of Stralsund, and the territory about it, lying over against the isle of Rugen.

5. Pomerania. Bremen and Verden.

6. The islands of Sweden, which are very numerous, and of these the isles of Gothland, Oeland, Aland, Huena, Rugen, and Usedom, are the chief: as for the islands of Oesel and Dago, and the other islands on the coast of Livonia, these were resigned by Sweden to Russia, with Livonia itself, by the last peace. Gothia is again subdivided into East Gothland, West Gothland, and South Gothland. In East Gothland are the provinces of East Gothland Proper and Smaland.

Swedish isles.

Subdivisions of Gothland.

East

CHAP. II.

East Gothland Proper. Smaland.

East Gothland Proper is bounded by Sudermania on the north, by the Baltick ſea on the eaſt, by Smaland on the ſouth, and by the lake of Wetter on the weſt.

Smaland is bounded by East Gothland Proper on the north, by the Baltick on the eaſt, by the province of Bleking on the ſouth, and by Halland on the weſt.

Subdiviſions of Weſt Gothland. Weſt Gothland Proper.

In Weſt Gothland are the provinces of Weſt Gothland Proper, Wermeland, and Dalia.

Weſt Gothland, properly ſo called, is bounded by the lake of Wenner towards the north, by the lake of Wetter towards the eaſt, by Smaland towards the ſouth, and by the ſea of Gothland towards the weſt.

Wermeland

Wermeland is bounded by the province of Dalecarlia towards the north, by Weſtmania and Nericia towards the eaſt, and by Dalia on the weſt and ſouth.

Dalia.

Dalia is bounded by Wermeland on the north and eaſt, by the lake of Wenner on the ſouth, and by the province of Bahus towards the weſt.

Subdiviſions of South Gothland. Schonen.

In South Gothland are the provinces of Schonen, Bleking, and Halland.

Schonen, or Scania, is bounded by Halland on the north, and by the Baltick ſea on the eaſt, ſouth, and weſt.

Bleking.

Bleking is a narrow track of land on the Baltick ſea, north-eaſt of Schonen.

Halland.

Halland is bounded by Weſt Gothland towards the north and eaſt, by Schonen on the ſouth, and by the Sound towards the weſt.

Chief towns of Gothland, Lunden.

The chief towns of Gothland are, 1. Lunden, or Lund, the metropolis of Schonen, lying in 56 degrees odd minutes north latitude, and about thirty miles to the eaſtward of Copenhagen. It is an epiſcopal ſee, an univerſity, and the reſidence of the Governor of the province. The town is however upon the decline, and hath nothing remarkable, except its cathedral, dedicated to St. LAURENCE; which travellers tell us is a magnificent building, with a very high ſpire, which ſerves as a ſea mark to mariners, as they paſs the Sound, from whence it is not above eight or ten miles diſtant. Malmo. 2. Malmo, a port town, about twelve miles to the ſouthward of Lunden. Landskroon 3. Landskroon, a well fortified place and a good harbour, ſixteen miles north-weſt of Lunden. Helſenburg. 4. Helſenburg, a ſmall town upon the Sound, almoſt over-againſt Helſinore. Chriſtianople. 5. Chriſtianople, a port town on the Baltick, the capital of the province of Bleking, and lyes north-eaſt of Lunden. Carelſcroon. 6. Carelſcroon, where the royal navy is uſually laid up, is built upon a little iſland on the coaſt of Bleking, being joined to the continent by a long bridge. Calmar. 7. Calmar, a port town, twenty miles to the northward of Carelſcroon, over-againſt the iſland of Oeland, a place of pretty good trade, 8. Weſterwick, a port town, fifty miles to the northward of Calmar. 9. Jenkoping, ſituate at the weſt end of the lake of Wetter. 10. Halmſtat, the capital of Halland, a port town about ſixty miles to the northward of Lunden. 11. Gottenbourg, the capital of Weſt Gothland, is ſituate in 58 degrees odd minutes, an hundred miles and upwards to the northward of Lunden, is a well fortified town, and a good harbour; and being to the northward of the Sound, is of great conſequence to Sweden, becauſe a trade may be carried on from thence, without being obliged to pay any duties to Denmark. Scara. 12. Scara, the antient ſeat of the Gothick Kings, and at preſent a Biſhop's ſee, about eighty miles north-eaſt of Gottenbourg. Lidkoping. 13. Lidkoping, ſituate on the ſouth ſide of the lake Wenner. Marienſtat. 14. Marienſtat, to the eaſtward of it, upon the ſame lake. Dalebourg. 15. Dalebourg, the capital town of Dalia, ſituate on the lake of Wenner, forty-five miles north of Gottenbourg. Carolſtat. 16. Carolſtat, the capital of Wermelandia, ſituate on the north-eaſt ſide of the lake Wenner. Linkoping. 17. Linkoping, an inland town, the capital of East Gothland, about thirty leagues to the northward of Calmar. Suderkoping. 18. Suderkoping, a handſome open town, about twenty miles to the eaſtward of Linkoping. Norkoping. 19. Norkoping, ſituate on the banks of a lake, between Linkoping and Suderkoping.

Sweden Proper, ſubdivided into eleven parts.

Sweden Proper, or Old Sweden, is divided into eleven parts, viz. 1. Upland. 2. Sudermania. 3. Weſtmania. 4. Nericia. 5. Geſtricia. 6. Helſingia. 7. Dalecarlia. 8. Medelpadia. 9. Jemptia. 10. Angermania. And 11. Weſt Bothnia.

1. Upland is bounded by Geſtricia on the north, by the Baltick ſea on the eaſt, by Sudermania on the ſouth, and Weſtmania on the weſt.

2. Sudermania is bounded on the north by the lake Meller, which divides it from Upland; by the Baltick on the eaſt, by East Gothland on the ſouth, and by Nericia on the weſt.

3. Weſtmania, bounded by Dalecarlia on the north; by Uplandia on the eaſt, by Nericia on the ſouth, and by Wermeland on the weſt.

4. Nericia, bounded by Weſtmania on the north, by Sudermania on the ſouth-eaſt, and by Wermeland towards the weſt.

5. Geſtricia is bounded by Helſingia on the north, by the Bothnick bay towards the eaſt, by Upland on the ſouth, and Dalecarlia on the weſt.

6. Helſingia is bounded by Medelpadia towards the north, by the bay of Bothnia towards the eaſt, by Geſtricia on the ſouth, and by Dalecarlia on the weſt.

7. Dalecarlia is bounded by Helſingia and Geſtricia towards the eaſt, by Wermeland and Weſtmania

mania towards the ſouth, and by part of Norway on the weſt.

8. Madelpadia, bounded by Jemptia, or Jempterland, towards the north, by the Bothnick bay towards the eaſt, by Helſingia towards the ſouth.

9. Jemptia, or Jempterland, is bounded by Norway towards the north and weſt, by Angermania towards the eaſt, and by Dalecarlia towards the ſouth.

10. Angermania, bounded by Weſt Bothnia towards the north, by the Bothnick bay towards the eaſt, by Madelpadia towards the ſouth, and by Jemptia towards the weſt.

11. Weſt Bothnia, bounded by Swediſh Lapland towards the north and weſt, by the gulph of Bothnia towards the eaſt, and by Angermania towards the ſouth, and is called Weſt Bothnia, as lying oppoſite to Eaſt Bothnia, on the other ſide the Bothnick bay in Finland.

The towns in Proper Sweden.

The chief towns in Proper Sweden are, 1. Stockholm, the metropolis of the kingdom, ſituate on the lake Meller, near the Baltick ſea, in 59 degrees odd minutes north latitude, and ſeventeen of longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London. The acceſs to it by ſea is extremely difficult, on account of the great numbers of ſmall iſlands which lye before the entrance of the harbour, and ſecure it from any inſults by ſea: it is neither walled nor fortified by art; nor is there much occaſion for either: it is ſtrong by nature; having a dangerous ſea on one ſide, and the Mellern lake on the other, which render it an iſland; and on the land ſide there are ſuch hills and rocks that there is no approaching it but at certain paſſes, which may be defended by a ſmall force againſt a numerous army. The harbour, when you have entered it, is as ſpacious and ſecure as moſt in Europe, and ſhips of the greateſt burthen may ride cloſe to the keys; but then, it ſeems, it is no leſs difficult to get out of the harbour, than it is to get in; and it is in a manner blocked up by the ice four or five months of the year: the different winds alſo, which are requiſite to carry a fleet out, demand a great deal of time, and there is no tide to help them, ſo that an enemy may deſtroy the whole coaſt before the Swedes can put to ſea: to prevent which, CHARLES XI. choſe to lay up moſt part of the royal navy in the harbour of Carelſcroon, as the Swedes do at this day. The city extends over the whole iſland of Stockholm; being an Engliſh mile and half in circumference, which is much leſs, however, than either of its ſuburbs: it is not ſuppoſed to contain more than thirty thouſand inhabitants; but to make amends for its ſmallneſs, ſays MOTTRAYE, it hath all that is requiſite to render it, in the eyes of good judges, one of the fineſt cities in the north of Europe. Beſides the iſland of Stockholm there are five other ſmall iſlands, built upon, and joined to it by bridges, viz. Ridderſholm, Konningſholm, Hoglandſholm, Schipſholm, and Ladduggarſland, which are frequently looked upon as part of the city. In the iſland of Stockholm was the citadel and royal palace, (long ſince burnt down) the King's chapel, and the magnificent church of St. Nicholas, the ſenate houſe, the court of chancery, the criminal college, and a noble library. In Ridderſholm, or the Knights iſland, is the cloiſter church, as it is called, and ſeveral fine gardens. Hoglandſholm is the quarter of the mechanicks. In Schipſholm is the court of admiralty, the arſenal, and magazines of naval ſtores. Ladduggarſland is full of pleaſure houſes and gardens; and here alſo is the King's park, menageries, &c. The ſouth ſuburb on the continent is joined to the city by a bridge: here is a noble exchange and the merchants houſes, who had a pretty briſk trade till it was interrupted by the late wars, and heavy impoſitions of the government. The other ſuburb lyes north of the city, and is joined to it by two bridges. This ſuburb, as well as part of the city, is in the province of Upland; and the reſt, with the ſouthern ſuburb, in the province of Sudermania. A ſtone pillar is ſet up to mark the boundaries, with the arms of each province in baſſo relievo; and in like manner are the boundaries of other provinces deſcribed in Sweden.

In the city are nine churches, of which that of St. Nicholas is the largeſt, ſupported by marble pillars and covered with copper; and in it are a great number of tombs of different kinds of marble, with the arms and buſts of the perſon deceaſed. The ſtatue of St. GEORGE on horſeback, trampling on a dragon, in this church is much admired: it is the hiſtory of St. GEORGE's delivering CLEODOLINDA, daughter of the King of Lydia, and twelve other devoted virgins, from the fury of the dragon; where CLEODOLINDA is ſeen in a kneeling poſture, and hands lifted up, returning thanks to their preſerver. Over the altar in this church is a cabinet finely gilded, and ſet open on Sundays, and other feſtivals, wherein is a table of a pyramidal form, with five partitions, or ſhelves, of maſſy ſilver; wherein are the following hiſtories in baſſo relievo. On the firſt is the nativity of CHRIST: on the ſecond his laſt ſupper: on the third his crucifixion: on the fourth his burial: and on the fifth his reſurrection. And on the top is a little ſtatue of ſilver (as all the reſt are) about two feet in height, which repreſents the aſcenſion. There are other little ſilver ſtatues, or images, of the ſame height accompanying them, as that of MOSES with the two tables, JOHN the Baptiſt with a croſs and lamb, and the Evangeliſts with the animals uſually aſſigned them by ſtatuaries and painters, all of

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massy silver; weighing together about thirty thousand ounces; but so exquisite is the workmanship that they were not purchased, it is said, under eighty thousand crowns. On the right side of the altar upon the wall, paradise and hell are painted in lively colours; being a large picture, reaching from the pavement to the roof: and on the left side of the altar is painted the crucifixion of our Saviour with the two thieves. This church is very rich in plate, and there is particularly a chalice of beaten gold, embellished with jewels, which, according to Monsr. MOTRAYE, is not worth less than forty thousand crowns. Of the other churches I do not find any thing remarkable, but that they are generally covered with copper, and have very lofty spires, and instead of bells to ring, they have musical chimes in their steeples, which play upon festivals, and other solemn occasions. The royal palace hath been burnt down ever since the reign of CHARLES II. and is not yet re-edified. The palace where the states assemble is said to be a stately pile, as is the bank: these, and the other houses of the nobility, are built of brick or stone, and being covered with copper, make a handsome appearance. The citizens houses are of brick, except in the suburbs, where they are built of wood, and frequently destroyed by fire; to prevent which the city is divided into twelve wards, each of them having a master and four assistants, under whom the people range themselves in any such calamity, and observe their directions for extinguishing the fire. Stockholm hath not been built much above three hundred years: it was till then a barren island, inhabited only by two or three fishermen, when a castle was built upon it, to prevent the incursions of the Russians: soon after the court removed thither from Upsal, and it became the metropolis of the kingdom, and the greatest town of trade in Sweden, as it is at this day.

Upsal.

2. The city of Upsal is situate in sixty degrees north latitude, in the middle of a large plain, upon the river Sala, about forty miles to the northward of Stockholm; and was antiently the capital city of the kingdom: it is still an university, and the see of an Archbishop; being the only archbishoprick in any Lutheran country: here the Kings of Sweden were crowned and interred before the reformation. The buildings are generally of wood, except the palace of the Archbishop, and some of the principal citizens, which are built of brick. Travellers usually take notice of the cathedral, the library, and physick garden, as best worth observation. The cathedral is a fine piece of Gothic architecture, seven hundred and forty feet long, one hundred and forty feet broad, and two hundred and thirty feet high from the pavement to the vaulted roof, which is covered with copper. The marble tombs of their antient Kings and Queens are seen here, in sixteen antique chapels, in which there were as many altars before the reformation. Their library must be something extraordinary, being the plunder of some of the best libraries of Germany, of which their King GUSTAINS made a present to this university.

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3. The city of Enkoping stands on the north side of the lake of Meller, about forty miles to the westward of Stockholm. 4. Nykopping, the capital of Sudermania, a pretty good harbour on the Baltick, about fifty miles to the southward of Stockholm. 5. Stregnes, a Bishop's see, near the lake of Meller, about thirty miles north of Nykopping. 6. Orebro, the capital of Nericia, situate between the lakes of Wenner and Meller. 7. Orosio, or Westeras, the chief town of Westmania, a Bishop's see, situate on the north side of the lake Meller, about thirty miles south-west of Upsal. 8. Gevalia, the capital of Gestricia, situate on the Bothnick gulph, fifty miles to the northward of Upsal. 9. Hundswickwald, the capital of Helsingia, situate on the Bothnick gulph, about fourscore miles to the northward of Gevalia. 10. Indal, the chief town of Madelpadia, forty miles north of Hundswickwald. 11. Hernosand, the chief town of Angermania, situate on the gulph of Bothnia, about twenty leagues to the northward of Hundswickwald. 12. Uma in West Bothnia, eighty miles to the northward of Hernosand. 13. Torne, the chief town of Bothnia, situate at the bottom of the Bothnick bay, on the confines of Lapland. 14. Lida, the chief town of Jemptia, though others say Resundt is the chief town, a fortress which stands fourscore miles west of Hernosand. And 15. Hedmora, the chief town of Dalecarlia, sixty miles north-west of Upsal, though some late writers assure us, that Falun in this province is the largest city of Sweden, next to Stockholm.

Enk ping. Nyk pping. Strengn. Orebro. Orosio. Gevalia. Hundswickwald. Indal. Hernosand. Uma. Torne. Lida. Resund. Hedmora.

Swedish Lapland.

I come next to the province of Lapland, which lyes to the northward of Proper Sweden, usually subdivided into five parts, viz. Torne Lapmark, Kimi Lapmark, Lula Lapmark, Pitha Lapmark, and Uma Lapmark: which subdivisions take their respective names from certain rivers which rise in, or run through, each province, into Bothnia, and afterwards discharge themselves into the Bothnick bay; and it is observable, that there is a town at the mouth of every one of these rivers, of the same name with the province in Lapland from whence it flows; and these towns are generally deemed to be in the province of Bothnia, though, as they lye upon the borders of Lapland, they are taken sometimes to be in one, and sometimes in the other. Torne and Kima particularly, the reader will find at the bottom of the Bothnick

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bay, juſt upon the confines of the two provinces of Bothnia and Lapland.

Swediſh Lapland is a province which extends ſo far to the north that very few have travelled over it. None, Monſieur MOTRAYE aſſures us, have had the curioſity before him to traverſe it from ſide to ſide, ſo as to be able to give a tolerable account of the country, or its inhabitants. This gentleman relates that he ſet out from Stockholm, in the company of one of his Swediſh Majeſty's ſecretaries, in the beginning of April, 1718, and arrived at Uma, on the borders of Lapland, the ſixth of May following. Uma ſtands on the north ſide of the river Uma, (which was at this time frozen) and is the reſidence of the Governor of Weſt Bothnia. This town was twice burnt by the Muſcovites in the late war, which was no difficult matter to effect, being all built of wood, and ſcarce any fortifications to defend it. On the twelfth of May he proſecuted his journey, in a ſledge, towards Torne, having obtained recommendations from the Governor to the magiſtrates of ſuch places as lay in his road, and orders to furniſh him with guides, and other conveniencies. He paſſed through the towns of Pitha, Lulo, Rono, and Calis, which were built of wood, except the churches of Pitha, and Lulo. All of them had their parochial prieſts, who entertained our traveller very hoſpitably. He arrived at Torne the nineteenth of May, where he was obliged to wait till the ice was gone, it now beginning to thaw, that he might continue his journey up the river in a boat, there being no road beyond this town, or any poſſibility of travelling farther by land at this ſeaſon. Torne, like Uma, and other towns on the coaſt of the Bothnick bay, lay in ruins then, having lately been deſtroyed by the Muſcovites, who viſited them alſo a ſecond time, in the year 1720. A country, one would think, whoſe poverty ſhould have ſufficiently ſecured from the ravages of war, and was certainly never attempted by any other nation but the Ruſſians. The town of Torne ſtands upon a little iſland, made by the river, which divides itſelf into two ſtreams juſt above, and unites again in one a little way below it, falling into the Bothnick gulph, about ſix Engliſh miles from the town. The trade of theſe people is in ſalted ſalmon, or other fiſh dried without ſalt, upon the rocks in Lapland: and in the ſkins of rain deer, and other animals, which they carry as far as Stockholm. The banks of the river Torne are inhabited with fiſhermen, for an hundred miles and upwards to the northward of the town; here being greater plenty of fiſh than in any other ſtream in the country. There are ſome few ploughed fields alſo to be ſeen upon the river, cultivated with a great deal of labour; but theſe do not yield near corn enough for the inhabitants, who generally live upon bread made of the white inward bark of the fir-tree, which, being dried, they grind in mills, and afterwards work up into a paſte, mixing it ſometimes with a certain herb, called myeſſein, which is found in great plenty on the banks of the river, or with flower made of wild oats which grow in the woods.

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The current of the river Torne is ſo rapid, that a boat can make but little way againſt the ſtream; and there are frequently ſuch cataracts and water-falls in it, that the watermen are forced to drag their boats on ſhore till they are paſſed them. There are ſeveral iron and copper mines, and forges, upon the river; moſt of them run to decay, or lately ruined by the Muſcovites, and the miners forced to turn fiſhermen. The moſt conſiderable mines of copper and iron are thoſe in the mountain of Suapawara, about two hundred miles to the northward of the town of Torne, which have yielded four and twenty hundred weight of copper annually, beſides great quantities of iron. The tents, or huts, of the Laplanders, in the neighbourhood of this mountain, are built with long poles, ſet in a circular form, bending inwards towards the top, reſembling a ſugar-loaf. They are covered with a thick coarſe ſtuff, to keep out the weather. The fire-place is in the middle of the hut, round which they lye or ſit croſs-legged, upon the skins of their rain deer, and there is an opening at the top to let out the ſmoke. The upper garment, both of the men and women, is made of skins, with the hair on, and faſhioned like a ploughman's frock, girt about them with a broad belt; they wear breeches which reach down to their ancles, and their cap is made of a young fawn's skin, and ſits cloſe to their heads as a ſcull-cap, covering alſo their necks and ſhoulders. Their ſhoes are made alſo of skins, and without heels, picked and turned up at the toes; and the finery of the women conſiſts in a kind of pewter wire, or tinſel, with which they work the boſoms of their coats, their girdles, and the edges of their caps. Neither ſex know what it is to wear linen; but in the cold ſeaſon have a waiſtcoat of fawns skins next them. Almoſt the only difference between the dreſs of the men and the women is, that the women's coats are ſomething longer than the men's. A purſe hangs at their girdles, with their money, rings, and toys, a knife, and a leather bag, in which they put their thread, which is made of the nerves of beaſts. In ſummer they wear a ſhort cap of ſtuff or skin, which does not come ſo low as their ears, but their winters will not admit of this airy dreſs. Their food is the dried fleſh of rain deer, cheeſe made of their milk, or dried fiſh, without ſalt in any of them; and the four curdled milk of their does, or fair

Mines in Lapland.

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water, is their uſual drink. As for bread, they know not what it is, nor have they any word in their language to expreſs it. Both men and women chew tobacco, which they get of the Swedes, but few ſmoke any. As to their lodging, they have no other bed or covering but their rain deer skins, between which they lye naked, without either ſhift, drawers, or waiſtcoat. Their arms are bows and arrows, which they manage with that dexterity that they ſeldom miſs their mark. Their riches conſiſts in flocks of rain deer; two hundred of which is deemed a great ſtock; they drive them northwards as the ſummer approaches; theſe creatures not being able to endure the heat; and if they do not die in hot weather they are infected with inſects, which makes ſores and holes in their skins; after which they are good for little. When theſe Laplanders decamp, they pack up the covering of their tents and baggage in bundles of forty or fifty pounds weight; which they faſten two and two together, and lay them croſs the rain deer; and upon theſe packs they place their children which are too young to march on foot; and thus they drive the loaden deer before them, leaving the reſt of the herd to follow in the rear. They halt ſometimes in the woods, or in the vallies between the rocks and mountains as they paſs along, but never pitch their tents till they arrive at the place where they deſign to reſide. As for the wood of their huts, they leave it behind them; there being no want of wood for their purpoſe wherever they come. The feeding of their herds of rain deer is their principal employment; beſides which, they ſpend ſome time in fiſhing, hunting, and ſhooting with their bows and arrows; furniſhing themſelves thereby with proviſions, and skins of ermins, and other animals, which they exchange with their ſouthern neighbours for neceſſaries. As to their religion, they are uſually denominated Chriſtians; and by the innocence of their lives, perhaps deſerve to be ranked in the firſt claſs; but ſeem to have very confuſed notions of its doctrines. MOTRAYE ſays, he asked one of the moſt intelligent amongſt them, if he ever frequented any particular church. To which he anſwered, he had formerly, when his friend the curate of Juckacerwa was alive; but that he had of late years encamped at too great a diſtance from any churches to frequent them. Being asked if he knew what the ſacrament meant, he ſaid it was a little round piece of bread as thin as paper, which the prieſt put into the mouth of the communicant (the Lutherans uſing wafers) and after it made him drink a ſpoonful of wine; and that he underſtood, the body of Chriſt was concealed in the bread, tho' it could not be diſcerned. But it being demanded if the Laplanders did not believe the body of Chriſt to be riſen again, and now alive; after a conſiderable pauſe, he anſwered only, GOD knows. Another of them, of whom MOTRAYE demanded what God he worſhipped; anſwered, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt: but being asked if theſe were not three Gods, he anſwered, they were a triangle; by which he ſuppoſes the prieſts had endeavoured to illuſtrate the myſtery of the Trinity; and theſe were the moſt ſatisfactory anſwers he could get from them in relation to their religion: only they acquainted him farther, that every year they paid to the curate, or miniſter of the pariſh they belonged to, a certain quantity of dried fiſh, furs, skins, and cheeſes, in proportion to their ſtock, beſides fees for chriſtenings, marriages, and buryings. Our traveller next enquired what notion they had of the witchcraft and magick, with which ſome of their countrymen were charged; to which one of them anſwered, that the profeſſors of the black art were to be found moſt commonly in Kimi Lapmark and Finland; that they converſed with the devil, and knew every thing that was done; and if they were provoked by any one, or hired to do a man miſchief, they could inflict diſeaſes on him, his wife, children, or cattle: and pretended to inſtance in ſome whom they had ſtruck blind, and others, whoſe cattle were killed by their ſorcery: adding, that there were ſome of them who could remove the diſeaſes that they themſelves or others had inflicted, and had done ſo on their being treated with good liquors, or handſomely preſented by the ſufferers. They gave our traveller alſo an inſtance of a young wealthy Laplander, who upon his breaking his word with a girl he courted, was ſtruck blind by her mother, who was skilful in the black art, and would not reſtore him to his ſight, till he agreed to marry her daughter. And certain it is, that the poor ignorant Laplanders have a very great veneration for theſe pretenders to magick, courting their friendſhip, and by all imaginable means avoiding their anger. MOTRAYE relates, that he hired a perſon to carry him to the tent of one of theſe conjurers, in the moſt northerly part of Lapland; having firſt given him all imaginable aſſurances that he would not betray him to the government (the laws againſt witchcraft being as ſevere in Sweden as they are with us); he found the wizard in a poor hut, and as wretched circumſtances as thoſe people are uſually repreſented to be in this part of the world: upon which he made the common obſervation, that if theſe people had any intereſt with the devil, he would ſurely reward them better. But to proceed, the conjurer gave our traveller his hand, and ordered him to follow him to the top of a high mountain, which lay to the eaſtward of his hut, where he deſired him to ſtand till he fetched his drum and other utenſils, neceſſary to the acting his part. Soon after the man returned with his drum,

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Magicians, or the Laplanders.

drum, which he had hidden among the ſhrubs and ſtones, for fear of a diſcovery. It was of an oval form, and had but one head; and there was faſtned to it a chain, with ſeveral braſs rings. Before the operation began, the wizard demanded if they had any brandy, and half a pint being preſented to him, he immediately drank two thirds of it, then putting the chain and rings into the inſide of his drum, and turning the bottom upwards, he beat upon it with a forked piece of a rain deer's horn (the head was covered with a tranſparent parchment, wretchedly painted with the celeſtial ſigns) he beat on it for a few minutes, the rings all the while jumping about, and making a jingling noiſe; then he laid himſelf down flat on his back, ſetting the head of his drum upon his bare breaſt, and having ſhut his eyes, ſeemed to be in a trance, not breathing for ſome time, and having fetched a deep ſigh, he gently raiſed the drum above his head, and looked upon the rings, which he could eaſily diſcern through the parchment; and having conſidered their poſition and diſtance from the celeſtial figures, he fixed his eyes upon our traveller, and declared that he would run a great hazard on the water as he returned in his ſledge, and again in going down the cataracts or water-falls in a boat: that he would have another great eſcape from fire; that his life ſhould be long and healthful, after he had overcome two great fits of illneſs; both which would ſeize him within the ſpace of two years. And for the interpreter who led MOTRAYE to his cell, he directed him to go out a fiſhing the 20, 22, 24, 26, and 28th days of that month, and the 3, 6, 9, 12, 16, 20, 24, and 28th days of the next, and he ſhould return home loaden with fiſh; and that the ſame days of the months of September, October and November would be equally fortunate to him in hunting. And having finiſhed his predictions, MOTRAYE demanded if he could tell whether he was a bachelor, or a married man; into what countries he had travelled beſides Torne Lapmark, &c. but our conjurer was too wiſe to gueſs at things that were paſſed, in which he knew his ignorance might be too eaſily diſcovered. MOTRAYE afterwards made the poor fellow a preſent of half a crown, with which he ſeemed extremely ſatisfied, as the guide was with the predictions concerning his ſucceſs in fiſhing and hunting. So extremely credulous, our traveller obſerves, theſe poor Laplanders are, and ſo prejudiced in their favour, that they implicitly follow their directions. If theſe pretended wizards tell them that on ſuch a day they ſhall take plenty of fiſh, or game, they will not fail to go out that day; and if they mark another day as unfortunate, they infallibly make it ſo, by not going abroad in queſt of any thing. And as there is moſt commonly plenty of both in this country, they uſually verify the prediction, by coming home loaded whenever they go out in ſearch of game.

And now our traveller was advanced ſo far to the northward that he could diſcern the ocean, and conſequently muſt have gotten into Norwegian Lapland; though it may be difficult to adjuſt the exact boundaries: and it being pretty near the ſummer ſolſtice, he had a perpetual day, the ſun when loweſt appearing as far above the horizon as it does here three quarters of an hour before ſunſet. Theſe are the moſt remarkable incidents which MOTRAYE takes notice of in his journey to Swediſh Lapland, except it be that the Laplanders buſy themſelves part of the year in tranſporting the copper and iron ore which is dug in the mines of their country, down to Torne, and other towns on the frontiers of Bothnia in their ſledges; reſorting annually to the fairs which are held there in January. And this is the only time that the Laplanders frequent churches, or have any converſation with the Swediſh prieſts; here they get their children baptized, ſolemnize their marriages, receive the ſacrament, and pay their dues to the prieſt and to the government; and now they lay in a ſtock of tobacco and other neceſſaries, which the Swediſh merchants exchange with them for their furs, &c. After which they return to their mountains, leaving their prieſt to preach to the walls till the next ſeaſon; for there is ſeldom more than two or three little huts beſides the parſonage-houſe in any of their villages; but during the fair their congregations are pretty numerous. The Laplanders, I perceive, are a very innocent people, ſcarce guilty of any of the vices of their politer neighbours, though they will probably improve in time; for the Swediſh merchants who reſort to theſe fairs frequently make them drunk with brandy at thoſe times, and then overreach and cheat them of their furs, which may be no difficult matter to do, theſe people drinking nothing but milk or water all the reſt of the year; and ſo far are they from thieving from one another, that if any of them find a ſtray rain deer, they don't fail to ſend it home to the owner: and if they agree to graze their deer on this or that mountain, and leave the other to their neighbours, no man ever encroaches upon another, or needs any law to reſtrain him within the bounds allotted him: but as the country is but thinly peopled, and there is room enough for all, poſſibly they have little temptation to break into one another's bounds. Murder is ſcarce ever heard of amongſt them, it is ſaid; though MOTRAYE gives us one inſtance of a Laplander who was broke upon the wheel for killing his friend, when he was drunk, at one of their fairs: which is the only time that the Swediſh Governors have an opportunity of exerciſing their juriſdiction over theſe

people, and perhaps there may be very little occaſion for the animadverſion of their Governors at other times, when they are at a diſtance from ſtrong liquors. Without theſe the common people amongſt us would be abundantly more innocent than we find them.

Remarks on the magick and witchcraft of the Laplanders.

MOTRAYE having finiſhed his travels thro' the Swediſh Lapland, preſents us with a diſſertation on the magick and witchcraft imputed to the natives. Magick, ſays he, if there be any ſuch ſcience, may be defined a knowledge of the ſecret effects of ſome natural cauſes, and as ſuch, we muſt not expect to find it amongſt the Laplanders, who ſtill labour under the groſſeſt ignorance: indeed the magick aſcribed to theſe people has ever been looked upon as ſupernatural and diabolical; though it appears to be nothing more than a feigned enthuſiaſtick fit, accompanied with ſome ſtrokes on their magick drum, and other trifling ceremonies; and he thinks it may be ſaid of theſe enchanters, as a famous phyſician ſaid of a woman who pretended to be poſſeſſed, 'Much 'is owing to nature, more to deſign; but nothing 'at all to the devil.' For had the devil that foreknowledge and power which the ſuperſtitious attribute to him, and could communicate it to his vaſſals, we might expect to ſee the order of nature changed every moment, and more frequent revolutions in kingdoms and private families than we do at preſent. What could a Prince do better than to retain ſome of theſe magicians in his fleets and armies to procure intelligence, or furniſh him with a wind and annoy his enemies in a hundred inſtances? And in fact, in thoſe ages when nothing would go down but tales of giants and knight errantry, the necromancer, or wizard, was ever brought in to make part of the entertainment; and there are thoſe of the preſent age who are highly delighted with relations and repreſentations of this kind. As to our common people, they believe as firmly as the moſt credulous Laplander, that their pretended wizards can give and remove diſeaſes, raiſe tempeſts, and do abundance of ſupernatural feats, equal to any miracles almoſt produced for the evidence of our religion. But to return to MOTRAYE. Though many Princes and eccleſiaſticks, ſays he, have ſhewn themſelves very zealous for the extirpation of witchcraft, and have upon incompetent evidence condemned ſome poor wretches to ſuffer for the pretended crime; yet none could ever yet demonſtrate they entertained any commerce with the devil. There have been thoſe, he acknowledges, who would have given themſelves to the devil in the moſt ſolemn manner, in hopes of finding their account in it, and have been convicted of the intention; but that none of them ever ſucceeded in their deſign. He inſtances in Baron L——s, a Daniſh officer, who was in priſon at Stockholm on a charge of having ſold himſelf by contract to the devil, on condition he would direct him how to procure a ſum of money which he wanted; and to that end, had with his own blood ſigned a bond, by which he and ſome others of his neceſſitous companions transferred their ſouls over to Satan after their deaths, on condition he would be propitious to them in this particular. But neither the Baron, nor any of his friends finding any benefit by the conveyance they had made of themſeves to the old gentleman; though they went in the night to gibbets and burying places to invoke and treat with him on this head: one of them obſerving that no voice was heard, or apparition approached to deliver them from their diſtreſs, determined to do for himſelf what either the devil would not, or could not do for him; and accordingly ſoon after robbed and murdered a man, for which he was apprehended and executed; when he confeſſed the arts they had firſt uſed, as above, to ſupply their neceſſities, and the original bond was found torn to pieces in Baron L——s's chamber.

In the days of ignorance and ſuperſtition, ſays our author, men admired and feared every thing they were ſtrangers to, and all effects, the cauſes whereof they could not penetrate into, were deemed infernal and ſupernatural: the Magi of old reſerved to themſelves the right of explaining eclipſes, and the motions of the heavenly bodies; and were thereupon deemed ſuperior to common mortals. The firſt diſcoverers, or introducers of ſome particular ſciences were thought to have their knowledge communicated to them by demons, or ſpirits; and even the Indian jugglers, whoſe accompliſhments were nothing more than a ſlight of hand, whereby they impoſed upon our ſight, were thought to have dealt in the black art, till ſome of our own people learnt to out-do them in their own way. When the Laplanders were firſt ſeen at a diſtance, clothed from head to foot in hairy ſkins, it revived the antiquated fables of Fawns and Satyres, eſpecially as they ſeemed to fly from thoſe who approached them; and might with ſome propriety be ſaid to have wings upon their feet: for with their wooden ſkidders, made in the faſhion of ſcates, but longer, they ſkid over the ſnow and ice ſwifter than the fleeteſt horſe can run; and to this day they flee from men they ſee in a ſtrange dreſs, as MOTRAYE aſſures us they did from him, till his guide, their countryman, gave them a better opinion of him than they uſually have of ſtrangers. And how natural was it for people who firſt viſited this country, though but moderately tinctured with ſuperſtition, to look upon the natives as creatures of another ſpecies; and with the additions which their fancies might create, as inhabitants of another world, or at leaſt converſant with thoſe of the lower regions? though at this day, upon a better

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better acquaintance with them, we find them to be men like our ſelves, differing from us only in their habits, and ſome other circumſtances occaſioned by their ſituation, or the difference of the climate.

Finland and Livonia.

4. From Swediſh Lapland we deſcend to the province of Finland, which lyes to the ſouthward of it, but this hath been deſcribed already, in treating of Muſcovy; the Czar having made a conqueſt of it in the late war, the greateſt part of Finland however was reſtored to the Swedes by the laſt treaty of peace between the two nations, as hath been obſerved above. As to Carelia, Eſthonia, and Livonia, theſe were abſolutely ſurrendered by the Swedes to the Ruſſians by the ſame treaty, and are now become part of the Muſcovite dominions, and have been conſidered as ſuch.

Swediſh Pomerania.

5. The Swediſh dominions in Germany conſiſt now only of ſome part of the Upper or Swediſh Pomerania, bounded by the Baltick ſea towards the north; by the Lower, or Brandenburgh Pomerania towards the eaſt; by the Marquiſate of Brandenburgh towards the ſouth, and by Mecklenburgh on the weſt: of which Stralſund is now the chief town in the poſſeſſion of the Swedes; Stetin having been yielded to the King of Pruſſia by the laſt treaty of peace between Sweden and Pruſſia, about the ſame time that Bremen and Verden were confirmed to King GEORGE, as Elector of Hanover, which he had before purchaſed of the Dane, who made a conqueſt of thoſe provinces in the late war.

Stralſund.

Stralſund is ſituate on the ſhores of the Baltick ſea, over againſt the iſland of Rugen, in 54 degrees odd minutes north latitude, about fourſcore miles north weſt of Stetin, and forty north eaſt of Roſtock. The ſtrength of the place may eaſily be gathered from that memorable defence it made againſt the united forces of the Danes, Pruſſians, Poles, and Muſcovites for five months and upwards, viz. from the 15th of July, to the 24th of December 1715, and ſurrendered at laſt upon honourable terms. It was defended indeed by the late King of Sweden, CHARLES XII. in perſon, the braveſt, if not the greateſt General of the age; who retired but a day or two before the town capitulated. But of Pomerania and the city of Stralſund in particular I ſhall give a farther account when I come to treat of Germany, of which Pomerania is a part.

Swediſh iſlands.

6. The ſixth and laſt grand diviſion of the Swediſh dominions are the iſlands belonging to that kingdom, which are all of them ſituate in the Baltick. And

Aland.

1. Aland (about which lye a great number of leſſer iſlands) is ſituate at the mouth of the Bothnick bay, in 60 degrees of north latitude, almoſt in the mid way between Stockholm in Old Sweden, and Abo in Finland. I do not find any great town upon the iſlands of Aland, and all the villages were reduced to aſhes by the Ruſſians in the laſt war. A congreſs was then held for ſome time in the little iſland of Loffo, one of the iſles of Aland, for treating of a peace between the northern powers; but it broke off in the year 1720, and came to nothing; whereupon the Czar again haraſſed the coaſts of Sweden, burning their towns and villages, even in ſight of Stockholm, and deſtroying moſt of their beſt copper and iron works; till he at length compelled the Swedes to confirm the conqueſts he had made of Carelia, Ingria, Eſthonia, and Livonia, the moſt deſirable part of the Swediſh dominions. 2. The iſland of Gothland, ſituate about twenty leagues to the eaſtward of the coaſt of Gothland, and ſixty leagues to the weſtward of Livonia, being about thirty leagues in length, from north to ſouth, and twelve in breadth: the chief town whereof is Wisby or Visburg, ſituate on the weſt ſide of the iſland, in 57 degrees odd minutes; it ſtands cloſe to the ſea, from whence it riſes agreeably, and extends itſelf to the top of a little hill. The harbour is large, but the piers being deſtroyed, it is almoſt choked up with ſand. There were formerly thirteen churches and ſix monaſteries well endowed in the town: of which there are now remaining entire, only the church of St. MARY; which ſince the reformation hath loſt its rich plate and ornaments antient hiſtorians mention, as well as its revenues. This city hath ſtill ſeveral fine fountains, which formed as many canals, and many large ciſterns are yet to be ſeen, ſome entire, and others in ruins. Hiſtorians look upon this place to be the firſt colony of the Goths, who afterwards deſcended farther ſouthwards in ſuch multitudes, and overſpread the fineſt countries in Europe and Aſia; and it is obſerved, that three of the villages in this iſland ſtill retain the name of their three great deities, Wodin, Thor, and Friga. There are ſeveral good ports, both on the eaſt and weſt ſide of the iſland, and the country is agreeably diverſified with meadows, and arable lands. Their fields are full of cattle, and their ſeas afford plenty of fiſh. They dig alſo good free ſtone in the iſland; and a kind of gray marble, not unlike granate; with all theſe advantages, the iſland hath been upon the decline for two hundred years paſt. 3. The iſland of Oeland, a long narrow iſland, lying a little to the eaſtward of the continent of Gothland, extending about 25 leagues from north to ſouth, and being about four in breadth: the chief town whereof is Bornholm or Barkholm, a fortreſs ſituate on the weſt ſide of the iſland, over againſt Calmar. Oxen, horſes, and fallow deer abound in this iſland, which conſiſts chiefly of paſture ground. 4. Huena is a ſmall iſland in the Sound, over againſt Carelſcroon: the chief town whereof is Uranberg,

Gothland.

Wisby.

Oeland.

Huena.

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berg, built, it is ſaid, by the King of Denmark, for the uſe of that great mathematician TYCHO BRAHE; for this, as well as the two former iſlands, were ſubject to Denmark, about three or fourſcore years ago.

Rugen.

5. The iſland of Rugen, ſituate over againſt Stralſund, in the Upper Pomerania; from which it is ſeparated by a very narrow ſtraight, not a league over. The iſland is thirty miles long, and as many broad, but ſo indented by creeks and bays of the ſea, that there is no part of it a league diſtant from the coaſt. There is no walled town upon the iſland, but ſome forts, and ſeveral villages: the chief whereof is Bergen, conſiſting of about four hundred houſes. It is a plentiful country, abounding in grain and cattle; and was conquered by the Dane and his confederates in the late northern war, but reſtored to the Swedes again by the peace, anno 1720.

Uſedom and Wollin.

And, 6. The iſlands of Uſedom and Wollin, which lye to the ſouthward of Rugen on the ſame coaſt of Pomerania, juſt in the mouth of the river Oder; in which I do not find any great towns, or any thing they are remarkable for, but their ſituation, by which they command the navigation of the Oder. The paſſage between theſe two laſt iſlands is narrow, and known by the name of the Swin Sound. As to the iſlands of Dagoe and Oſel upon the coaſt of Livonia, theſe were yielded to Ruſſia, as hath been intimated already, by the laſt peace. There are, it is ſaid, beſides theſe, near ſix thouſand leſſer iſlands on the coaſt of Sweden.

CHAP. III.

Treats of the perſons and habits of the Swedes; their genius and temper, diet, exerciſes, roads, and way of travelling.

Perſons and habits of the Swedes.

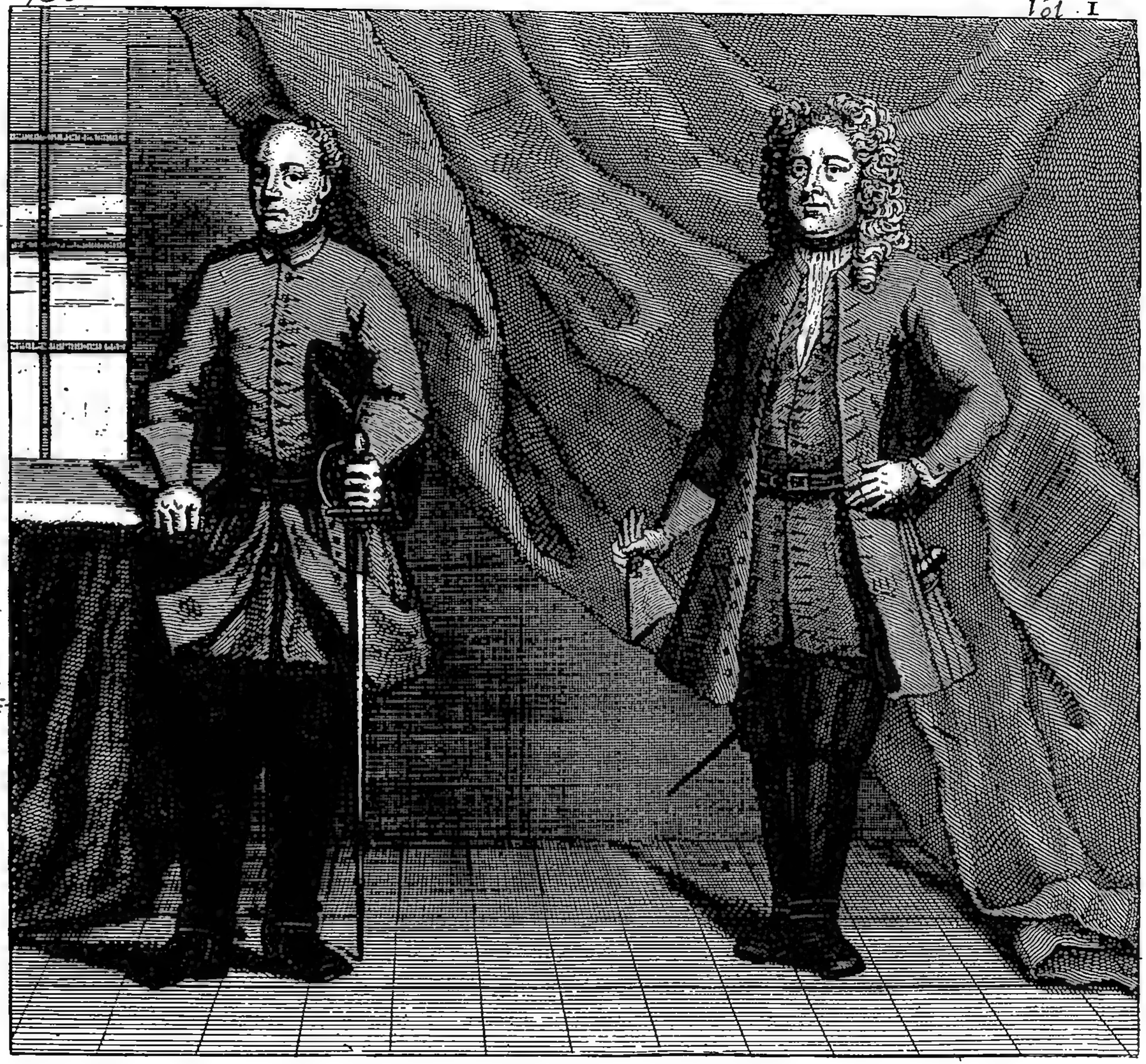
THE Swedes are of a good ſtature, and robuſt conſtitutions, qualified by nature and education for enduring hardſhips and fatigue. Their complexions good, where they are not too much expoſed to the weather; and their hair frequently inclined to yellow, like that of other northern nations. The women are of a juſt proportion, and have tolerable features; and thoſe who are above the vulgar, and not put to the common drudgeries of husbandry, &c. are generally fair; for here the peaſants make their females undergo at leaſt a ſhare of all laborious employments. They go to plough, thraſh their corn, row upon the water, ſerve the bricklayer, and carry burthens, as the men do with us. Their clothing in winter, which laſts the better half of the year in Sweden, is furs: inſtead of which, the common people who cannot afford them, make their clothes of ſheep skins with the wool on; and are, as a modern writer obſerves, better provided with clothing ſuitable to their condition, than the common people of moſt other countries; though where clothes are wanting, it uſually proves fatal to them in the ſeverity of the winter, occaſioning the loſs of their limbs, and ſometimes of their lives. The uſual remedy to recover a noſe or a limb, when it happens to be frozen, is to rub that part with ſnow; if they come to the fire (or into their ſtoves, which are almoſt as common here as in Ruſſia) they endanger the loſs of it. As to the faſhion of their clothes, they are much the ſame with thoſe of the Germans, and other European nations, and therefore need not any particular deſcription; and like them in ſummer time, they wear ſuch cloth or ſtuffs as they can procure.

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Genius and temper of the Swedes.

Their genius and temper is beſt deſcribed by their own judicious PUFFENDORF. They have commonly, ſays that gentleman, a ſort of gravity, not unbecoming, when it is tempered by a correſpondence with other nations. They have a natural itch to make a great appearance, by which many of them ruin their families. They are very well verſed in the arts of diſſimulation, and extremely jealous and diſtruſtful. The Swedes in general have a good opinion of themſelves, and of all that relates to them, and are very apt to contemn others. They are inclinable enough to learn the firſt elements of any art or ſcience, but few of them have the patience to ſound things to the bottom, and perfect themſelves in the arts to which they apply themſelves; and many of them are apt to think themſelves maſters of a ſcience before they are half inſtructed in it. As they have but little inclination to mechanick trades, and even ſlight them, it is obſerved, that they are but ill qualified for manufactures, eſpecially ſuch as require ingenuity and induſtry. The Finlanders are a ruſtick, ſtiff, opinionative people, but extremely laborious, and make very good ſoldiers, when they are diſciplined; thus far PUFFENDORF. Another writer obſerves, that as the air of Sweden is very healthful, and dry as well as ſharp, and diſpoſes the natives to a vigorous conſtitution, which is confirmed by a hardy education, coarſe fare, and hard lodging; they are qualified to endure whatever uneaſy circumſtances may befal them. But on the other hand, as if the ſeverity of the climate had in a manner cramped their limbs, and indiſpoſed them for any great degrees of dexterity or activity; the ſame may alſo be obſerved of their minds too, which are ſeldom found endued with an eminent ſhare of vivacity or pregnancy of wit, and yet by induſtry, experience, and travelling, ſome of them arrive at a mature and ſolid judgment, being led by their genius to ſerious things; and if they happen to have patience to go through with the ſtudies they apply themſelves to, become excellent,

and



CHARLES XII King of Sweden. A Swedish Officer

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and merit the title of great and able men. But this ſeems not to be the talent of that nation, they are generally more apt to ſit down with ſuperficial acquiſitions, than to purſue their ſtudies to any degree. This diſpoſition qualifies them rather for a life of labour and fatigue, than of art and curioſity, as is viſible in every claſs of men amongſt them. The nobility, who apply themſelves chiefly to a military life, are more famous for courage and bearing hardſhips, than for ſtratagems and intrigues. Thoſe who are employed in civil affairs, are laborious and indefatigable, but ſeldom raiſe their ſpeculations above what the neceſſity of their employments require; and their abilities proceed not ſo much from ſtudy as a long experience. In point of learning, they chooſe rather to tranſcribe from others, and make collections, than to digeſt their own thoughts. In maters of trade they will rather do the drudgery, than dive into the myſtery of commerce or manufactures, and in whatever requires ingenuity or dexterity, therefore they are forced to be ſerved by ſtrangers. Their common ſoldiers endure cold, hunger, and hard marches to admiration, and are rather valuable upon account of their courage and obedience to command, than for learning their duty readily. Their peaſants alſo are tolerably laborious, when neceſſity compels them, but have little regard to the niceneſs of their work, and are with difficulty perſuaded to quit their old ſlow toilſome methods for any new inventions, how eaſy and dexterous ſoever. Their nobility and gentry are generally men of courage and a graceful deportment, and endeavour to make the beſt appearance they poſſibly can, and therefore are more extravagant in the number of their retinue, the magnificence of their buildings, and the richneſs of their dreſs, than in plentiful tables, and on other occaſions which are leſs obſerved. The gentry will not condeſcend to accept employments in the church, to practiſe law or phyſick, or exerciſe any trade. The clergy affect gravity and long beards; and as they are given to hoſpitality, are much reſpected by the common people. They are however but moderately learned, and very little verſed in controverſial points; for they admit none of a different perſuaſion among them; they allow neither liberty of conſcience nor diſputes about religion. Their citizens underſtand but little of traffick, but are pretty much inclined to over-reach and impoſe upon thoſe they deal with. The peaſants, though mighty ſubmiſſive and reſpectful to their ſuperiors while they are ſober, are mad and ungovernable when they get any liquor in their heads. They live in a wretched poor way, make their clothes, ſhoes, hats, and inſtruments of huſbandry themſelves, after a ſlovenly manner, having but little money to purchaſe them. And of the whole nation in general it may be ſaid, according to this author, that they are a people very religious in their way; conſtant frequenters of the church; eminently loyal and affected to monarchy; and grave, even to formality: apt to entertain ſuſpicions, and envy each other, as well as ſtrangers: more enclined to pilfering and ſecret frauds than open violence, ſuch as breaking open houſes, and robbing on the highway, which are crimes rarely committed in this country.

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Diet.

As to the diet of people of condition, it is much the ſame with our own; except that every one of the gueſts, at an entertainment, is obliged to take off a bowl of wine of a quart, beſides a great quantity of other liquor. But there being a very great ſcarcity of corn in Finland, and the northern part of Swedeland, the poor people live upon bread made of the inward bark of the pine tree, with roots, ſalt fiſh, and dried fleſh, as the Laplanders do; and have but little ſtrong liquor to comfort their hearts with in that cold climate.

Exerciſes.

The ſports and exerciſes peculiar to the Swedes, Muſcovites, and other northern nations. are their running races in ſledges, and ſailing in yatchs upon the ice; in which they will turn and alter their courſe, ſailing with incredible ſwiftneſs, much beyond any veſſel in the water, and with much leſs danger of overſetting.

Highways and travelling.

The highways in Sweden are better than could be imagined, conſidering the many rocks and rugged mountains in the country. Theſe are plained and made even by the peaſants, who receive their orders from the Governors of the reſpective provinces from time to time, and obey them punctually, inſomuch that MOTTRAYE obſerves, there are ſcarce better ways in any country in Europe; nor is there a place where a man travels with more ſecurity, or leſs charge; for horſes are hired for about a penny a mile; but then there is very poor accommodation, it ſeems, both for lodging and diet upon the road. The eaſieſt and moſt expeditious way of travelling is in winter in their ſledges, eſpecially in thoſe parts of the country which abound in lakes and rivers, for theſe are all frozen up, and conſequently here they meet with no obſtacles in their way; and may more eaſily carry proviſion with them in the ſledge, than they can on horſeback. And the want of the ſun is ſo well ſupplied by the whiteneſs of the ſnow, and the clearneſs of their heaven in winter, that travelling by night is as uſual as in the day, and journeys begun as frequently in the evening as in the morning.

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CHAP. IV.

Treats of the nature of the ſoil, and of their plants and animals.

The face of the country, and nature of the ſoil.

SWEDEN is of a vaſt extent, ſays PUFFENDORF, but great part of it is nothing but woods, lakes and pools. In ſeveral places it preſents us with prodigious rocks, which makes foreigners look upon it as a horrid diſagreeable country; but if we take a narrow view of it, we ſhall find it not altogether ſo ſhocking. In the heart of the country Sweden has a quite different aſpect than it hath about Stockholm, and among the rocks by the ſea ſide. There are a great many fertile pleaſant plains; and their woods and foreſts are not only neceſſary to skreen them from the winter's cold, but very uſeful in preparing the metals they dig out of their mines. The lakes alſo are well ſtored with fiſh, and afford both pleaſure and profit, and an eaſy tranſportation for their goods in ſummer by water; and in winter by the ſledge. Beſides, ſays the ſame writer, the incomparable ſweetneſs of their ſummer, and the light nights, which continue for near three months together, ſufficiently balance what others boaſt of in their ſouthern climates. But does not Monſieur PUFFENDORF here ſeem to talk with the partiality of a native, and willingly paſs over thoſe other three months in winter, when it can ſcarce be ſaid they have an hour's good day-light, and great part of the nation for that time, are condemned to uſe lamps and other artificial lights? But ſo difficult is it for us to ſhake off that immoderate fondneſs we have for our own country, that the ſame great author proceeds to acquaint us, that the ſoil produces corn enough for the ſubſiſtence of the inhabitants, the plenty of one province ſupplying the ſcarcity of another; except in ſome extraordinary barren years. Whereas on the contrary, all travellers aſſure us, that the Finlanders, and the natives of the northern provinces, are forced to live upon bread made of the inward bark of trees, as hath been obſerved already, which it muſt be preſumed, they would not do if there was plenty of corn to be had. It is true, that fine corn country of Livonia was under the dominion of Sweden when PUFFENDORF wrote, and then this might be aſſerted with more colour; but I take it, that Livonia only ſupplied the ſouthern parts of Sweden, even then; the other provinces were either too remote, or the people not in a condition to purchaſe the corn brought from thence. But to proceed, the whole year in Sweden, travellers obſerve, is divided into two ſeaſons, viz. winter and ſummer. The ſpring and autumn are of ſo ſhort duration, that they ſcarce deſerve any conſideration. It was the remark of a French Ambaſſador, that there was in Sweden nine months winter, and all the reſt was ſummer; for as the winter commonly begins very ſoon, ſo the ſummer immediately ſucceeds it, and leaves no ſpace to be called ſpring. And the productions of the earth are accordingly more ſpeedy in their growth than in other places. In the beginning of the ſummer the fields are ſtored with variety of flowers: and ſtrawberries, rasberries, and ſuch kind of fruits grow upon every rock. Melons are brought to perfection in their gardens in dry years. But peaches, apricots, and other wall fruits are exceeding ſcarce. As are alſo apples, pears and plums, and thoſe they have are not well taſted. Cherries they have of ſeveral ſorts, and ſome tolerably good; and plenty of all kinds of roots, which are a great ſupport to the common people. The gardens about Stockholm, Mr. MOTRAYE aſſures us are very fine. And notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the winter, their greenhouſes afford orange, fig, myrtle, and other trees, plants and flowers of the moſt tender nature. Their woods conſiſt chiefly of fir, pines, beech, birch, alder, juniper and ſome oak, particularly in the province of Bleking; and the trees grow in moſt places ſo thick, that they are not paſſable. The trees are generally ſtrait and tall and fit for building. Firing alſo is extremely plentiful, except near the mines where it hath been deſtroyed, and theſe are ſupplied from other parts by the ſledge or water carriage on their lakes and rivers.

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Fruits.

Trees.

Their cattle are but of a ſmall ſize; but the horſes of Finland however are ſo tough and hardy, that they value them beyond the German horſes. Their ſheeps wool is but coarſe, and only fit to make clothing for the common people. Their wild beaſts are bears, wolves, elks, deer, foxes, hares and ſquirrels, of which the three laſt change their colour to white in the northern provinces, it is ſaid, in winter time, as they do in Muſcovy. There are but few parks, and thoſe indifferently ſtocked, the charge of keeping the deer being ſo great during their long winters. The Swediſh hunting can hardly be called ſuch, for they ſurround the game, and ſhoot and murder it as they can, without giving any law. There is very little riding in the caſe, either here or in Germany.

Cattle and wild beaſts.

Tame and wild fowl are very plentiful and good. The reder, a fowl as big as an ordinary turky, is much admired; as is the orras, about the bigneſs of an hen. Partridges abound here, and a bird called a yerper, not unlike a partridge. In winter they take great numbers of thruſhes and blackbirds, and another beautiful bird of the bigneſs of a fieldfare, whoſe feathers are tipped with ſcarlet, ſuppoſed to come from Lapland in the hard ſeaſon. Pigeons they have but few, the

Fowl.

northern countries abounding ſo much in eagles, hawks, and other birds of prey.

Their lakes and rivers are well ſtored with variety of good fiſh, particularly ſalmon, pearch, trouts, tench, pikes, and many others, of which the ſtreamling, a fiſh ſomething leſs than a pilchard, is very common. Theſe are ſalted and barrelled up, and ſent to all parts of the country. They ſalt up alſo their ſalmon and large pikes, which ſerve them for food in the winter when their waters are frozen up, and there are no freſh fiſh to be had. And if the rivers are frozen to that depth as travellers relate, namely, an ell or two thick, one would think the whole breed ſhould be deſtroyed; but poſſibly inſtinct may lead them in the beginning of the winter to their lakes; ſome of which are an hundred and two hundred fathoms deep, for their preſervation; as the feathered race fly to the ſouthward when the winter approaches. But beſides fiſh for eating, they have ſeals and ſome others in the Bothnick bay, of which they make great quantities of train oil.

CHAP. V.

Treats of their mines, manufactures, trade and commerce.

AS the principal part of the Swediſh manufactures conſiſts in what they make of copper and iron, their minerals and manufactures naturally fall under the ſame head. There is in Sweden alſo a mine of ſilver, the firſt landing place whereof is an hundred and five fathom deep, the roof of which is as high as a church, and ſupported by vaſt arches of ore; from thence there is a deſcent by ladders, or baskets to the loweſt mine, being above forty fathom more, where they now work. They have no record ſo antient as the firſt diſcovery either of this, or their great copper mine, which ſeems to have been the work of many ages: the ore of the ſilver mine ſeldom yields above four per cent. and requires great pains to refine it: they are alſo at the charge of a water-mill to drain the mine, and make uſe of another to draw up the ore. It produces about twenty thouſand crowns of fine ſilver yearly, of which the King hath the pre-emption, paying one fourth leſs than the real value. The great copper mine is eighty fathom deep, and of a great extent; and yields annually the value of two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, of which the King hath a fourth part in kind, and of the remainder he hath a duty of twenty five per cent. when it is exported unwrought. They have alſo a great number of iron mines and forges, eſpecially in the mountainous part of the country, where they have the convenience of water-falls to turn their mills; and from theſe, beſides what ſerves for their own uſe, they export annually to the value of three hundred thouſand pounds in iron to foreign countries.

The laſt writer who treats of their mines and forges is MOTRAYE, who travelled through Sweden in the years 1716 and 1718. He relates, that near the town of Ardoga in the province of *Weſtmania*, there are ſeveral forges, whoſe large hammers and vaſt bellows are put in motion by wheels, ſuch as are uſed in water-mills; and that two of theſe forges annually work four thouſand ſhippunds of iron, every ſhippund being three hundred weight Engliſh: from hence he went to Orebro, the capital of Nericia, which province, as well as many other, hath the advantage of wood for firing and rapid torrents, that fall with violence on the wheels, which actuate the vaſt bellows and hammers of their large forges: in one of theſe, called axberghammer, are three hammers, which annually work two thouſand ſhippunds of the beſt iron. And there is a fair held every year in January at Orebro, whither the citizens of Stockholm and Gottenburg chiefly reſort; having the privilege of buying up the iron of the bruckpatrons, or maſters of the iron works in this province, and ſelling it to foreigners, who have not the privilege of buying it at the firſt hand. Beſides the great forges which ſerve to hammer and frame the iron into bars, there are frequently other leſſer hammers and bellows, which are put in motion by the ſame ſtreams, and ſerve to form part of the iron into bayonets, hammers, hatchets, and other implements.

A ſhippund 3 hundred weight.

From the iron mines our author ſet out for Salsberg, a little town, remarkable only for its ſilver mines near it. The moſt antient of theſe mines was ruined by the falling in of the earth; the miners not having raiſed and diſpoſed the pillars properly to ſupport it. The mines they work in at preſent are called nygrafwar, or the new mines, which at firſt produced twenty thouſand pound weight of neat ſilver annually for fourſcore years ſucceſſively, but of late have not produced above a thouſand or twelve hundred weight in any one year. Monſ. MOTRAYE had the curioſity to deſcend into one of theſe ſilver mines, and take a view of it, and accordingly was let down in one of their buckets to the firſt floor, which is ninety fathoms deep; and afterwards into the ſecond, which is twenty fathoms lower; from hence he went down into the third by ladders, which is thirty five fathoms more. His guides lighted him and his company down with torches, where they drank the miner's health in a glaſs of brandy, in imitation of CHARLES XI. King of Sweden, who formerly had the curioſity to take a view of the ſame mine; and having obſerved their method of ſoftning the rocks in order to break the ore, and their manner of working it,

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our traveller and his company aſcended again by the ſame way they came; and he was ſhewn in an office adjoining to the works ſome pieces of maiden ſilver, which came pure out of the mine without refining, and a kind of cotton, or a ſofter ſubſtance, which they pretended to be the aſbeſtos, or incombuſtible matter mentioned by the antients, of which they made the linen they wound the bodies of their deceaſed friends in to burn, whereby they preſerved their aſhes from mixing with thoſe of the funeral pile.

The copper mines were next viſited by MOTRAYE: they lye near the city of Falun in the province of Dalecarlia. He paſſed by ſeveral furnaces continually burning to melt, or caſt the metal, before he came to the mine, which hath no leſs than ſeventeen openings, all of them in ſtora koparbeg, or the great copper mountain, which is the name of the mine. This artificial abyſs, he ſays, appears like mount Veſuvius; and the ſmoke which iſſues from it, and from the furnaces is not leſs offenſive. And this ſulphureous ſmell cauſes frequent ſneezings in thoſe who are not uſed to it. The largeſt opening is two hundred and ſixty fathom in circumference, and ſeventy in depth to the firſt landing place, and as much more to the ſecond: ſome of theſe mines, or rather openings, are wrought, and others become uſeleſs by the falling in of the rocks and earth, which bury ſeveral of the miners every year, and almoſt every month; two of the miners had been cruſhed to pieces and three more lamed but the week before our author arrived. He viſited however one of theſe caverns, but came out of it as black as ſoot, and almoſt ſuffocated by the ſulphureous ſmell. This mine of koparbeg, he obſerves, is the moſt antient, and the moſt conſiderable of any in Europe. Some hold that they tranſported copper from hence into foreign parts before the birth of our Saviour; but there are manuſcripts which ſpeak of its flouriſhing ſtate five hundred years ago; and their old utenſils, which are made entirely of braſs, as mattocks, hatchets, nails, &c. and the arms of the ſame metal, as ſabres, poniards and knives, which are ſtill preſerved in the college of antiquities, prove that this metal was firſt in uſe here. The mine yields annually ſix thouſand ſhippunds of copper, and formerly yielded a great deal more; but hath been damaged by the falling in of great quantities of earth; and the maſter miners complain that the government inſtead of encouraging them by new privileges have abridged the old, particularly the power of protecting criminals, and thoſe who are proſecuted for debt; and the liberty of ſelling their braſs to whom they pleaſe, or coining it, which they were indulged in formerly: on the contrary, new taxes have been laid upon them, that they do not clear five and twenty per cent. at preſent, their charges deducted. As to the mines in Lapland near the river Torne, theſe have been taken notice of already.

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Manufactures.

The principal manufactures of Sweden, as appears at preſent, are thoſe of copper and iron; though formerly, it ſeems, either through pride, or ſlothfulneſs, they ſuffered their ore to be carried into foreign countries and wrought abroad. The hans towns in the Baltick monopolized this branch of trade till about the time of the reformation. Very little iron was made in Sweden till then; but the ore being carried to Dantzick and other parts of Pruſſia, was there forged into bars; which is the reaſon, according to a late ingenious writer, that the Engliſh ſmiths ſtill call foreign iron, Dantzick, or ſpruce iron. The Swediſh nation owes its greateſt improvements in this manufacture to thoſe ingenious mechanicks who were driven out of the low countries by the Duke of Alva, at the beginning of the reformation. Theſe people not being allowed the liberty of their religion at home, tranſported themſelves to Sweden; where they erected forges, and other conveniencies for the making of iron guns, wire, and all manner of manufactures of copper, braſs and iron, which are ſtill carried on chiefly by the deſcendants of thoſe people. The exports from Sweden, beſides their hard ware, are pitch, tar, maſts, deals, and wooden ware; and they have endeavoured to ſet up the ſilk and woollen manufactures; in the latter of which they have in ſome meaſure ſucceeded. The Swedes however import from abroad, cloth, ſilks, ſtuffs, wine, brandy, ſugar, ſpices, tobacco, paper, linen, and other merchandize, which uſually balance their exportations, and ſometimes exceed them. Their trade to England is held to be moſt beneficial to them, as it takes off their own manufactures, and brings them in return near two thirds in money. Their moſt diſadvantageous trade is that to France, which furniſhes them only with ſilks and other trifles to ſupply their vanity, and takes off but little of their native commodities. The college, or board of trade, which conſiſts of a treaſurer and four counſellors, hath the direction of their commerce, and determines all matters in relation to it. The bank of Stockholm is of great advantage to their trade, the merchants uſually make their payments to each other by bills drawn upon it, which ſaves them the trouble of tranſporting money from place to place; and this is no ſmall convenience in Sweden, where their payments are frequently made in copper money, that require a wheel-barrow, or a cart to bring home an ordinary ſum. The management of the trade in Sweden hath ever in a great meaſure been in the hands of foreigners; the natives wanting either capacity, or application, but chiefly ſtocks, to carry it on. Without credit from abroad they are not

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not able to keep their iron works going; and therefore at the beginning of the winter they make their contracts with the Engliſh and other foreigners, who thereupon advance them conſiderable ſums, and receive their iron the ſummer following. If the Swedes were not thus preſſed by neceſſity, foreigners would ſcarce be permitted to live and trade amongſt them; and as it is, they treat them but very indifferently; for the Swediſh burghers cannot with any patience ſee ſtrangers thrive amongſt them, eſpecially the Engliſh, who are inclined to live well and make a figure abroad; whereas the Dutch and other nations, living in a more frugal manner, and becoming burgers frequently, are not ſo eaſily diſtinguiſhed. The exportations of the Engliſh to Sweden, as hath been intimated, ſcarce amount to a third part of what they import from thence, and conſiſted chiefly in cloth, ſtuffs, and other woollen manufactures, of which we formerly vended to the value of fifty thouſand pounds, beſides lead, tin, pewter, ſugar, fruits, tobacco, coals, herrings from Scotland, and other wares to the value of an hundred thouſand pounds per ann. but the making cloth in Sweden, being of late years encouraged by that government, and workmen from Germany, Scotland, and even from England invited over, proves a great hindrance to the ſale of Engliſh cloth, which is now charged alſo with ſuch duties there, that it is ſcarce worth the while to ſend any thither. We find the Swedes, as well as ſome other nations, have followed the example of the Engliſh; and eſtabliſhed an act of navigation, whereby foreigners are prohibited to import any goods but what are of the product of their country; but this indeed affects the Dutch more than the Engliſh, who are the common carriers of Europe, tranſporting the effects of one country to another, and having little or nothing of their own growth. But to proceed, could the Engliſh improve their plantations in America ſo as to be ſupplied with naval ſtores from thence, it is no matter how little they dealt with any of the northern powers, who at preſent receive little of us but ready money, for what we import from thence; they either work their woollen cloths themſelves, or purchaſe them at other markets, where the cloth indeed is not ſo good, but can be had cheaper than of us.

CHAP. VI.

Treats of the forces of Sweden, the ſtrength of its ſituation and frontier towns, and of the publick revenues.

THE antient military tenures are ſuppoſed to have been firſt eſtabliſhed by the Swedes and Goths. And certain it is, that their nobility and gentry held their lands of the crown by knights ſervice; that is, they were obliged to maintain and bring into the field a body of horſe, in proportion to the value of the lands they held of the crown: but wherever the feudal laws had their riſe, no inſtitution ſeems more generally to have prevailed in the world than this, eſpecially among thoſe people whoſe dominion was founded in conqueſt; nor could any thing be more rational, or tend more to the ſecurity of their conqueſts, than to parcel out the country among the officers of their armies, who would for their own intereſt defend the territories committed to them, and be always ready to aſſiſt the ſtate with a body of troops maintained upon the lands aſſigned them, without any charge to the government. Such was originally the antient conſtitution of almoſt every northern kingdom; and the deſcendants of theſe officers in our own country, generally obtained the name of Barons. Lands were alſo conveyed to inferior officers on the ſame conditions, which tenure was called knights ſervice. But though this was a very politick contrivance for the ſecuring a new acquired dominion, it ſeems in a ſucceſſion of time, to have been attended with great inconveniencies to the Sovereign: for the Barons forgetting their primitive obligations to the crown, frequently confederated together againſt it, and indeed ſet up a dominion independent of it; as was the caſe in England, when the Barons prevailed againſt the King. In ſome places they dethroned their Princes, and rendered the crown elective; and in others ſhared the regal authority with him, or put conditions and limitations on their Sovereign, by ſome ſtyled the original contract, which they compelled him to ſubmit to when their arms were proſperous. And this is the reaſon we find ſo many different forms of government in Europe, though moſt of them had the ſame original. As to the militia of Sweden, it ſeems yet to be upon the ſame foot it was originally, only with ſome few neceſſary alterations. In former ages, when military diſcipline was ſcarce any where obſerved, and there was no ſuch thing as ſtanding regular troops kept up in any kingdom, all people were upon the level in this reſpect; and the Lords, who held by military tenures, ſo as they brought able-bodied men, and ſizable horſes into the field, ſufficiently anſwered the deſign of their inſtitution. But ſince moſt nations have entertained ſtanding troops trained up to war, the militia upon the antient eſtabliſhment have been looked upon very little better than an armed mob; as indeed they are with us; and the reaſon of it is, becauſe they are ſeldom or never exerciſed, and the men and horſes are changed almoſt as often as they are muſtered: whereas in Sweden they have been obliged of late years, conſtantly to ſend the ſame men and horſes into the field, as long as they

Forces of Sweden.

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they are fit for ſervice, which has made their militia equal to the beſt troops in Europe; and were ours under the ſame regulation, a ſtanding army would be perfectly unneceſſary in England. But to proceed, no levies could have been made of foot in Sweden, without the conſent of the commons, or fourth eſtate, till the reign of CHARLES XI. in the obtaining of which there was uſually found much difficulty, and very great delays, to the prejudice of the publick ſervice. Whereupon commiſſioners were appointed by that Prince, to allot each province their proportion of ſoldiers, according to the number of farms it contained, and every farm of ſixty or ſeventy pounds a year, was charged with one foot ſoldier, who receives from the farmer his diet, lodging, and ordinary clothes, and about twenty ſhillings a year in money. Or elſe a little wooden houſe is built for him by the farmer, who allows him hay and paſturage ſufficient to keep a cow, and ploughs and ſows land enough for him to ſupply him with bread, which the married ſoldiers uſually accept of, inſtead of quartering on the farmer; and when they are once liſted in the King's ſervice, they cannot quit it on pain of death. This regulation was very burthenſome to the farmers at firſt, being obliged to advance ten, and ſometimes twenty pounds to a man, to induce him to enter into the ſervice, and this they are obliged to repeat, whenever their ſoldier dies or is diſabled. Thus both the recruiting and maintaining the common foot ſoldiers is entirely at the country's charge. The officers of horſe and foot are maintained out of lands lately reſumed and re-united to the crown. Every officer hath a houſe and a parcel of land aſſigned him in that part of the country where his regiment is quartered, and the rent of other farms to the value of his pay, which they receive either in money, corn or other goods, and are much better ſatisfied with it, than the pay they uſed to receive from the treaſury, though it be not altogether ſo much, on account of their being obliged to attend and ſolicit ſo long for it. The lands aſſigned for the payment of a colonel of foot, are about three hundred pounds per annum, and the reſt of the officers in proportion. The pay of all the officers of one regiment amounting to two thouſand five hundred pounds per annum, and there were lately twenty eight regiments of foot upon this eſtabliſhment, beſides fifteen regiments of horſe, the officers whereof were provided for after the ſame manner, out of the rents of the crown lands. And that the houſes may not run to decay, or the lands be beggared, they are annually viſited by commiſſioners appointed to ſurvey them. And as every officer upon his coming to ſuch an eſtate, is obliged to ſign a particular of the condition he finds it in, he cannot enter upon a ſuperior command, till he hath made the former eſtate as good as he found it. The ſoldiery are ſubject to the civil magiſtrate while they remain in their quarters, but when they are called out to actual ſervice, they are under military diſcipline: nor is a private ſoldier allowed to lye out of his quarters, or to be abſent a day from the pariſh to which he belongs. The officers alſo are obliged to reſide conſtantly with their regiments, unleſs they have a ſpecial licence to be abſent. Every company aſſembles to perform their exerciſes once a month, and every regiment once or twice a year, when only they wear the King's clothes, which at other times are laid up in the churches. The names of every military officer are entered in the King's books, with the time he came into the ſervice, and the ſteps by which he hath been advanced; whereby his Majeſty underſtands at one view the merits and ſervices of all his officers. The guards and the forces in Pomerania and Bremen are not upon this foot, but are paid in money iſſued out of the treaſury, as with us. Before the laſt reign, and the loſs of Livonia and Bremen, the militia of Sweden were computed as follows, viz. 15 regiments of horſe, amounting to 17000 men; 28 regiments of foot, 35000 men; one regiment of foot guards, 2000 men; the forces of Pomerania, Bremen and Verden, ſix regiments, 6000 men. In all fifty regiments, amounting to 60000 men. But the late King of Sweden, CHARLES XII. at firſt in defence of his dominions againſt Denmark, Poland and Muſcovy, by whom he was attacked all at once in the beginning of his reign, and afterwards to revenge himſelf on that confederacy, and to extend his empire, raiſed more than twice that number of forces: and as the Kings of Sweden were become abſolute, levied both men and money by ſuch ways and means, and in ſuch proportion as he ſaw fit; in which war, tho' ſucceſsful for the firſt twelve years, he loſt Livonia, and great part of his German dominions, and ſo beggared his country, that it muſt require an age and more to reſtore it to that flouriſhing condition he found it in at his acceſſion. The Swedes indeed have now recovered their liberties again, if not extended them beyond whatever they could pretend to in any former reign; and by their inſtrument of government, as it is called, have reſtrained the Sovereign from raiſing forces, or levying money without conſent of the States aſſembled in their diet. But to proceed. In the eſtabliſhment of the forces in the reign of CHARLES XI. there was beſides the ordinary rents belonging to every regiment, about twenty farms aſſigned, to anſwer any extraordinary expences, and provide a ſubſtance for diſabled or ſuperannuated officers. As to the common ſoldiers, who were maimed or grown old in the ſervice, there was one general hoſpital, endowed with a good revenue; beſides which, every officer, upon his promotion, contributed

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tributed a certain ſum to it, in proportion to the poſt conferred upon him. Their principal magazines of arms were at Stockholm and the caſtle of Jencopping, towards the confines of Denmark, which were ſupplied from a conſiderable iron work at Orebro in Nericia, which is continually employed in forging of arms. There are no fortified places in the heart of Sweden, except the caſtle of Jencopping, where the train of artillery uſually ſtands.

Their rocks are a better defence than walls and baſtions: it is but guarding their paſſes, and no enemy can penetrate far into their country. On the frontiers towards Norway there are ſome little forts; and the caſtle of Bahus, ſituate on a rock in the middle of a river, a little above the city of Gottenburg, at the entrance of the Sound, alſo is deemed a ſtrong town. Marſtrand, Eliſburg, Warburg, Halmſtat, Landſcroon, and Malmo, which lye upon the ſea over-againſt Denmark, are places of ſtrength; and Carelſcroon, where the royal navy is laid up; and Calmar upon the eaſtern coaſt, over-againſt the iſland of Oeland, are fortified; and there are two ſmall forts at the entrance of the harbour of Stockholm. They are ſufficiently covered by the ſnowy mountains of Lapland on the north: but as the Muſcovites are now maſters of part of Finland, and have a fleet ſuperior to the Swedes, their country lyes extremely expoſed on that ſide, as they will ſoon experience, if ever they engage in a war with Ruſſia again. On the other hand, ſhould Muſcovy and Sweden unite their fleets, they will infallibly have the dominion of the Baltick, and may bid defiance to any maritime power in Europe, at leaſt in their own ſeas; and if ever the Duke of Holſtein ſhould happen to ſucceed to the Swediſh crown, as it is extremely probable he will; an alliance, if not an union between thoſe powers, will certainly be the conſequence of it.

Swediſh navy.

As to the royal navy of Sweden, I look upon it to be inferior to that of Denmark, as well as to that of Muſcovy at this day: but what gave the Ruſſians the greateſt advantage againſt the Swedes in the laſt war, was their gallies, with which they rowed up to the very farther end of the Bothnick gulph, that would not admit of large ſhips, ravaging all the Swediſh coaſts on that ſide, as far as Lapland, without oppoſition, deſtroyed their copper and iron works, and burnt their towns, doing them an irreparable damage. The Swedes, it ſeems, finding their error, have now begun to build gallies; but as they are exceeding poor, being drained of all their treaſure, and their foreign trade in a manner ruined by the late war, they will not ſuddenly be a match for the Muſcovites in thoſe ſeas, who have not built leſs than three or four hundred gallies already; nor can the allies of Sweden give them much aſſiſtance in this caſe; their ſhips drawing too much water to venture higher than Stockholm.

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Revenues of Sweden.

The publick revenues of Sweden ariſe either out of the demeſn lands of the crown, from the cuſtoms, the coin, copper and ſilver mines, tythes (which the crown ſeized at the reformation, and were before appropriated to biſhopricks or monaſteries) poll-money, fines, ſtamped paper, and other duties, payable on proceedings at law; all which are computed to amount to a million of pounds ſterling; whereof the cuſtoms produce about a fourth part, and the demeſn lands a third. The poll-tax was levied only upon the peaſants; every one of whom above ſixteen years of age, and under ſixty, paid twelve pence a year; but in the diſtreſs the kingdom of Sweden was reduced to in the late war, no means were left unattempted for raiſing money. It was part of the charge againſt Baron Gortz, the Prime Miniſter, that he had drawn up a placart, whereby the ſubject was obliged to pay, beſides all other taxes, the ſixth peny of all their effects; in which the furniture of their houſes was not exempted, and were obliged to declare the full value of their ſubſtance upon oath, and to forfeit all they were worth, in caſe of any concealment.

But the greateſt piece of oppreſſion actually put in practice in the laſt reign, was the compelling the people to bring in all their ſilver and braſs money, and exchange it with the government for muntetekins, a copper coin, of very little intrinſick worth, which the government were pleaſed to put what value they pleaſed upon; and thus a piece of copper not worth a half-peny, was to paſs in a payment for half a crown or more, and other pieces in proportion; nor did this placart extend only to the natives, but foreigners ſuffered extremely by it, being obliged to take this coin at this imaginary value for their merchandize. At other times, the late government impoſed their notes upon the people, which they were forced to take as ſpecie, though no funds were aſſigned for the diſcharge of them; and in ſhort, the ſubjects could ſcarce be ſaid to have any property left. It is no wonder therefore that they ſacrificed Baron GORTZ to their rage, whom they looked upon to be the author of theſe deſtructive councils, when his maſter, CHARLES XII. who protected him, was dead.

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Treats of the antient and preſent conſtitution of the government, and the revolutions it hath undergone.

The antient government of Sweden.

THE antient government of the Goths, Swedes, and other northern nations, appears to have been monarchical: and according to TACITUS, their Sovereigns were not reſtrained by any compacts with their people, or held their crowns at the will of their ſubjects; but their dominion was abſolute. The nature of their conſtitution may in ſome meaſure be collected from the governments they eſtabliſhed in every country they conquered. In theſe we find the feudal tenures univerſally took place, as hath been obſerved already. Their Princes or leaders parcelled out their conqueſts among their followers, reſerving certain rents and ſervices to ſupply the exigencies of the ſtate; and appropriated to themſelves, lands ſufficient for the ſupport of their houſholds, which were called their demeſn lands. I do not apprehend that the Gothick or Norwegian nation, ſingly, could ſupply thoſe vaſt numbers, which overran the kingdoms of the ſouth at different times. It is evident that moſt of the northern people were united in thoſe expeditions; and as they were ſubject ſometimes to the Norman or Norwegian Princes, and at others, to Swediſh or Gothick Sovereigns, it is probable they were denominated Normans or Goths according to the nation the General or Sovereign happened to be of; nor did theſe nations deſcend immediately ſo low as Perſia, Greece, France, Italy, &c. but firſt ſubdued Muſcovy, Poland, Germany, and the countries which lay contiguous to them; and having eſtabliſhed themſelves there, were joined by many adventurers from thoſe kingdoms, in hopes of ſharing the plunder of the world with them: and thus re-inforced, they proceeded gradually farther ſouth. But how many northern nations ſoever might be aſſembled, and join in the deſtruction of the ſouthern kingdoms of Aſia and Europe, it ſeems, the Goths, Normans, or Vandals, had the credit of thoſe enterprizes in Europe; and thoſe who marched towards Perſia, Armenia, Aſia minor, &c. were generally ſtyled Scythians or Tartars. The Vandals, according to the learned, were of Gothick extraction; tho' their laſt abodes, before their Spaniſh expedition, might be in the northern parts of Germany or Jutland.

But to return to the antient government of the northern kingdoms: as the greateſt part of the lands were divided among the military men, who afterwards conſtituted the nobility and gentry, and held their eſtates upon condition of performing certain ſervices to the crown, it was not an uncommon thing, when the Sovereign required any thing of them, which was not ſuitable to their inclinations, to enter into confederacies, and diſpute his power; and if their arms were ſucceſsful, they compelled him to ſubmit to certain limitations or conditions of government; to allow them a ſhare in the legiſlature and adminiſtration; and perhaps in the election or confirmation of their future Princes; which was the caſe of Sweden for ſome hundreds of years. And as the clergy, after the eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian religion in any country by the emiſſaries of Rome, aſſumed a power of controlling the civil magiſtrate; theſe alſo became another powerful body, and had their ſhare in the legiſlature, &c. As to the burgeſſes and commonalty, theſe ſeem to have derived their privileges chiefly from the crown, and to be introduced into the legiſlature by the Sovereign, in order to balance the power of the nobility and clergy, who being poſſeſſed of the greateſt ſhare of the lands, and having a majority of the people conſequently for their tenants and vaſſals, were in many kingdoms an overmatch for the crown; till Princes, by enfranchiſing the lower part of the people, and admitting their repreſentatives into the legiſlature, engaged them in their intereſt, and by that means ſupported their authority againſt the mutinous Barons and clergy. But whatever was the original of the inſtitution, we find four eſtates eſtabliſhed in Sweden, for ſeveral hundred years paſt, conſiſting of 1. The nobility; 2. The clergy; 3. The burgeſſes; and 4. Of the commonalty or peaſants. And beſides the ſtates of the kingdom, there was a ſenate or council eſtabliſhed; which during the intervals of their ſeſſions did not only adviſe, but controul the King, who could not act in ſome caſes of importance, without the concurrence of a majority of them. They took an oath of fidelity alſo to the kingdom, rather than to the King, and were to remain ſenators for life; any attempt againſt their perſons, or even their reputation, being made treaſon.

Govern. of Sweden comes exclu. five.

4 Eſtates in Sweden, and a ſenate.

The eſtates were uſually aſſembled once in three years, or oftner, if the exigencies of the ſtate required it; letters being ſent to the Governors of the reſpective provinces, ſignifying the time of their meeting. They wrote to the ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen in the province, to acquaint them with it; and to the Biſhops, who cauſed the ſame to be publiſhed in the churches.

1 Eſtate.

One is choſen out of each family of the nobility and gentry, which were about two thouſand, to repreſent that body; and with them the colonels, lieutenant colonels, majors, and captains of every regiment ſit and vote.

2 Eſtate.

The clergy chooſe one out of every rural deanery, conſiſting of ten pariſhes, and their charges

are born by the electors. These, with the Bishops and superintendents, make about two hundred, who represent that body.

The magistrates and common-council of every corporation choose the representatives of the burghers, of which there are four elected for Stockholm, and two for every other town, amounting to about an hundred and fifty in the whole.

The peasants choose one out of every district, to represent them, of their own quality, and not a gentleman, as in some other countries whose charges they bear, and these amount to about two hundred and fifty.

They usually meet at Stockholm, in a large room of the castle; where his Majesty being seated on the throne, and the Senators or Privy Council, sitting at some distance from him, the president of the chancery compliments the assembly in the King's name; after which, a Secretary acquaints them with the state of affairs since their recess; and the occasion of requiring their advice and assistance. To which the marshal of the nobility returns an answer. And after him, the Archbishop for the clergy. The first burgher-master of Stockholm, in the name of the burghers; and one of the peasants for that body. Then they separate to four several houses or chambers, and choose a secret committee, composed of an equal number of each body (but there is some alteration made in this, particularly an act of this present reign, as I shall take notice of hereafter) To this committee, the ministry communicates such other particulars, as are not thought proper to be made publick, and they prepare the matters to be proposed to the respective bodies. In each chamber, the votes of a majority conclude the rest, but all the chambers must concur in the passing of an act. When the particulars proposed by the King have been considered and dispatched, each chamber offers their grievances separately to his Majesty: to which he returns an answer. And each member of the three inferior houses have a copy delivered them, of all acts passed by the States, and of the King's answers to their respective grievances, which they communicate to their electors.

The crown of Sweden, says a late writer, was not only elective for some hundreds of years, but the Royal authority was so limited, that the Prince had little more than the name of King left; he could neither make war nor peace, levy money or troops, without the consent of the estates (or of the Senate, during a recess). He could neither erect a fortress, introduce foreign troops, or put any strong place into the hands of a foreigner. The revenue of the crown arose only from some small demesns about Upsal, and a light poll tax on the peasants, and from some fines and forfeitures, which accrued to the crown in criminal proceedings. The government of castles, fiefs, or manors, which were granted by the crown at first only for years, or life at most, were insensibly changed into hereditary possessions, which the nobility held by no other title, but force; withholding the rents which were reserved out of them: as the Bishops and clergy who possess such estates also did; on pretence, that the lands of the church ought to be exempted from all duties. And in short, the nobility and clergy had so reduced the Royal revenue by their encroachments, that it is said, the King could not, with what was left, maintain five hundred horse, and was considered as little more than Captain General, during a war, and as President of the Senate, in time of peace. The executive power was almost entirely lodged in the Senate, which was usually composed of twelve Lords, of whom the Archbishop of Upsal, Primate of Sweden, was one; and the rest were the principal officers of state, and governors of provinces. The King had indeed the nomination of the Senators, upon a vacancy; by which means, it might be thought he had a fair opportunity of advancing his creatures. But these, when they came to taste the sweet of sovereign power, usually forgot their obligations to their Prince, and became of a different interest. The prelates and nobility fortified their castles, and made them the seats of so many independent states; and arming their vassals, frequently made war on each other, and sometimes on their Sovereign. They neither sought nor expected redress from the King's courts, when they apprehended themselves injured, but every one of these petty Sovereigns took upon him to do himself justice, despising the weakness of their injured Prince. The kingdoms of Norway and Denmark were under the like form of government, both of them were elective and had their respective Senates, without whose concurrence, or the States assembled in their diet, the King could transact nothing of importance. But GUSTAVUS ERICKSON, a Swedish nobleman, elected King about the year 1523, having rendered himself extremely popular, by rescuing Sweden from the usurpation and oppression of the Danes, found means to advance the royal authority to a very high pitch. The States, who thought they could never sufficiently express the sense they had of their deliverance, or their gratitude to their deliverer, made a solemn act or decree, whereby 'they 'obliged themselves to approve whatever GUSTA-'VUS should think fit to do for the preservati-'on of his dignity' (there being a Pretender set up against him.) Particularly they impowered him to make war and peace, and resolved that the enemies of GUSTAVUS should be reputed the enemies of the nation.

In the reign of GUSTAVUS I. the prerogative of the Prince enlarged again, 1523.

This

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This happened juſt at the time when LUTHER's doctrine and the reformation began to prevail in Sweden; and the Romiſh clergy, who were the greateſt, if not the only enemies to the acceſſion of GUSTAVUS, being now in poſſeſſion of half the lands and revenues of the kingdom; and among others, of many of the royal caſtles and demeſns, he looked upon this as a proper time to attempt the reſumption of thoſe caſtles and lands which had been alienated from the crown, by falling in with LUTHER's doctrine, and pretending to advance the reformation of the church.

The caſtles and lands given to the church, reſumed by the King.

But not to trouble the reader with all the ſteps that were taken by GUSTAVUS to break the power of the clergy, and advance the revenues and prerogative of the crown; it may be ſufficient to give an abſtract of an act, which he procured to be paſſed by the States, in the year 1527. by which it was ordained, 'That the Biſhops ſhould 'immediately ſurrender their caſtles to the King, 'and disband their troops. That their pretend-'ed right to fines and forfeited eſtates, which 'originally belonged to the crown, ſhould be en-'tirely abrogated. That all the ſuperfluous plate 'and bells in the churches, ſhould be ſold to pay 'the publick debts. And that all grants of eſtates 'to the clergy, ſince the edict of King CANUT-'SON, who began his reign, ann. 1445. ſhould 'be vacated, and the lands re-united to the crown. 'And that two thirds of the tythes, which were 'generally poſſeſſed by the Biſhops and Abbots, 'ſhould be ſequeſtred for maintaining the army 'in time of war; and for erecting and endowing 'publick ſchools and hoſpitals in time of peace. 'And that all the privileges of the clergy ſhould 'be entirely at his Majeſty's diſpoſal." This act the States directed the Chancellor and Doctor OLAUS PETRI (the great promoter of Lutheraniſm in Sweden) to preſent to the King, and to aſſure his Majeſty, 'that he ſhould never find the 'leaſt oppoſition to his pleaſure in that aſſembly.'

The King finding himſelf thus maſter, both of the religion and revenues of the church, ſays the Abbot VERTOT, marched through great part of his dominions, at the head of a body of horſe, to ſee the act put in execution; being attended by OLAUS PETRI, and other Lutheran Doctors, whom he ordered to preach before him in the principal churches. And wherever he came, he commanded the titles and grants, by which the clergy held their lands, to be brought before him; and either re-united to the crown, or reſtored to the heirs of the antient proprietors, all ſuch lands as had been alienated to the church, ſince the reign of King CANUTSON; whereby he recovered from the ſecular and regular clergy, more than two thirds of their revenues, ſeizing upon near thirteen thouſand conſiderable farms. He cauſed the church plate alſo to be melted down, and carried into the publick treaſury. This occaſioned ſome conſpiracies and inſurrections againſt the government; but theſe were eaſily ſuppreſſed, and ſerved only to confirm and advance the regal authority. And now having ſucceeded ſo happily in ſuppreſſing his greateſt enemies, the clergy, he fell upon another project, for encreaſing the revenues of the crown. *Moſt of the Swediſh provinces*, it ſeems, were antiently covered with huge foreſts, which former Kings had cauſed to be diſforeſted, and granted the lands to the nobility and gentry, reſerving a certain rent to the crown; but the Lords taking advantage of the low condition of the crown, had neglected to pay them, and they ſeemed now to be entirely aboliſhed by a long preſcription. But this King, whoſe claims and demands, ſays VERTOT, differed not from the moſt arbitrary decrees, required the nobility and gentry to reſign up their fiefs, or to pay the rents which were originally reſerved on them. Whereupon they were obliged to compound with the King on ſuch terms as he was pleaſed to preſcribe. They agreed to pay him a certain ſum every year, for all ſuch fiefs or manors as they held of the crown.

The crown made hereditary again.

The next thing he attempted was the entailing the crown upon his iſſue, to accompliſh which he ſummoned the States of the kingdom, and propoſed to abrogate the cuſtom of electing their Princes. He ſet before them the ſervices that he and his family had done to Sweden, and the fatal conſequences of the diviſions and conteſts which happened at elections; but as my author obſerves, his authority was already ſo well eſtabliſhed, that he needed no rhetorick to prevail on the aſſembly, not a man of them durſt oppoſe what he required. The reſpective houſes conſented with the greateſt ſubmiſſion to the abrogating their right of election, and ſettled the crown on his eldeſt ſon, Prince Eric, and the other Princes his children ſucceſſively, according to their ſeniority, and on their reſpective heirs. And the crown hath accordingly been enjoyed by his deſcendants ever ſince, in purſuance of this act, which was paſſed in the year 1542. King GUSTAVUS looking upon himſelf alſo to be inveſted with a power of parcelling out his dominions as he ſaw fit, a little before his death, deviſed Finland to his ſon JOHN; to his third ſon MAGNUS, Weſt Gothland; and to his youngeſt ſon CHARLES, the provinces of Sudermania, Nericia and Wermeland; but to hold of their elder brother ERIC as fees of the crown, and to furniſh their quota of troops whenever the exigencies of the ſtate required it. King ERIC reigned about nine years, but theſe younger brothers thinking themſelves hardly uſed, confederated themſelves with ſome other malecontents, and in the end dethroned him, on pretence of male-adminiſtration, and JOHN, his ſecond brother, ſucceeded him. It was however in the reign of this unfortunate

Eric 1559.

John III. 1568.

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unfortunate Prince, King ERIC, that part of Livonia was added to the Swediſh dominions. ERIC having been confined in priſon ſome years, and frequently attempting to make his eſcape, was at length poiſoned by the order of his brother JOHN.

SIGISMOND

King JOHN was ſucceeded by his ſon SIGISMOND, who was before elected King of Poland; but SIGISMOND reſiding for the moſt part in Poland, and endeavouring to reſtore the Roman Catholick religion in Sweden, gave an opportunity to his uncle CHARLES, the youngeſt ſon of GUSTAVUS ERICUS, to inſinuate himſelf into the affections of the nobility and ſtates of the kingdom, who thereupon depoſed SIGISMOND, and advanced CHARLES IX. to the throne. The ſtates alſo paſſed an act excluding ULADISLAUS, the ſon of SIGISMOND, from the crown of Sweden, becauſe his father refuſed to let him be educated in Sweden, in Lutheran principles, and ſettled the crown upon GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, the ſon of King CHARLES, after his father's deceaſe, and upon his heirs male. They alſo inveſted the new King with an abſolute authority to act according to his diſcretion in the preſent poſture of affairs.

CHARLES IX. 1604.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS succeeded his father King CHARLES, anno 1611, and having great ſucceſs againſt the Muſcovites and Poles, a peace was concluded, by which Liefland or Livonia, with the country of Ingermanland was confirmed to the Swedes. He afterwards made conſiderable conqueſts in Germany, but being killed at the battle of Lutzen, left his crown to his daughter the Princeſs CHRISTINA, then five years of age, in favour of whom her father had prevailed upon the States to alter the act of ſettlement, which reſtrained the ſucceſſion to the male line. The war was ſtill proſecuted in Germany, till the peace of Munſter, by which Sweden was confirmed in the poſſeſſion of the Upper Pomerania, Bremen and Verden; of Stetin in Lower Pomerania, and of the city of Wiſmar in Mecklenburgh, and obtained a right to ſit and vote in the diets of the empire. Queen CHRISTINA, with the conſent of the eſtates, reſigned her crown to her nephew CHARLES GUSTAVUS, the fourth ſon of CASIMIR, Count Palatine of the Rhine, and of KATHARINE, the ſiſter of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, and afterwards retired to Rome, having embraced the Roman Catholick religion.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

CHARLES GUSTAVUS

CHARLES GUSTAVUS was mighty ſucceſsful in his wars againſt the Danes, which were concluded by a treaty of peace, whereby Denmark confirmed to Sweden the provinces of Schonen, Halland and Bleking, together with Lyſter, Huween, the iſle of Bornholm, and the fief of Druntheim in Norway: and by this treaty it was ſtipulated, that the Swedes ſhould have a free paſſage through the Sound, without paying any duties to the Dane.

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CHARLES XI. 1660.

CHARLES XI. ſucceeded his father CHARLES GUSTAVUS, being then but five years of age, whereupon the adminiſtration of the government was committed to the Queen, together with the five great officers of the crown, until the year 1672, when the King was declared major, and took the government upon him, being then ſeventeen years of age. He found the nation engaged in an unſucceſsful war, the odium of which was thrown upon the miniſters who were at the helm during his minority; whereupon a committee was choſen out of the ſeveral bodies of the ſtates, to enquire into the miſcarriages of their adminiſtration. And it was reſolved, that the power the Senators had aſſumed to themſelves, was a principal occaſion of their misfortunes; and therefore declared, that as they the ſtates needed no ſuch mediators between the King and them, ſo neither did they think his Majeſty by his coronation oath (in which he engages to govern with the advice of the Senators) was obliged any longer to have their concurrence in his councils; upon which, ſeveral of them were laid aſide, and the reſt, inſtead of their former titles of Counſellors, or Senators of the kingdom, were ſtyled only the King's counſellors. The ſtates alſo declared farther, that though the Regents during a minority might be called to account for their adminiſtration, yet the King, who received his crown from GOD, was accountable only to GOD for his actions, and tied to no other engagements than what his coronation oath imported, namely, to rule the kingdom according to law. Large taxes were immediately given, anſwerable to the neceſſities of the government, and a new court or college of reduction was eſtabliſhed for re-uniting to the crown all ſuch lands as had been alienated from it; the choice of the members of this court being left to the King, and the care of the kingdom was recommended to his Majeſty by the ſtates, praying him to make ſuch eſtabliſhments in relation to the forces by ſea and land, and the fortified places, as ſhould appear needful; and indeed he had ſcarce occaſion to ask any thing of them, each body of the ſtates ſtriving which ſhould out-bid the other in their conceſſions. The nobility and gentry not being able to ſubſiſt on their private fortunes, which were much diminiſhed by taxes, without ſome office or place at court, were ready to comply with the King in every thing, rather than hazard their preſent employments, and future hopes of advancement; and from the officers of the army who ſat in the ſame houſe, the court were ſure to meet with no oppoſition; the clergy, burghers, and commonalty, being taught to believe that their miſeries proceeded from the too great power of the nobility, and that the King

The ſenate diſſolved.

The ſtates reſign their power to the crown.

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could never be too much truſted, who had given eminent proofs of his piety, as well as of his valour and conduct in reſcuing the kingdom from the diſtreſſed ſtate he found it in at his coming of age. And being glad alſo of an opportunity of humbling the nobility, who were always imperious in their proſperity, each body of the ſtates readily came into whatever the court required of them, and gave the King an opportunity of eſtabliſhing as abſolute a dominion as any Sovereign in Europe. He firſt began to examine the titles of thoſe who held lands which formerly belonged to his anceſtors, and re-united them to the crown, by which means he recovered a very great revenue, but impoveriſhed moſt of the conſiderable families in Sweden. A college or court of liquidation was alſo erected as a barrier to the treaſury, and to keep off all creditors of the crown, till their accounts were firſt ſtated and allowed by this court. And at the ſame time if any perſon was indebted to the King, he was compelled to pay it, though greater ſums (as it ſometimes happened) were due from the government to him, and the party left to ſtate his accounts afterwards in the court of liquidation.

The King impowered to make any alteration in the laws.

In the next ſeſſion of the ſtates, anno 1683, the declaration or promiſe at the coronation of ruling according to law was farther explained, the ſtates declaring, that his Majeſty was not thereby bound up to the laws then in being, but might alter the ſame, and add ſuch conſtitutions as he thought moſt uſeful for the preſent ſtate of the kingdom; and that whatever orders or inſtructions he was pleaſed to give to any court or officer, the ſame ought to be a law to them; only they hoped his Majeſty would communicate to the ſtates ſuch laws as were of a general nature, and intended to oblige the whole kingdom. And before the end of this reign, it appeared that the diet or aſſembly of the ſtates ſerved to no other purpoſe than to record the acts of the miniſtry, their conſent was not demanded to the making any future laws.

CHARLES XII. 1697.

King CHARLES XI. dying on the 17th of April 1697, in the 42d year of his age, and the 37th of his reign, was ſucceeded by his only ſon CHALES XII. who not being yet quite fifteen years of age, the Queen and five great officers of ſtate were conſtituted regents during his minority: however the ſtates of Sweden being aſſembled on the 16th of November following, declared the King major. In the year 1700. the Poles, Danes, and Muſcovites falling upon the young King of Sweden without any provocation that could juſtify their attacking him, and even before any war was declared, the Engliſh and Dutch ſent a fleet to his aſſiſtance, and compelled the Danes to clap up a peace with him; which gave this young heroe an opportunity of marching againſt the Muſcovites and Poles, whom he defeated in almoſt every engagement at the beginning of the war, with numbers very far inferior to thoſe of his enemies, though he had well diſciplined veteran troops of Saxons to contend with, as well as Ruſſians and Poles. He had the good fortune in this war to dethrone the King of Poland, and brought the Czar of Muſcovy almoſt upon his knees; till entertaining too great a contempt of his enemies, he ventured to march into the heart of their country without taking the uſual precautions; and being ſurrounded by the Czar's numerous troops, his army was entirely cut off or made priſoners at Pultowa, except three or four hundred horſe, with which he eſcaped to Bender in the Turkiſh dominions, of which the reader hath already had a particular relation. Some few years after his return to Sweden he was killed at the ſiege of Fredrickſhall, having reigned as arbitrarily as his father, the ſtates not being ſuffered to reſume the power they had complimented their former Princes with during his reign. Beſides the inſtances already produced of the arbitrary government of CHARLES XII. in levying men and money on his ſubjects without their conſent, there is a paſſage in MOTRAYE, which demonſtrates ſtill more, how inſignificant the ſtates of the nation had rendered themſelves, by their extravagant conceſſions.

While his Majeſty remained in Turkey, the ſenate or privy-council, it ſeems, had taken upon them to ſummon an aſſembly of the ſtates, who began to reſume their antient authority. But his Majeſty returning to his German dominions, ſoon let them know, that both the ſenate and they had taken greater liberties than his father CHARLES XI. had left them. That they had forgot they were no more the free ſenate and ſtates of the kingdom, but the King's only, without whoſe expreſs order they were not to aſſemble: and ordered Mr. MULTERN his Chancellor, to ſignify to them, 'That if they were not 'ſeparated when that letter ſhould come to their 'hands, or did not immediately diſperſe upon the 'receipt of it, he would ſend them one of his 'old boots, with expreſs command to do no-'thing but what that ſhould preſcribe them.' And at his return to Sweden, deprived them of the little ſhare they ſeemed yet to retain in the adminiſtration.

Princeſs ULRICA elected Queen.

In this bleſſed condition were the ſtates of Sweden at the demiſe of the late King, who dying without iſſue, the crown according to the right of ſucceſſion, devolved upon CHARLES FREDERICK, Duke of Holſtein, ſon of HEDWIG SOPHIA, the eldeſt daughter of CHARLES XI. and of FREDERICK late Duke of Holſtein; but the Princeſs ULRICA ELEONORA, the youngeſt daughter of CHARLES XI. being married

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ried to the hereditary Prince of Heſſe Caſſel, was then General of the Swediſh army, and his conſort, the Princeſs, promiſing to reſtore the ſtates to their antient power and privileges, the Duke of Holſtein was paſſed by, in favour of the Princeſs ULRICA, and a perfect new conſtitution ſtruck out, ſuch at leaſt, as that nation had not known for near two hundred years paſt, as I ſhall relate more at large, that the reader may be fully informed of the preſent ſtate of the Swediſh government.

Upon the death of CHARLES XII. the principal officers of the army immediately repaired to the Prince of Heſſe's quarters, and gave him an aſſurance, that the Princeſs, his conſort, might depend upon their ſuffrages and aſſiſtance, in caſe any oppoſition was made to her ſucceeding her brother. Whereupon the Prince immediately diſpatched an expreſs to Stockholm, where the Princeſs and her friends managed matters ſo well, that the next Sunday ſhe was prayed for in the churches as Queen. However, the day following ſhe publiſhed a declaration, by the advice of the ſenate, wherein ſhe renounced all arbitrary power, called ſovereignty in Sweden, and invited all the ſtates to meet at Stockholm, on the twentieth day of January following, to confirm the publick voice, by their free election, and conſult on the preſent poſture of affairs. But notwithſtanding the ſtates met according to the Queen's ſummons, they ſtyled her only Princeſs Royal, and pretended to be voluntarily aſſembled, upon the vacancy of the throne, to elect a ſucceſſor; intimating at the ſame time, that they intended to elect no other but the Princeſs ULRICA, provided ſhe would oblige herſelf to govern according to ſuch conditions and limitations as the ſtate ſhould preſcribe to her, which ſhe ſeemed very ready to comply with, having no other title to depend on, than the election of the people; for the young Duke of Holſtein, whoſe intereſt was not inconſiderable, was the ſon of her eldeſt ſiſter, and conſequently ought to have ſucceeded to the throne, if they had had any regard to hereditary right, or even to former acts of the ſtates; but they had ſuffered ſo much by the ambition and tyranny of their Princes, that they were determined not to let this opportunity ſlip, of putting freſh limitations on the Royal prerogative. And that nation muſt be ſtupid to the laſt degree, where the Prince hath no title but what the ſtates confer upon him, if they do not tie up his hands from doing publick miſchief, and prevent their own deſtruction: though there will be always ſome, who, in hopes of ſharing the plunder of their country, with the court, will be ready enough to compliment the miniſtry with their liberties, and render their poſterity ſlaves and beggars. But to proceed,

The ſtates having obliged this Princeſs to declare that ſhe held the crown of the ſtates, and renounce for herſelf and her poſterity, all arbitrary power, called ſovereignty in Sweden, proclaimed her duly elected Queen of Sweden, and ſettled the crown upon her Majeſty's male iſſue, if ſhe ſhould have any; but it was provided in the act of election, that ſhe ſhould forfeit the crown, if ſhe endeavoured, directly or indirectly, to reſtore arbitrary power; and that whoever ſhould propoſe to her or her ſucceſſors any thing tending to it, ſhould be puniſhed as a traitor. She obliged herſelf alſo not to admit any perſon into any employment in the government, who was not a Lutheran, and born a ſubject of Sweden, and who did not firſt ſwear, not to promote or introduce arbitrary power.

Limitations and conditions put upon the Royal authority.

Among other articles in their act of limitation or form of government, it is provided, That the Queen ſhall profeſs the Lutheran religion; that no other religion ſhould be tolerated in Sweden, either to natives or foreigners (except in Ambaſſadors houſes) and that the ſpeaking in derogation or contempt of Lutheraniſm, ſhould be puniſhed by death or baniſhment, according to the diſcretion of the judge. By the ſecond, the Queen is impowered to pardon criminals, with ſome exceptions. By the third, ſhe is reſtrained from alienating any of the dominions of the crown, in favour of younger children. Her heirs are not to ſucceed to the crown, till they are 21 years of age, renounce abſolute power, and acknowledge they hold the crown from the ſtates, their education to be under the direction of the ſtates, and to profeſs the Lutheran religion. By the fourth, the ſtates are not to ſubmit to any laws, which are not made by their conſent, nor are they to have the force of laws without ſuch conſent. The fifth prohibits the augmenting the publick taxes, without the conſent of the ſtates. The ſixth reſtrains her declaring war, without their conſent, or of the ſenate, during a recefs. The ſeventh reſtrains her from making peace, or entring into alliances, without the conſent of the ſenate or the ſtates. The ninth confirms her Majeſty's right of coining money, but prohibits a baſe alloy, or altering the value, without the conſent of the ſtates. By the tenth ſhe is reſtrained from going out of the kingdom without their conſent. By the twelfth there are to be 24 ſenators, choſen by a committee of the nobility, clergy, and burghers. By the thirteenth her Majeſty is to govern the kingdom, by the advice of the ſenators. By the fifteenth the ſenators are all to give their advice, when the neceſſities of the ſtate requires it, and to be reſponſible to the ſtates for their ill adminiſtration. By the ſixteenth the ſenate are to take upon them the adminiſtration, when the Queen is abſent or indiſpoſed, and during a vacancy of the throne, till the ſtates are aſſembled. By the eighteenth, a ſenator is appointed preſident of every court

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of juſtice; and it is provided, that no gentleman ſhall be condemned, but by the royal court of hofraten, where it concerns his life, or honour, according to the privileges of the nobility. By the twentieth the forces are to take an oath of fidelity to her Majeſty, the kingdom and ſtates. By the twenty-firſt no colonel, or other officer ſhall march any ſoldiers out of their quarters, without leave from her Majeſty and the ſenate, on pain of death. By the twenty-fifth the Queen is to take no ſum out of the treaſury, without the conſent of the ſtates or ſenate, exceeding twelve pounds, which may be delivered on her Majeſty's ſingle order. By the thirty-fourth her Majeſty is to diſpoſe of no place in the government, without the conſent of the ſenate. And the ſtates are to diſpoſe of all military employments, above a lieutenant colonel. By the thirty-fifth the Queen is deſired not to ennoble ſo many as formerly, but only men of merit. By the thirty-ſixth ſhe is to ſummon the ſtates once in three years or oftner, if the publick welfare require it. An account of the ſtate of affairs ſince the laſt ſeſſion is then to be laid before them, and they are then to enquire into the conduct of the ſenate, during their receſs. Upon the abſence, dangerous ſickneſs, or death of the Queen, the ſenate may ſummon the ſtates, and if there be no heir male, in whoſe name they can be ſummoned, they are to aſſemble themſelves the 30th day after the Queen's deceaſe. Theſe, with ſome other leſs material articles, were ſigned by the Marſhal or Speaker of the nobility: by the Archbiſhop of Upſal, for the clergy: by the firſt burgomaſter of Stockholm, for the burghers, and by the ſenatry of the peaſants, for the commons, and were afterwards ſigned and ratified by the Queen.

Prince of Heſſe elected King.

The ſtates being aſſembled at Stockholm, in February, 1720, the Queen propoſed the making her conſort, the Prince of Heſſe, King jointly with her. The Prince afterwards ſent them a declaration of his intentions, by which he engaged himſelf to renounce arbitrary power, to profeſs the Lutheran religion, and ſuffer no other in the kingdom, and in all reſpects, to conform himſelf to the limitations and conditions contained in the inſtrument of government ſigned by the Queen. Whereupon the ſtates preſented a remonſtrance to her Majeſty, ſhewing the inconveniencies they apprehended in the Prince's reigning jointly with her; to which the Queen anſwered, that if they would conſent to the Prince's advancement to the throne, and deſired he ſhould be inveſted ſolely with the regal power, ſhe was ready to reſign her diadem to him, provided ſhe might reſume the government again, in caſe ſhe ſhould ſurvive the Prince. Which being approved of by the ſtates, they proceeded to proclaim him King, but with ſome farther reſtrictions and alterations in the inſtrument of government, ſigned by him, than were contained in the former, particularly, that the King ſhould not have power of commanding any ſum out of the publick treaſury, how ſmall ſoever, and that the number of Senators ſhould for the future be reduced to ſixteen. And on the third of May 1721, the ceremony of his coronation was performed in the great church of Stockholm. Upon the whole it appears, that the Swediſh nobility and gentry have not only fully recovered their antient liberties, but the ſtates have inveſted themſelves with Sovereign power, and made their King entirely dependent on them; and Sweden may now be looked upon rather as an ariſtocracy than a monarchy. The peaſants or commons ſeem to have the leaſt ſhare in the government of any of the houſes, for they are not ſuffered to depute any of their members to aſſiſt in the ſecret committee, in which all affairs of moment are tranſacted; and for this mortifying reaſon, that they are illiterate, and not qualified to debate affairs of ſtate. But this I find the commons look upon as a very great grievance, and have preſented memorials to the other houſes to complain of it, for which preſumption ſeveral of their members were impriſoned and puniſhed in the year 1723, and they were compelled by force to drop their claim: ſo that with all their boaſted liberties, the commons ſeem to be not much bettered by the change.

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Contains ſome farther account of the ſenate of Sweden; of their reſpective courts or colleges for the adminiſtration of publick affairs, and of their courts of juſtice, laws, and civil government.

The ſenate.

THE ſenate, without whoſe conſent the King cannot determine any affair of conſequence, ſince the laſt act of ſettlement, are reduced to the number of fourteen, who are choſen in the following manner, viz. twenty four of the body of the nobility or houſe of Lords, twelve of the clergy, and as many of the burgeſſes houſe, being aſſembled, take an oath of ſecrecy, after which they proceed to chooſe three perſons fit to be advanced to that dignity on a vacancy, in which they muſt be unanimous. Of theſe his Majeſty appoints which he pleaſes to ſupply the place. No Senator can be elected in the intervals of their diet or parliament: nor may there more than two of any one family be of the ſenate at the ſame time. And it is obſervable, that the houſe of commons, or peaſants have no vote in the election of a Senator. Every Senator preſent in council (and none are to be abſent but upon apparent neceſſity) is obliged to give his voice, when any matters of ſtate are propoſed, and they are anſwerable to the ſtates for all male adminiſtration. When the King is abſent or ſick, the adminiſtration is entirely

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tirely in their hands, and every thing decided amongſt them by a plurality of voices.

A ſenator preſides in every court.

Every one of the ſuperior courts of juſtice hath a ſenator for preſident of it, to whom is added a vice-preſident, and four other aſſociates, or aſſiſtants. The college of war, or the war-office, alſo hath a ſenator for preſident, and two others of the ſame dignity for his aſſociates, with a general of the artillery, a quarter-maſter general, and two counſellors of war; under whoſe direction are all the land forces, the artillery and fortifications. The college or court of admiralty alſo hath a ſenator Admiral for its preſident, who hath all the other Admirals and ſea-officers for his aſſociates. The college or court of chancery hath a ſenator for preſident, who hath two other ſenators, the Chancellor, and three Secretaries of ſtate, for his aſſociates. Here all acts of ſtate, acts of the diet, charters, patents, and treaties of peace and alliance, are drawn up and recorded.

The chamber of accompts, or ſtadt comptoir, hath a ſenator for preſident, with another of the ſame dignity, and the counſellors of the chamber, for aſſociates, to whom all who are concerned in the publick revenues are accountable, and receive orders from them, and the publick cheſt or treaſure is committed to their care. The college of mines hath a ſenator for preſident, and four aſſociates, who ſee machines provided, and every thing relating to their mines improved to the greateſt advantage. A ſenator alſo preſides over the college of commerce, who hath two counſellors, four aſſiſtants, and two merchants for his aſſociates, and theſe have the regulation of every thing relating to trade and manufactures. The firſt marſhal of the court is a ſenator alſo, who is comptroller of the Royal tables, palaces and ſtables.

Sweden is not only divided into counties and provinces, as hath been already obſerved, but the whole kingdom is again divided into five and twenty governments, over every one of which is placed a great officer, called a landſhofding, who antiently had the authority both of Lord-lieutenant and ſheriff, and was appointed by the King; but now no employment of conſequence is diſpoſed of without the concurrence of the ſenate, and the authority of the landſhofding ſeems to be more reſtrained than heretofore: but one thing is very particular in this office, which is, that the landſhofding takes care that all the lands in his government are manured and cultivated to the beſt advantage. To him alſo the execution of judicial ſentences, the collection of the publick revenue ariſing in his government, and the care of the Royal foreſts, parks, and other crown lands, are committed.

The ſupreme court of juſtice in the kingdom is the court of reviſion, to which the ſubject may appeal from any other civil court, where the matter in diſpute amounts to the value of ſeventy pounds. The preſident of the court of chancery, and two or three other ſenators, with the Chancellor, ſit as judges in this court, as the King alſo does in perſon when he pleaſes. The next court to this is the court of under reviſion, of which the Chancellor is preſident; who having two ſecretaries his aſſeſſors, prepares ſuch cauſes for the ſupreme court as are found proper to come before it. In every corporation and every diſtrict, of which there are many in every province, there is a court of juſtice in the cities and towns corporate; an Alderman preſides in them, having ſome of his brethren for his aſſociates; and in the country the chief officer of the diſtrict is judge, having a ſtanding jury of twelve men to decide all facts. This court is ambulatory, and uſually kept near the place where the reſpective facts ariſe. Theſe courts determine no cauſe where the matter in diſpute is above the value of forty ſhillings, and ſeem very much to reſemble our antient ſheriffs tourn, which was alſo ambulatory, and the facts determined by a jury. Cauſes above the value of forty ſhillings are tranſmitted to the next ſuperior court, of which in country cauſes the Lathman, or Judge, of the province is preſident. And in corporations the Burgomaſter, or Mayor, is preſident, and the Aldermen aſſociates. Capital crimes are tranſmitted from theſe courts to the reſpective national courts, of which there are three, one for the kingdom of Sweden, holden at Stockholm; a ſecond for the kingdom of Gothland, held at Jencopping; and a third for the dukedom of Finland, held at Abo: in each of which, as hath been hinted already, a ſenator is preſident, and the aſſeſſors are gentlemen of quality. An appeal lyes to theſe from the inferior courts, in civil actions, where the value of the thing conteſted does not amount to more than twenty pounds. All theſe courts ſit continually, or but with ſhort vacations, and as they are not much tied up to forms, cauſes meet with a ſpeedy diſpatch, unleſs there happens to be tampering in the caſe, which, it ſeems, is not uncommon in Sweden.

Inferior courts.

Standing juries.

Provincial courts.

Three national courts.

Facts committed at ſea are tried in the ordinary courts, but determined by the ſea laws of Wisby, a town in the iſle of Gothland, which were once as much regarded in the Baltick, as the laws of Oleron on this ſide. Their court of admiralty hath no juriſdiction in civil cauſes.

There is a conſiſtory in every dioceſe, for the trial of eccleſiaſtical cauſes, of which the Biſhop is preſident. Here marriage-contracts and baſtardy are tried, and church cenſures inflicted; but they cannot order any corporal puniſhment, or give ſentence of excommunication, or adminiſter

Eccleſiaſtical courts.

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an oath to the party: and an appeal lyes from theſe courts to the reſpective national courts, and in ſome caſes to the King. The power of executing all ſentences, in criminal matters, being in the Governors of provinces and their ſubſtitutes, or in the Stadtholders of Stockholm, and ſome other cities. It is not eaſy to procure juſtice to be done upon offenders in criminal caſes, eſpecially where a foreigner is concerned againſt a native: theſe gentlemen taking the liberty to interpret the ſentence, or delay it, according to their humour or intereſt. In criminal matters, where there is a defect of evidence, the party is permitted to purge himſelf by his oath, which anſwers to our wager of law, where the defendant is permitted to purge himſelf in like manner; and in ſome caſes ſix or twelve men, as it was once with us, are allowed to vouch for him. Trials by juries of twelve men are as antient as any part of their conſtitution: their hiſtorians affirm that it had its original among them, though it be practiſed now only in their inferior courts; and there the jurors have their places for life, and ſalaries ſettled upon them: they muſt be unanimous in their determination of facts, as with us; but in the ſuperior courts every thing is determined by majority of the judges on the bench.

Sales and alienations of lands regiſtered.

Law ſuits concerning titles to eſtates, do not take up ſo much time as in Britain, all ſales and alienations of their lands being regiſtred, as well as incumbrances on them; and the buyer would run the hazard of loſing his purchaſe, if he ſhould defer regiſtering the ſale in the proper court till another had bought the ſame lands and regiſtred them.

Stamped paper.

The greateſt charge of law ſuits in Sweden is their ſtamped paper, on which all the proceſs is written, being from two pence to ſeven ſhillings a ſheet, according to the value of the thing in diſpute; other charges are not great, every man being permitted to ſpeak in his own cauſe if he pleaſes.

Law ſuits not chargeable.

In civil matters and criminal cauſes they admit of no counſel, or advocates; ſo very contemptible is the practice of the law in Sweden, that no gentleman will undertake it; and, according to a late writer, it is rather the refuge than the choice of meaner people, conſequently there are not many practiſers, and thoſe, it ſeems, are very poor.

Puniſhments

The puniſhment of theft, at preſent, is perpetual ſlavery. The criminal is condemned to labour all his life in the ſervice of the crown, in carrying wood and ſtone for the repair of the fortifications, or other kind of drudgeries: he wears a collar of iron night and day about his neck, to this there is a bow of the ſame metal faſtened that comes over his head, and holds a little bell which rings upon the leaſt motion. Duelling, where one of the parties is killed, is puniſhed with the death of the ſurvivor; and if neither of them fall, they both ſuffer two years impriſonment, and are to live all the time upon bread and water, and pay beſides a fine of a thouſand crowns.

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Court of honour.

The national court acts as a court of honour; and where any perſon hath received an affront, uſually orders the offending party to make a recantation, and beg pardon publickly. For capital crimes, ſuch as murder, double adultery, burning of houſes, and witchcraft; the criminal, if he be a man, is hanged; and if a woman, beheaded: and where the facts are attended with aggravating circumſtances, the offender is burnt, quartered, or hanged in chains in terrorem, as in other countries. Where a nobleman or gentleman commits a capital crime, he is ſhot to death. The puniſhment of a Popiſh prieſt in Sweden, by making an eunuch of him, may have been practiſed formerly, but the beſt modern authors do not give us any late inſtances of this kind: perhaps the terror of it may have cleared the country of them.

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Treats of their religion, learning, and univerſities.

Religion.

WHETHER we derived our Pagan ſuperſtitions immediately from the Swedes and Goths, may be made a queſtion, perhaps; but certain it is that the Goths and the Engliſh once worſhipped the ſame heathen deities. Near Upſal, the Swediſh hiſtorians relate, was the famous temple of their trium deat WODEN, THOR, and FRIGA, as much reverenced and reſorted to by the northern nations of old, as the temple of Jeruſalem by the Chriſtians, or that of Mecca by the Mahometans at this day. WODEN was their MARS, and FRIGA their VENUS, and THOR, the thunderer, preſided over the winds and ſtorms. And what is this but the antient Grecian ſuperſtition communicated to the northern parts of the world, with very little alteration, unleſs in the names of their pretended deities? Some Swediſh hiſtorians indeed will have the Grecians, and all other nations, as well as their cuſtoms and religion, derived originally from them; holding that Scandinavia was the firſt country inhabited after the flood. So fond are all people of being thought the moſt antient, that there is nothing, how abſurd ſoever, but they will aſſert to countenance their boaſted antiquity.

The northern people, with much more colour, pretend that they have communicated their antient form of government to moſt of their ſouthern neighbours, and among the reſt to Britain: but from whomſoever we derived our conſtitution, the Engliſh aſſume the honour of planting Chriſtianity amongſt them, in the beginning of the

Chriſtianity planted in Britain by the Engliſh.

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the ninth century, at leaſt it was firſt eſtabliſhed in Sweden by Engliſh miſſionaries, amongſt whom St. SIGIFRID was chief, as the Swediſh hiſtorians relate; he quitted the archbiſhoprick of York, according to them, to become the apoſtle of the Goths; and was martyred by their Pagan governors, with three of his nephews; as St. ESKILL and other Engliſh miſſionaries were by the Swedes. And ERICK, King of Sweden, making a conqueſt of Finland, about the year 1150, St. HENRY, an Engliſh Biſhop who attended the army, it is ſaid, made a great progreſs in the converſion of that people; but was afterwards martyred by the Infidels, and his tomb remains at Abo, the metropolis of Finland.

The reformation was begun in Sweden in the reign of GUSTAVUS ERICKSON, at the beginning of the 16th century, who promoted it, as well upon politic as religious views. The clergy in general were his enemies, and exceeding rich, which were two very ſtrong inducements to ſeize their lands, and unite them to the crown: and this he accompliſhed in his reign, leaving the clergy but a ſlender maintenance.

Lutheraniſm prevails here, as it does in all Scandinavia; nor will they ſuffer any other denomination of Chriſtians to profeſs their religion here, whether natives or foreigners: they have a mighty zeal for their own way, and will have every one who reſides amongſt them conform to it. So exceeding ſtiff are they in this point, and ſo uncharitable to thoſe of another perſuaſion, and even to thoſe of the church of England, who approach neareſt to them, that they would neither give a chaplain of the Lord CARTERET's Chriſtian burial, nor ſuffer the Engliſh to read their funeral ſervice at the grave, though the Lord CARTERET was then Ambaſſador in Sweden, and the Engliſh fleet was at that time their only ſecurity againſt the ravages of the Muſcovites; and what makes this the more remarkable, is, that this Engliſh divine was denied Chriſtian burial by the direction of the Archbiſhop of Upſal, who was conſulted in the point: nay, he prohibited the Swediſh clergy to aſſiſt at his funeral, or carry him to the grave, as they uſually do a departed brother, as MOTTRAYE relates. MOTR. vol. 2. p. 379.

As the Swedes ſuffer no arguing againſt their particular ſect, their clergy underſtand but little of the points in controverſy between them and other Chriſtians, and their people conſequently leſs; which hath this good effect, that nice points of divinity are ſeldom handled in the pulpit; and they confine themſelves chiefly to practical diſcourſes. The Archbiſhop of Upſal is their Primate, and the only Archbiſhop of the Lutheran perſuaſion, having eight or ten ſuffragans under him. The revenues of the clergy in general are but mean, as hath been hinted already: the Archbiſhop himſelf hath not above four hundred pounds a year, and the Biſhops proportionably. Beſides the Biſhops there are ſeven or eight Superintendents, who have the power of Biſhops, and only want the name. They have alſo a rural Dean, whoſe authority extends over the clergy of ten pariſhes. The number of churches both in Sweden and Finland, ſcarce amount to two thouſand; and their whole clergy, including chaplains and curates, are not ſuppoſed to amount to four thouſand: they are all the ſons of peaſants or mean tradeſmen, which makes them the better contented with the poor endowments of their cures: they have only one third of the tythes of their reſpective pariſhes, and a ſmall portion of glebe, the reſt having been ſeized by the crown, at the reformation; and indeed, great part of the tythes and church lands were poſſeſſed by their Biſhops, or monaſteries, in the times of popery; ſo that the inferior ſecular clergy are not in a much worſe condition than they were then: and, it ſeems, the clergy, by their good œconomy, are generally in a condition to perform acts of charity and hoſpitality, notwithſtanding the ſtraitneſs of their income; and by this means procure the reſpect of their people: though, perhaps, the bigotry of the nation for their own ſect, does not contribute a little towards that veneration they have for their paſtors, as is the caſe among our ſectaries, and brings in conſiderable preſents to ſupply the ſtraitneſs of their revenues.

Before the preſent reign, notwithſtanding all the chapters in the kingdom voted in the election of the Archbiſhop of Upſal, the King appointed another to fill that ſee whenever he ſaw fit: and upon the death of a Biſhop, the clergy of the dioceſe uſed to propoſe three to his Majeſty, and he made choice of one of them, uſually; though there are inſtances of his paſſing by all the candidates, and appointing another to ſucceed in the ſee.

By the inſtrument of aſſurance ſigned by his preſent Majeſty the Prince of Heſſe, on his acceſſion to the throne of Sweden, anno 1720, the power of the Prince in religious matters is abridged: he therein declares, that 'Since his reſi- 'dence in that kingdom he had received better 'information than he had formerly, of the pure 'evangelical religion: and I not only find in me, 'ſays that Prince, a ſincere deſire to embrace it, 'and renounce the reformed doctrine, (Calviniſm); but do alſo promiſe and engage to remain firm to the Lutheran principles as long as 'I live: and that I will cauſe all the children 'which it ſhall pleaſe GOD to give me by her 'Majeſty, my now Royal Conſort, to be educated 'therein. And do in all points confirm and ratify the inſtrument of government, dated the

The King's engagement to ſuffer only the Lutheran religion in Sweden.

'21ſt

'21ſt of February, 1719, which my ſaid Royal 'Conſort then approved and ſubſcribed, relating 'to the pure and uncorrupted evangelical reli-'gion, as grounded on the writings of the Pro-'phets and Apoſtles, according to the confeſſion of 'Augsburg, as explained in libro concordia; 'and which, in the year 1593, at the aſſembly 'of Upſal, was received and eſtabliſhed by the 'ſtates of the kingdom, to be a fundamental 'law of all the ſucceſſors of King GUSTAVUS 'the firſt. I do in like manner alſo promiſe to 'maintain and protect all the inhabitants of the 'kingdom, both ſpiritual and temporal, in the 'enjoyment of the aforeſaid Lutheran religion, 'the true word of GOD, and the uncorrupt uſe 'of the holy ſacraments, as was practiſed in the 'latter part of the reign of King GUSTAVUS 'the firſt, and the beginning of King JOHN's; 'which was alſo afterwards unanimouſly approved 'and confirmed by the ſtates of the kingdom, 'in their aſſemblies held at Upſal, in the years '1593 and 1693. And I will never ſuffer any 'of the ſubjects of Sweden, or the provinces 'thereunto belonging, of whatſoever degree or 'quality, to be enticed or encouraged to em-'brace any other doctrine; nor permit any per-'ſon, of what nation or quality ſoever, to exer-'ciſe, either publickly or privately, any other 'religion in the kingdom, and its provinces, than 'the aforeſaid evangelical doctrine, which I am 'determined to maintain in its unalterable pu-'rity, and faithfully ſupport the ſame againſt 'all hereſy and publick violence: and, if need 'be, will hazard and ſacrifice my life in its de-'fence.

'II. No perſons of any other religion, be they 'Papiſts, Calviniſts, reformed Anabaptiſts, or 'profeſſing any other falſe doctrine, and not of 'the aforeſaid true evangelical religion, eſpecially 'ſuch as are obſerved to incline to atheiſm and 'infidelity, ſhall be employed in any publick of-'fice whatever, either civil or military, much 'leſs ſhall any ſuch be admitted in churches and 'ſchools for the education of youth: and in par-'ticular, none of any other religion than is de-'ſcribed in the foregoing article, ſhall be ap-'pointed and promoted to any eccleſiaſtical dig-'nity, or be allowed to inſtruct children in pub-'lick or private houſes.

'III. What is thus eſtabliſhed I will always 'maintain and protect, throughout the whole 'kingdom, and all the provinces thereof, and 'never permit any thing to be done contrary to 'the ordinances made for that purpoſe: and par-'ticularly the eccleſiaſtical laws enacted in the 'years 1655 and 1686, ſhall not only by me be 'confirmed and ratified; but, if the ſtates think 'fit, ſhall be approved and amended. But 'whereas the Miniſters of foreign Princes and 'ſtates reſiding here, cannot for many reaſons be 'denied the exerciſe of their religion, they may 'celebrate divine ſervice in their own houſes, af-'ter the manner of their reſpective countries. 'And as many foreigners reſide here on account 'of trade, to theſe it ſeems alſo neceſſary to per-'mit, that they perform what their divine ſer-'vice requires, in their own houſes, while they 'do it in private, and give no juſt cauſe of of-'fence; but they ought not to hold either public 'or private conventicles, or keep ſchool-maſters 'in their houſes, for the inſtruction of their chil-'dren in any but the eſtabliſhed religion: and in 'caſe any of their children will become burghers, 'they ought by the ſtatutes to be educated in the 'ſame evangelical doctrine. And ſhould any 'one of what religion ſoever, be found within 'this kingdom, or the dominions thereto be-'longing, who vilifies the word of GOD, and 'our holy worſhip, he ſhall without mercy be 'deprived of his employment, as a blaſphemer, 'and ſuffer death, or other exemplary puniſh-'ment ſuitable to his offence.

'In the election of the Archbiſhop, all the 'conſiſtories of the kingdom ſhall have their 'votes: but in the appointing the other Biſhops 'and Superintendents, three of thoſe who have 'the moſt votes in the dioceſs ſhall be propoſed 'to us; that with the advice of the kingdom's 'council, or ſenate, ſo important a charge may 'be conferred on him, who by his learning and 'thorough knowledge of our holy evangelical 'religion, and his exemplary life, ſhall beſt de-'ſerve to be promoted to it. In the providing 'the vicarages, and other eccleſiaſtical benefices, 'the method in uſe before the year 1680 ſhall 'be reſtored; yet ſo as the Biſhops and conſiſto-'ries ſhall not encroach on the liberties of the 'pariſhioners. I will alſo maintain and protect 'all churches, univerſities, ſchools, and hoſpitals, 'in the enjoyment of their revenues. And in 'like manner ſecure to the Biſhops, Superinten-'dents, Profeſſors, Deans, Paſtors, and the reſt 'of the clergy, their juſt maintenance, that they 'may be able to diſcharge their duties as becomes 'them.'

Before theſe late regulations, the King had in a manner the diſpoſal of all eccleſiaſtical prefer-ments, and was indeed as arbitrary in the church as in the ſtate; but at preſent he does not ſeem to have the diſpoſal of a ſingle biſhoprick, or ſu-perintendency, without the concurrence of the ſenate; and as for his patronage of private chur-ches, that alſo ſeems to be taken from him, and transferred to the pariſhioners; it being in the aboveſaid inſtrument provided, 'That the Bi-'ſhops and conſiſtories ſhall not encroach on 'their liberties.'

So jealous are the Swedes of their eccleſiaſtical conſtitution; that they have enacted, that if any ſubject of that kingdom ſhall change his religion, (Lutheraniſm) he ſhall be baniſhed, and forfeit his right of inheritance, both for himſelf and his deſcendants. But the clergy, as a late writer obſerves, are not intruſted with the ſole adminiſtration of their eccleſiaſtical laws, or the tranſacting any matters of conſequence, without the concurrence of the civil power: many cauſes which were formerly tried in the eccleſiaſtical courts are now transferred to the temporal: they cannot ſo much as pronounce the ſentence of excommunication without the conſent of the King and ſenate. And indeed, the remaining under that ſentence is ſo penal, namely, perpetual baniſhment, that a more than ordinary deliberation ought to be uſed before it is pronounced. But from hence it appears, that their Biſhops and Superintendents have very little of their original authority left them. I ſhall defer giving a particular relation of the Lutheran church till I come to Germany, where LUTHER firſt eſtabliſhed it; only obſerve here, that they are far from allowing a toleration to any other denomination of Chriſtians: and, like our ſectaries at home, ſeem to look upon the members of every inſtitution but their own to be in a ſtate of damnation.

Their learning.

In Sweden the nobility and gentry ſeem to apply themſelves more to the ſtudy of arms than arts, and to contemn an academical education. It is the meaneſt of the people generally who reſort to their univerſities, to qualify themſelves for holy orders. The law alſo is a contemptible profeſſion, only taken up by thoſe who know not how otherwiſe to ſubſiſt; nor does it require any great talents to be maſter of it, their laws being few and plain, and no niceties in their pleadings, as with us, and all the proceſs in their own language.

Univerſities.

Their univerſities, particularly that of Upſal, have not been eſtabliſhed much above three hundred years.

The Chancellor is always one of the prime miniſters of ſtate, and the Archbiſhop of Upſal is perpetual Vice-Chancellor. The rector is choſen out of the profeſſors, of whom there are about twenty, who have a ſalary of an hundred and fifty pounds per annum each. The number of ſtudents in this univerſity is uſually about ſeven or eight hundred, fifty of whom are maintained by the crown, as ſome others were formerly by perſons of quality. Many of the reſt ſubſiſt on the charity they collect in the dioceſe they belong to, during their vacations, which they receive in corn, dried fleſh or fiſh, butter, &c. and husband to the beſt advantage; for commons they have none, or any butteries to go to, and ſome few there are who are maintained by their relations. They do not live collegiately, but in private houſes; neither do they wear gowns, nor obſerve any manner of diſcipline. The univerſity of Abo, in Finland, is after the ſame model, but not ſo numerous, and there is a third at Lunden, in Schonen.

There is a free-ſchool in every dioceſe, where lads are fitted for the univerſity, and others where they are only taught to read and write, and ſing their prayers, as all the Lutherans do. It was no diſagreeable entertainment to the Engliſh, to hear the Lutheran regiments at their devotions in the armies in Flanders, in the late war, every private ſoldier ſinging his part, as if he had been bred a choriſter.

Antiquities.

There are few monuments of antiquity to be found in Sweden, Dr. ROBINSON obſerves, except thoſe funeral inſcriptions which are every where to be met with, rudely cut on rocks, or rough hewn ſtone, in the antient Gothick language and Runick character, without any dates to them. The moſt valuable piece they have, is a tranſlation of the evangeliſts into the Gothick language, done about twelve or thirteen hundred years ago, by a Biſhop of the Goths in Thrace, of which they have the ſole manuſcript copy. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS was the firſt great patron of learning they had in this country after the reformation, by whom the univerſities, which had ſuffered pretty much by the alteration of religion, were reſtored, and endowed with tolerable ſalaries, for profeſſors in moſt ſciences; and theſe were augmented by his daughter, Queen CHRISTINA, who by the fame of her learning, and her kind reception of learned men, invited ſeveral ingenious foreigners to ſettle in Sweden, who left there good proofs of their abilities, and raiſed in the Swedes an emulation of imitating them: but their beſt performances are obſerved to be in the hiſtory, antiquities, and antient laws of their country.

The language of Sweden is a dialect of the antient Teutonick, not very different from that of the Germans or Danes, but harſher than either; but the quality ſpeak and write chiefly Frencli or High Dutch.

CHAP. X.

Treats of their marriages, their children, and the ſhare they have in the eſtates of their parents; with ſome account of their funerals.

Marriages.

AS there can be no ſuch thing as clandeſtine marriages in Sweden, their laws requiring that the bans be duly publiſhed in the pariſh church, and no licence, or diſpenſation from their Biſhops can ſupply the place of it, the parents have their children entirely in their power to diſpoſe

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pose of them as they see fit, and consequently wealth is the principal thing regarded in these matches. People of condition of either sex, are seldom married before thirty, because their parents perhaps cannot very well afford to make settlements suitable to their quality in this poor country, where they live notwithstanding to the very *height of their income*; or *having* themselves experienced the cares and inconveniencies of a married life, they may possibly in compassion to their children defer their entring into that state. Among the common people it seems the wife hath much the worst of it, being put to all the drudgery without doors as well as within, and looks upon herself to be rather in the condition of a servant, than a companion to her lord, and consequently there is very little wrangling or disputing between them. Nature and custom, says a late writer, inclines the wife to be obedient. Contention only proceeds from an impertinent attempt to rival our superiors in power, and invert the order of nature; and there can never be peace in that family where the prerogatives of the husband, and the measure of the wife's obedience are not in some measure settled. It were better living in a family where the woman is governor, in the opinion of some, than where there is a perpetual strife between the husband and wife for empire; not that the wife should be reduced to a state of slavery, as among the Swedish and German peasants, but let the woman be all obedience, and the man will of consequence be all love and complaisance. There are not possibly many instances to the contrary; though I confess there are some brutes whom the wisest conduct cannot win upon.

Inheritances divided among the children.

By the laws of Sweden the father's estate, whether hereditary or acquired, is divided among his children, every son having an equal share in it, and a daughter half as much as a son; nor can the father give a greater share to one than to another, unless he obtain the concurrence of a court of law, on representing the undutifulness of any of his children; only one tenth of his acquired possessions he may bequeath to which of his children he sees fit.

Funerals.

There is nothing the world seems more generally agreed in, than the making pompous and expensive funerals, and therefore no wonder that the Swedes, who are extremely vain in furnishing out magnificent equipages beyond their fortunes on all occasions, equal their neighbours at least in the preparations for this solemnity; but their feasting and entertainments at these times, in which they exceed all bounds, is an additional expence that few nations besides are acquainted with. And that they may have the more time to provide every thing they imagine necessary to express their respect to their deceased friend, or publish their own vanity, it is not unusual to convey the corps to some vault in or near the church, where they lye several months, and sometimes years, rather than disgrace their family by an ordinary funeral. But this was more the practice of the last age than the present, the Swedes being much reduced by the heavy taxes laid upon them in the late reigns, and the resumption of great part of their estates by the crown on one pretence or other.

CHAP. XI.

Treats of the arms and titles of the King of Sweden; of the present Royal Family, and of the interest of that kingdom in relation to the succession of the crown, and to the neighbouring powers.

Arms of Sweden.

THE King of Sweden bears quarterly in the first and fourth azure three crowns Or, two in chief and one in base, for Swedeland. In the second and third barry argent and azure a lion Or crowned gules, for Finland. Over all quarterly in the first and fourth sable, a lion Or crowned, armed and languid gules, for the Palatinate of the Rhine. In the second and third, lozenges bendwise of twenty one pieces argent and azure, for Bavaria. For the crest a crown royal, adorned with eight flowers, and closed by as many demicircles terminating in a mond Or. The supporters are two lions Or crowned of the same; and the motto Dominus protector meus.

The King titles.

This Prince is styled, King of the Goths and Vandals; Great Prince of Finland; Duke of Schonen, Esthen, Liefland, Carelia, Ingria, Bremen, Verden, Stetin, Pomeren, Cassubon, and Sclavonia; Prince of Rugen; Lord of Ingermanland and Wismar; Prince Palatine of the Rhine; Duke of Bavaria, Cleves and Berghen.

The Royal family.

The present King is FREDERICK, hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel, son of CHARLES Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and of MARY AMELIA, sister to CASIMIR, late Duke of Courland. He was born the 28th of April, 1676, and married to a daughter of the Elector of Brandenburgh, anno 1699, who is since dead. He afterwards married the Princess ULRICA ELEONORA, second daughter of CHARLES the XI. King of Sweden, sister to the then King CHARLES XII. anno 1715. K. CHARLES XII. being unmarried, was killed at the siege of Fredrickshall in December 1718, whereupon the states of Sweden elected the Princess ULRICA ELEONORA Queen, on condition she would transact nothing of consequence without the advice and consent of the senate and states. And at her Majesty's instance, and on condition of her resignation, they afterwards elected the hereditary Prince of Hesse, her Royal consort, to be their King on the like conditions, in the year 1720, who is now reigning.

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ing. But CHARLES the XI. as hath been intimated already, left two daughters beſides his ſon CHARLES XII. the laſt King, viz. HEDWIG SOPHIA, born in 1681, married to FREDRICK late Duke of Holſtein Gottorp, by whom ſhe had iſſue CHARLES FREDERICK, the preſent Duke of Holſtein Gottorp, born the 29th of April, 1700, and married to the Princeſs MARY (eldeſt daughter of the late Czar of Muſcovy, by his ſecond wife the late Empreſs of Ruſſia) on the firſt of June 1725. 2. The Princeſs ULRICA ELEONORA above-mentioned, who was born in 1688, and married to the hereditary Prince of Heſſe in the year 1715. The Duke of Holſtein, as hath been already obſerved, was paſſed by in the two laſt elections of the ſtates, notwithſtanding his proceeding from the eldeſt daughter of CHARLES the XI. and firſt the Princeſs of Heſſe, the youngeſt daughter of CHARLES XI. was choſen Queen; and upon her reſignation of the crown, her conſort, the hereditary Prince of Heſſe, obtained the crown to be ſettled upon him and his children by the Queen, to the excluſion of the Duke of Holſtein. But as the King and Queen have been married about twelve years, and ſhe is now near forty years of age, and never likely to have children, the Duke of Holſtein is labouring to be declared heir to the crown of Sweden after their deaths, and hath had the title of Royal Highneſs conferred on him by the ſtates of that kingdom. But the Swedes ſeem to lye under very great difficulties in relation to the ſucceſſion. As they had in the laſt reigns complimented the crown with their ſhare in the legiſlature, and indeed ſurrendered up all their liberties and properties to the diſpoſal of their Princes, of which they had ſufficiently felt the ill conſequences, they took the advantage of the ſudden death of CHARLES the XII. without iſſue, and treating with his youngeſt ſiſter the Princeſs ULRICA, whoſe conſort the Prince of Heſſe was General of the Swediſh army, they agreed to confer the crown upon her, and exclude the Duke of Holſtein, the ſon of her eldeſt ſiſter, upon condition, not only to reſtore them to their liberties and their ſhare in the legiſlature, but to inveſt them with moſt of the royal prerogatives, and ſubmit indeed to enjoy little more than the name of Queen: and this the Princeſs appeared ready to accept of, as the Prince her husband hath done ſince; eſteeming a crown, how limited ſoever, preferable to a private condition: for the Duke of Holſtein had then a very great party in Sweden, and the advantage of being of the elder houſe. And had not the Princeſs and her conſort readily ſubmitted to all the demands of the ſtates, they might in all probability have caſt their eyes upon the Duke. And however his Royal Highneſs may at preſent politically conceal his reſentment at the Swedes preferring a younger branch of the Royal Family before him, it is not to be ſuppoſed he is perfectly ſatisfied under that diſgrace; and conſequently the authors of it cannot but be under apprehenſions of his frowning upon them if he ſhould happen to ſucceed to the crown. Nor can the kingdom in general expect that he ſhould tamely ſubmit to all the conditions impoſed on his preſent Majeſty, conſidering the Duke of Holſtein's prior claim, and the powerful ſupport he may reaſonably hope for from Muſcovy, being married to the eldeſt daughter of Ruſſia: and ſhould they treat with him and endeavour to procure conditions from him while they have it in their power, yet, if we conſider how little regard Princes generally have to any terms which are thus extorted from them when they are in a condition of procuring better, very little dependance can be had on any conceſſions he ſhall make, eſpecially ſince the ſtates themſelves have ſet him an example: for they, notwithſtanding they had often ſolemnly conſented to confer the legiſlative and executive powers on their former Kings, made no ſcruple of reſuming their antient authority again when they had an opportunity, on the death of CHARLES XII. which is an alteration ſo lately made, that they can make no pretence to a preſcription in their favour. On the other hand, ſhould the Swedes reject the Duke of Holſtein, and elect another King, they may ſoon expect to ſee the Muſcovites renew their ravages in the Bothnick gulph; nor will it be in the power of their allies to prevent it; for here Sweden may be attacked by the Ruſſian gallies, and great ſhips are of no uſe in that ſea; or the Muſcovites may penetrate into their country by land, as it lyes perfectly open to them on the ſide of Finland. It cannot therefore be the intereſt of Sweden to provoke the Ruſſians now they have taught them the art of war, and their numbers, as well as diſcipline, render them ſo very formidable. We are reduced therefore, ſay the Swedes, to this dilemma, either we muſt admit the Duke of Holſtein to the throne, who will be ſupported by all the power of Ruſſia, and our liberties by that means again become precarious; or, we muſt enter into a war with a powerful implacable enemy, who hath ſo very lately brought us to the brink of deſtruction; and who is the more to be dreaded, in that the Duke of Holſtein will always have a conſiderable party in our bowels ready to cloſe with him.

Intereſt of Sweden as to Ruſſia.

As to Poland, Sweden hath now nothing to fear from thence: Livonia, about which they uſed to contend, being at preſent in the poſſeſſion of the Muſcovites; and they remain ſeparated from that kingdom by the Baltick ſea. But it may be the intereſt of Sweden to entertain a good

Poland.

CHAP. XI.

correſpondence with Poland, in caſe of a rupture with Ruſſia: this being the only Chriſtian power that can give them any conſiderable aſſiſtance againſt that empire by land.

Denmark.

As Sweden alſo is ſeparated from the dominions of Denmark, either by the Baltick, or the mountains of Norway, they have no reaſon to apprehend any danger from that ſide, eſpecially ſince the Dane ſingly hath not been a match for this kingdom for many years by land. In the laſt war, indeed, Denmark and her confederates, Ruſſia, Poland, Pruſſia, &c. did after a long expenſive war, make themſelves maſters of all the Swediſh dominions in Germany; Wiſmar, Bremen and Verden falling to the ſhare of his Daniſh Majeſty; but he was ſo conſcious of his inability to maintain that conqueſt, that he wiſely transferred his intereſt in Bremen and Verden to the Sovereign of Hanover, for a conſideration I could never learn the value of; but probably the purchaſe may be dear enough by that time it is well ſecured. Sweden, it is true, in her great diſtreſs, when the Ruſſians were burning and plundering their country, even to the gates of Stockholm, of two evils choſe the leaſt; and in conſideration of the protection of the Britiſh fleet againſt that dreadful enemy, the late Czar, did confirm King GEORGE in the poſſeſſion of Bremen and Verden; but with what reluctance may be eaſily gathered from that expreſſion of the Queen of Sweden's in her repreſentation of the affairs of that nation to the ſtates a little after that ceſſion. 'The Hanover Plenipo-'tentiary, Colonel BASSEWITS (ſays that Prin-'ceſs) inſiſted on the Dutchies of Bremen and 'Verden's being yielded up to his maſter; which 'I could not then conſent to: however, the ne-'gotiations were continued with him, in order, by 'all poſſible means, to obtain better conditions.' But the Czar continued to ravage their country with that fury, that they were obliged at length to accept of King GEORGE's propoſals, and diſmember them from the Swediſh dominions; and about the ſame time yielded Stetin, and great part

Pruſſia.

of Swediſh Pomerania to the King of Pruſſia, and amongſt the reſt, the two iſlands of Uſedom and Wollin, at the mouth of the Oder; which I apprehended had been reſtored to Sweden, till I met with the treaty between Sweden and Pruſſia; and this was an error I muſt deſire the reader to correct. As to the city of Wiſmar in the Dutchy of Mecklenburgh, poſſeſſed many years by the Swedes; this, the Danes reſtored to the Swedes on condition the fortifications ſhould be raſed. So that there remains nothing for the Danes and Swedes now to contend about in Germany. But ſhould the Swedes recover their former ſtrength, or be aſſiſted by any potent allies, whether they would not attempt to regain their territories thus yielded to Pruſſia and Hanover in Germany, as well as Livonia, &c. which they transferred upon force to the Czar, may be made a queſtion: for Princes ſeldom want a pretence, and their ſubjects never ſeem more ready to aſſiſt them, than in the recovery of ſuch dominions as have been diſmembred *from their country by force; being in this caſe* much of the opinion of private people, who think no length of time can ever extinguiſh their right to what they have been forcibly deprived of; and that no compacts which the neceſſity of their affairs obliged them to enter into, ought to be kept any longer than they want an opportunity to do themſelves juſtice.

CHAP. XI.

But to proceed, next to the Ruſſian, the King of Pruſſia ſeems to be the moſt capable of giving uneaſineſs to the Swede, as he is a powerful Prince, and his dominions contiguous to their German territories. The towns of Pomeren have been long the ſubject of contention between theſe two ſtates; and the King of Pruſſia taking advantage of the diſtreſs the Swedes were in the laſt war, extorted the important city of Stetin from them, with the iſlands of Uſedom and Wollin, at the mouth of the Oder, as above related: and if ever there happens to be a war between thoſe two powers again, the King of Pruſſia will no doubt endeavour to reduce the reſt of Pomerania under his obedience, as his anceſtors have formerly done. Nor will the Swede be leſs inclinable to attempt the recovery of what he had loſt on that ſide, if ever he have an opportunity: but in the low condition Sweden is at preſent, it will be their intereſt to cultivate a friendſhip with Pruſſia, as well as the reſt of their neighbours.

France.

France hath ever courted the alliance of Sweden, and paid large penſions to that crown to keep that kingdom firm to its intereſt: Sweden being able to make a conſiderable diverſion in her favour whenever France happens to be engaged with the Empire. Upon account of trade, there is not any nation deſerves ſo well of Sweden as the Engliſh, who return them money for their manufactures, and take off a very great quantity; whereas in their commerce with France, the balance of trade is againſt them. But the Engliſh are now become neceſſary to the Swede upon another account, and that is to protect them againſt the fleet of Ruſſia, which the Dutch will be cautious of doing, for fear of interrupting their trade to Ruſſia. We do not ſeem altogether ſo careful in that point, though it be certainly of equal conſequence to us. But if we ſhould not take the part of the Swedes, he may ſome time or other demand the reſtoration of Bremen and Verden.

England.

THE

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Denmark and Norway with the Territories thereto belonging viz. Oldenburg in Westphalia, and Stomar in Lower Saxony; contain about 163.000 Square miles.

Copenhagen is in Long. 22. 40. Lat. 55. 40. &
530 miles N.E. of London.
154 North East of Hamburg.
380 N.E. of Amsterdam.
295 S.W. of Stockholm.
630 S.W. of Petersburg.
240. S.W. of Dantzick.

THE GERMAN OCEAN or NORTH SEA

Part of NORWAY
Vleker
Halsnoe
The Naze
t'Schager Riff
Tandrup
Torsk Minde
Heyligeland I.
Nysoge I.
Synderwig
Gladlep
Norbarch
Hennegaard
Oxelyk
Fanoe I.
St. Clement
Sylt I.
Keytum
Nibolum
St. Lon
Amrom I.
North Strand I.
Tonningen
Eyder R.
Bilshout
Elbe R.
Alster R.
Carelstat
Stade
Hamburg
Lubeck
Gluckstat
Kiel
Ploen
Neumunster
HOLSTEIN
SLESWICK
JUTLAND
Randers
Raberg
Wensyssel
Aasdal
ALBURG
Agard
Bradschou
Tysted
Mox
Tandrup
WIBURG
Strantby
Aalborg
Hobro
AREN
Marager
Schene
Lemwyg
Lemme
Hodsedbro
Wibur
Nysoge I.
Synderwig
Sueberg
Schnyild
Gladlep
Norbarch
Hennegaard
RIPEN
Rypen
Oxelyk
Nordog
Fanoe I.
St. Clement
Sylt I.
Keytum
Nibolum
St. Lon
Amrom I.
North Strand I.
Tonningen
Aarhuus
Silkeborg
Scanderborg
Veile
Colding
Apenrade
Tunder
Flensborg
Alsen I.
Aarosund
Christianpris
Randers
Grinaa
Lesslow
Seby
Aalborg
Mouth of the Limford
Morgaard
Anholt
Hobro
Scondering
Gudden
Middelfart
Odensee
FUNEN
Assens
Pamibo
Swenborg
Fahrstede
Hadersleben
Hoptrup
Tarpe
Skanbe
Flensborg
Overse
Sleswick
Frederikstat
Rendsburg
Eyder R.
Lundsen
Neumunster
Elbe R.
Gluckstat
Lubeck
Stade
Hamburg
PART
Scaw
Hertzholm
Lesslow
Seby
Aalborg
Agard
Bradschou
Ryster
Mouth of the Limford
Morgaard
Anholt
Hobro
Scondering
Gudden
Marager
Randers
Grinaa
Aarhuus
Silkeborg
Scanderborg
Veile
Colding
Middelfart
Odensee
FUNEN
Assens
Pamibo
Swenborg
Apenrade
Tunder
Alsen I.
Aarosund
Christianpris
Sleswick
Flensborg
Overse
Frederikstat
Rendsburg
Eyder R.
Lundsen
Neumunster
Ploen
Kiel
Lubeck
Gluckstat
Stade
Hamburg
PART

6 7 8 9 10 11 Deg. East from
58 57 56 55 54 North

DENMARK

Agreeable to Modern History. By

Herman Moll Geographer.

0 10 20 30 40 50 60

English Miles

P. of SWEDEN

ZEELAND

BALTICK or EAST SEA

GERMANY

The Sund

The Belt

The Cattegat

The Skaggerack

Gottenburg

Walde

Ommewald

Eestadt

Warberg.

Morump

Windborg

Taurod

Falkenberg

Halmstat

Laholm

Jaxefirken

Hallands Waro

Braadsted

Engelholm

Westbye

Helsingborg

Landskroon

Lund

Malmoo

Udsted

Falsterbro

Hasselem I.

Helsingor

Elsinore

Odby

Frederiksburg

Hum

Copenhagen

Swolerup

Kolbeck

Roschild

Faltholm

Smak

Korsor

Kioge

Kingstad

Rolte

Praso

Wiborg

Mona I.

Magleby

Stubkoping

Falster I.

Wykoping

Laland I.

Fimeren I.

Rostock

Stralsund

I. RUGEN

Bergen

Gristwalden

Wolgast

Trepstow

Christianopel

Carelscroon

Carelshaven

Carlstanstadt

Oeland I.

Ertholm

Sandwyk

Bornholm I.

London 12 13 14 15 16

57 56 55 54

THE PRESENT STATE OF DENMARK and NORWAY.

CHAP. I.

Describes the situation, extent and boundaries of the kingdoms of Denmark and Norway; and treats also of the air and seasons; and of their seas, lakes and rivers.

CHAP. I.

Denmark, the situation and boundaries.

DENMARK and Norway are at present under the dominion of one Prince, though formerly they were distinct kingdoms. Denmark, including the dutchy of Holstein, in which the King of Denmark hath an undivided moiety, is bounded by the sea called the Categate, (or entrance into the Baltick) towards the north, by the Baltick sea towards the east, by the river Elbe which divides it from the dutchy of Bremen towards the south west, and by the dutchy of Saxlawenburgh towards the south east; extending from fifty four degrees thirty minutes, to fifty eight degrees twenty minutes north latitude. Oldenburgh and Delmenhorst, two counties in Germany separated from the rest of Denmark by the dutchy of Bremen, belonging also to the King of Denmark.

Oldenburgh.

Norway.

The kingdom of Norway is separated from Denmark by the sea called the Categate; and extends from fifty nine to seventy one degrees odd minutes north latitude; being bounded by the ocean toward the north and west, by the kingdom of Sweden and Swedish Lapland towards the east, and by the sea called the Categate towards the south; and is a long narrow country, enclosed by the ocean on one side, and those high barren mountains, called Dofrine-hills, covered with snow, which divide it from Sweden on the other; and is about eight hundred miles in length, and an hundred broad.

The air of Denmark.

The air of Denmark is not good, especially near Copenhagen, which is supposed to proceed from its low situation, and the frequent fogs which arise there. The air of Slesvick and Holstein is better than that in the northern parts, and the country more desirable upon many accounts, as will appear hereafter. The same observations are made as to the seasons in Denmark as in Sweden, namely, that the year is divided into winter and summer; that they have no time they can call their spring, and very seldom any that may be denominated their autumn; but they proceed immediately from extreme cold to an extremity of heat; and in the latter end of the year, from violent hot weather to excessive cold. During the months of June, July, and August, the heat is more intense than in England, and the nights not near so cool as with us, though they are so many degrees to the northward of England: nor do they enjoy a clear sun-shine during these heats, but thick vapours all the time interpose between them and the sun; and indeed it is a general observation, that the heaven is much brighter and more serene far within the continent than it is near the sea coasts; nor is the air less clear and pleasant at sea a great distance from land, than it is in the middle of the continent: but this observation holds more generally true within or near the tropicks, than it does either in the northern or southern latitudes. The air of Norway is excessive cold, but especially within the polar circle; which part of it is inhabited by the Laplanders. The more southerly part of the country differs but little from Sweden, from which it is separated only by the Dofrine hills.

CHAP. I.

And seasons

Seas.

The seas bordering upon the Danish dominions, are, 1. The German ocean, which flows between Great Britain on the west, and Denmark and Norway on the east. 2. The northern, or Frozen ocean. 3. The Baltick, in which is that famous strait, or passage into the East sea, called the Ore Sund, or generally the Sound of the Baltick:

Baltick: it hath been already obſerved that there are no tides in it, and that its waters are freſher than the ocean, ſuppoſed to be occaſioned by the rivers which run into it, and the little communication it hath with the ocean. The ſtrait called the Sound, is about four miles over, having the iſland of Zealand on the weſt, and the continent of Schonen on the eaſt: in the narroweſt part of the ſtrait on Zealand or Denmark ſide ſtands the town of Elſenore, and the ſtrong caſtle of Cronenburgh, before which there is a tolerable road for ſhipping. On the ſide of Schonen, in the poſſeſſion of the Swedes, is the town of Helſingburgh, and a ſmall battery of guns, which ſerves only to ſalute the ſhips which paſs by it: between theſe two places ſail all the ſhipping which are bound to the Baltick. The Danes, however, only receive the toll of all merchant men who paſs by; though the Swedes are maſters of the oppoſite ſhore by virtue of the treaty concluded when they yielded up Schonen to them; but the Swedes themſelves were exempted from paying any duties till the laſt peace, in the year 1721. when the affairs of the Swedes were in a very deſperate condition, and then they condeſcended to pay a toll to Denmark, as other nations did, on their paſſing the Sound. This duty which the Danes claim, a late writer ſuppoſes to have ariſen from the mutual conſent of the merchants trading to the eaſt country, who willingly at firſt contributed a ſmall ſum towards the maintaining of light-houſes on the coaſt for their own ſecurity, and the direction of their pilots; and thereupon this paſſage of the Sound came to be more uſed than that of either Belt to the weſtward of the iſle of Zealand, which in other reſpects ſeem to be as commodious as this. From ſome ſuch beginning, the Danes proceeded to demand larger ſums; and that as their undoubted right, being then maſters of both ſhores. The Emperor CHARLES V. in behalf of his ſubjects of the ſeventeen provinces of the Low Countries, came to an agreement at Spire with the Dane, that every ſhip of two hundred tons and under, paſſing the Sound, ſhould pay two roſe nobles going and coming from the Baltick; and every ſhip above that burthen three nobles; which agreement remained in force until the United Provinces rebelled againſt the Spaniard, and ſet up for independent ſtates; after which the Danes obliged the Dutch to pay extravagant rates. But the Hollanders and Lubeckers oppoſing theſe exactions about the year 1600, obliged the Danes to accept of more moderate duties. The firſt ſolemn treaty the Dutch, as independent ſtates, made with the Danes concerning this toll, was in the year 1647, wherein they agreed to pay about twenty five pounds for every ſhip of two hundred tuns paſſing the ſtraits for forty years, at the expiration of which the firſt agreement with the Emperor at Spire was to be in force: and the Engliſh in their treaties with Denmark agreed to pay toll as the Dutch and other nations in friendſhip with them did. As to the grand fleets of England and Holland, they ask no permiſſion of the Dane to paſs the Sound, he never yet having been in a condition to diſpute it with them; for the caſtles on the ſhores are at too great a diſtance to prevent it; and if they had not a ſquadron of men of war ready to compel the merchant to pay the toll, he might paſs by unhurt. Beſides the paſſage called the Great Belt between the iſlands of Zealand and Funen is much wider; and that of the Leſſer Belt, between Funen and the continent of Jutland is not impracticable. It is obſervable alſo that the Dane is maſter but of one part of the Sound at this day, Schonen being under the dominion of the Swede; ſo that he ſeems to have as little reaſon to demand a toll here at preſent as the Engliſh have to demand a duty of all ſhips which paſs the ſtraits of Dover or Gibraltar. Nor have the Engliſh and Dutch ever entirely yielded up this point to the Dane; for though they conſented to pay a ſmall toll on merchandize; they never ſuffer their ſhips to be detained or ſearched; but the Danes are obliged to take the maſter's word for the quality and quantity of his lading.

The Sound.

There are a great number of fine lakes in Denmark abounding in fiſh, but not one navigable river either in Zealand or Jutland, till we come as far ſouth as Holſtein, where indeed we find the Elbe, the Eyder, the Tron, and the Trave. As to the Elbe, this is properly a river of Germany, and therefore the courſe of it will be ſhewn in treating of that country. The Eyder riſes in the dutchy of Holſtein, and running weſtward falls into the German ocean, near Tonninghen, being firſt united with the Tron, which riſes in the dutchy of Sleſwick. The river Trave riſes in the dutchy of Holſtein, and running eaſtward paſſes by the city of Lubeck, below which it falls into the Baltick. The rivers Glammon and Drammen, which riſe in the province of Drontheim, and fall into the Baltick, are the moſt conſiderable rivers in Norway. There are ſcarce any ports in Norway towards the German ocean, except Bergen and Drontheim; frightful rocks lying all along the ſhores, no ſea is looked upon to be more dangerous in a ſtorm. In the Baltick indeed the Danes have ſeveral good ports, particularly that of Copenhagen, eſteemed one of the fineſt in Europe.

Lakes and rivers.

CHAP. II.

CHAP. II.

Treats of the provinces into which Denmark and Norway are divided; and of their chief towns and buildings.

THE firſt grand diviſion I ſhall make of the dominions of Denmark, are 1. Denmark, properly ſo called, conſiſting of the iſlands of Zeland and Funen, and ſome other iſlands lying about them, and of that part of the continent called North Jutland. 2. The dutchy of Sleſwick, or South Jutland. 3. The dutchy of Holſtein. 4. The German provinces of Oldenburgh and Delmonhurſt. 5. The kingdom of Norway. And 6. Iceland and the other iſlands lying in the northern ſeas.

1. Denmark, properly ſo called, of which the iſland of Zeland may well be reckoned the principal part, on account of the capital city of Copenhagen, ſituate upon it. Zeland is about ſixty leagues in circumference, extending from north to ſouth, but is not much longer than it is broad. It is divided from Schonen by the Sound, from the iſland of Funen by the ſtrait called the Great Belt, and by a very narrow channel from the iſlands of Mona, Falſter and Laland, which lye to the ſouthward of it. There are no navigable rivers in the iſland, and very few brooks big enough to turn a mill. The country is in ſome places prettily diverſified with little hills, woods and lakes. The chief town of this iſland, and of the whole kingdom, is Copenhagen, ſituate in the latitude of 56 degrees odd minutes, and in 12 degrees 53 minutes longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London. It ſtands in a plain on the weſtern ſide of the Sound, not above five leagues diſtant from Schonen, and is computed to be about the bigneſs of Briſtol, but the walls encloſe a great deal more ground than is built upon. Its ſituation at the entrance of the Baltick muſt have been very advantageous on account of trade, if it had not been a fortified place, and awed continually by a numerous garriſon; for it is a general obſervation, that ſoldiers and merchants never agree together. The trading part of the world wiſely withdraw from military men, who they know cannot want pretences to inſult and oppreſs them; eſpecially in arbitrary governments, where the military power is always ſuperior to the civil. The town is ſtrong, ſtanding in the middle of a marſhy ground, and fortified after the modern way. The harbour is ſurrounded by the fortifications, and the entrance of it ſo narrow, that not above one ſhip can paſs in at a time; and a citadel on one ſide, and a block houſe on the other, commands the entrance of it. A wooden gallery runs round the whole, cloſe to which every ſhip hath its ſtation, and the port will contain near five hundred ſail, where they may ride, ſays a late author, ſecure from ſtorms and enemies. But I find the Engliſh and Dutch ſquadrons threatned them with a bombardment, when the Dane ſo baſely fell upon the young King of Sweden in the beginning of the laſt war. Theſe ſeas in ſome winters are ſo hard frozen, that the Swedes have marched over a great army, with a train of artillery, and actually beſieged Copenhagen without the aſſiſtance of a fleet; and as the town ſtands in a moraſs, cut through with dykes, poſſibly it may be more eaſily approached in the winter ſeaſon during the froſts, than in the ſummer. The buildings are generally mean, and even the King's palace the worſt and moſt inconvenient in Europe; it is ſaid, ſeveral noblemen and great officers of ſtate in Copenhagen have better. The King hath however a pleaſure houſe and gardens at the other end of the town, which are very much admired. The citadel, the exchange, the arſenal, and the obſervatory, are moſt taken notice of among their publick buildings. And here is ſeen the celeſtial globe, ſix foot diameter, made by the famous TYCHO BRAHE. The market place is ſpacious, one of the greateſt ornaments of the town; and the ſtreets are broad. There are about ten churches in it, the chief whereof are the cathedral, dedicated to St. MARY, wherein their Kings are uſually crowned, being adorned with a fine lofty ſpire, covered with copper. The churches dedicated to the holy Ghoſt and St. NICHOLAS alſo are magnificent buildings. Here is an univerſity and an academy eſtabliſhed for all martial exerciſes, modern languages and the mathematicks. Copenhagen cannot boaſt much of its antiquity: a caſtle was firſt built on the iſland by Archbiſhop WIDE, about the year 1168, for a protection againſt the pirates which then ſwarmed in thoſe ſeas; whereupon many people reſorted thither, and it ſoon grew up into a pretty large town. It was an archbiſhoprick, but the Danes, like the Swedes, have reduced their Biſhops to ſuperintendents, and ſtripped them of great part of their epiſcopal power. The little iſland of Finak, joined to Copenhagen by a bridge, is mighty well furniſhed with all ſorts of fowl, veniſon, corn, milch cattle, garden ſtuff, &c. from whence the markets of Copenhagen are ſupplied. This iſland was ſome ages ſince given to a colony of north Hollanders, who were invited hither to make butter and cheeſe for the court; and their poſterity, it is ſaid, ſtill retain the habit, language, and cuſtoms of their anceſtors; with their cleanlineſs and induſtry, refuſing to intermarry or mix with the Danes, and have priviledges conferred on them, on account of their being uſeful to the court.

About

Elſinore.

About fifteen miles to the northward of Copenhagen ſtands 2. Elſinore, or Helſingor, on the narroweſt part of the ſtrait called the Sound, oppoſite to the caſtle of Helſinburgh, on the Schonen ſhore. About a quarter of a mile from Elſinore, ſtands the ſtrong caſtle of Cronenburgh, by ſome ſtyled impregnable, but was nevertheleſs taken by CHARLES GUSTAVUS, King of Sweden, in the year 1658, and reſtored to the Dane again by treaty in the year 1660. 3. Frederiskburgh, twelve miles to the weſtward of Elſinore, much admired by the Danes for a fine palace and caſtle the King of Denmark has there ſituate in the middle of a lake; but foreigners who have ſeen the palaces of France and Italy, have not the ſame opinion of it as the natives. 4. Roſchild, ſituate at the bottom of a gulph of the ſea, twenty miles to the weſtward of Copenhagen, this was antiently the metropolis of Denmark, but declined upon the building of Copenhagen, and is now an inconſiderable town. The cathedral is a large old building, in which are many of the tombs of the antient Daniſh Kings, ſome of them very magnificent. 5. Holbeck, is ſituate at the bottom of a bay, eighteen miles to the weſtward of Roſchild. 6. Kallenburg, ſituate near the ſea, fifty miles to the weſtward of Copenhagen, ſaid to have a pretty good trade. 7. Koge, a ſmall town, ſituate on the Sound, about twenty miles to the ſouthward of Copenhagen. 8. Preſtoe, a place of ſome trade on the ſouth coaſt of Zeland, over-againſt the iſland of Mona. 9. Warienburgh, ten miles ſouth-weſt of Preſtoe, over-againſt the iſland of Falſter. 10. Skelskor, ſituate on the weſt ſide of Zeland, on the ſhore of the Great Belt, thirty miles north-weſt of Warienburgh. 11. Korſor, about ten miles to the northward of Skelskor, on a promontory over-againſt Funen, which forms a good harbour on the north ſide of it. Beſides theſe towns, which are none of them larger than an Engliſh market town, it is computed there are upwards of three hundred villages in the iſland.

Cronenburgh caſtle.

Frederickſburgh.

Funen.

Funen, the next moſt conſiderable iſland of Denmark, hath Samſoe on the north; the Great Belt, a ſtrait of twenty miles over, which ſeparates it from Zeland on the eaſt; the Baltick ſea on the ſouth; and the Leſſer Belt, a ſtrait which divides it from the continent of Jutland, on the weſt; being about fifty miles long, and forty broad: the chief town whereof is Odenſee, ſituate about the middle of the iſland, and fourſcore miles to the weſtward of the city of Copenhagen. It was formerly a flouriſhing little city, but now very much upon the decline. There are beſides Odenſee, 2. The town of Nuburgh or Nyburgh, ſituate on the eaſt ſide of the iſland, over againſt Korſor in Zeland. Here is a good harbour for ſhips of the largeſt burthen. The town is fortified, and was once the reſidence of the antient Daniſh Kings. 3. Schwinburg, ſituate on the ſouth eaſt part of the iſland, eſteemed a pretty good harbour. Here the Swedes paſſed over the ice in the year 1658, when they marched to beſiege Copenhagen. 4. Middlefar, ſituate on the weſt ſide of Funen, being the common paſſage to Kolding in Jutland. And here the King of Sweden marched his army over the ice, when he invaded this iſland in the year 1658. Beſides theſe towns there are about two hundred and fifty villages in the iſland of Funen.

Langland.

The iſland of Langland, ſo called from its long narrow form, lyes on the ſouth eaſt of Funen, and is about thirty miles long, and eight broad, the chief town whereof is Rudkoping, ſituate on the weſt ſide of it, over againſt Schwinburg in Funen, beſides which place there are about ſixteen villages in the iſland.

Laland.

The iſland of Laland hath Zeland on the north, Falſter on the eaſt, the Baltick on the ſouth, and Langland on the weſt, and is about thirty miles long, and twenty broad; the chief town whereof is Nankow, ſituate on the weſt ſide of the iſland.

Falſter.

The iſland of Falſter hath Zeland on the north, from whence it is ſeparated by a narrow ſtrait, Mona on the north-eaſt, and Laland on the weſt, being about twenty miles long, and ſixteen broad; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Nykopping, ſituate on the weſt ſide of the iſland, and Sudkopping, ſituate towards the north, being the common paſſage to Zeland.

Mona.

The iſland of Mona hath Zeland on the north-weſt, and Falſter on the ſouth-weſt, from whence it is ſeparated by a narrow ſtrait, and is about fifteen miles long and five broad.

Arroe.

The iſland of Arroe lyes to the ſouthward of Funen, the chief place in which is Kopping on the ſouth part of the iſland.

Bornholm.

Bornholm lyes the moſt to the eaſtward of any of the Daniſh iſlands, and is about twenty miles to the ſouthward of the continent of Schonen. It is about twenty miles long, and twelve broad, and hath been the ſubject of much contention between the Swedes and Danes. The chief towns are Sendwick on the north coaſt, Rottum on the ſouth weſt part of the iſland, and Nexia a little diſtance from Rottum.

Samſoe. Anhout. Leſſow.

To the northward of Funen, and eaſt of the continent of Jutland, lyes the iſland of Samſoe; and farther to the northward, the iſlands of Anhout and Leſſow, beſides which, there are a vaſt number of leſſer iſlands in theſe ſeas. To the iſland of Funen only, it is ſaid, there belong no leſs than ninety other habitable iſlands.

North Jutland.

From Zeland and Funen, and the reſt of the Daniſh iſlands in the Baltick, I proceed to the province of North Jutland, the country of the antient

antient Jutes, confederates of the Angles, who made a conqueſt of South Britain, and gave it the name of their own country, Angleland or England. Theſe people were by the Romans called Cimbri, and their country with Sleſwick and Holſtein, Cimbrica Cherſoneſus, or the peninſula of the Cimbri. North Jutland is bounded by the German ocean on the weſt and north, by the Baltick on the eaſt, and by the dutchy of Sleſwick on the ſouth, and is uſually divided into four governments, or ſtifts amps, viz. the governments of Alburg, Wiburg, Arhuſen and Ripen.

1. Alburg, or Aalburg, ſometimes called Burglaw, is the extreme north part of Jutland, having the German ocean on the north and weſt, the Baltick on the eaſt, and the governments of Wiburg and Ripen on the ſouth, from which it is ſeparated by the ſinus or bay called the Lymford, which flows from the Baltick ſea quite croſs the upper part of Jutland, almoſt to the German ocean. The length of this province from the north eaſt to the ſouth weſt, is about an hundred and thirty miles, but the breadth is ſcarce forty miles in the broadeſt part. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Aalburg, ſituate on the Lymford gulph, about fifteen miles to the weſtward of the Baltick ſea. 2. Nikopping, ſituate in the iſland of Mors, which is formed by the Lymford, on the weſt ſide of Jutland. 3. Tyſted, a little to the northward of Mors iſland, near the Lymford bay. 4. Seeby, a port town on the Baltick, about twenty miles to the northward of Alburg, 5. Schagen, ſituate on the moſt northern promontory of Jutland, a place of good trade, where the ſhipping frequently touches in their voyage to or from the Baltick. In this province are contained thirteen bailiwicks, and upwards of an hundred and ſixty pariſhes.

2. The government of Wiburg, an inland province, bounded by Alburg on the north, by Arhuſen towards the eaſt, and by Ripen towards the weſt and ſouth, being of a circular figure, and about forty miles over. It is watered by ſome large lakes which have a communication with the Lymford, among which there is one named Otho ſund, or Otho's bay, ſuppoſed to have received its name from the Emperor OTHO, who made an excurſion this way, and throwing his javelin into it, according to tradition, gave it the name it ſtill retains. The chief towns of this province are, 1. Wiburg, which ſtands about the middle of the province of North Jutland, thirty five miles to the ſouthward of Alburg. It was a Biſhop's ſee, and is ſtill a town of ſome figure, here being a court of juſtice which receives appeals from other inferior courts. It is ſuppoſed to have taken its name from the pirates who uſed to reſort thither, and were called wigs. 3. Harkier, about twenty five miles to the northward of Wiburg. And 4. Nybye, about ten miles to the north eaſt of Wiburg, remarkable for the great fairs of fine horſes, which are annually held at theſe places. In this province are reckoned up 16 bailiwicks, and upwards of 200 pariſhes.

3. Arhuſen is bounded by Wiburg on the north, by that part of the Baltick ſea called the Little Belt, towards the eaſt and ſouth, and by Ripen towards the weſt; and is about ſixty miles long and thirty broad, the chief towns whereof are 1. Aarhus, or Aarhuſen, near the Baltick ſea, 30 miles north of the iſland of Funen, it was a Biſhop's ſee, and is ſtill a handſome town. The cathedral ſtill remaining is looked upon as a curious piece of architecture, and in it are ſeveral fine tombs of the antient Biſhops and noblemen of the country. 2. Randers, ſituate about fifteen miles to the northward of Aarhus, near the Baltick, and is a town of good trade, beſides which there are reckoned to be upwards of three hundred villages in this province.

4. The government of Ripen, having Wiburg on the north, Aarhuſen towards the eaſt, the dutchy of Sleſwick on the ſouth, and the German ocean towards the weſt. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Ripen, ſituate on the river Nipſick, which, dividing itſelf into three branches, runs through the town, dividing it into as many parts, and a little below falls into the German ocean, forming a pretty good harbour. This is a place of ſome trade, and the buildings tolerably good: it was a Biſhop's ſee, and univerſity; and the cathedral is a magnificent ſtructure, built of hewn ſtone, and hath a ſteeple of an extraordinary height, which ſerves as a ſea mark to mariners. 2. Kolding, ſituate on a bay of the Baltick ſea, over-againſt Funen; a place of good trade, where all horſes, cattle, and other merchandize are embarked for Holſtein and other countries in the Baltick, and is defended by a ſtrong caſtle, named Arusburg. 3. Frederikſodde, a ſmall port, twenty miles to the eaſtward of Kolding, ſituate on the weſt ſide of the Little Belt; memorable for the King of Sweden's paſſing over the ice here with his army in the year 1658, when he invaded Funen and Zeland, and laid ſiege to Copenhagen. 4. Weil, ſituate on a bay of the Baltick ſea, about fifteen miles to the northward of Kolding; a little compact trading city, and a very good harbour. 5. Warde, ſituate about twenty miles to the northward of Ripen, near the mouth of a river, which falls into the German ocean. 6. Ringkopping, ſituate about thirty miles to the northward of Warde, on a bay of the German ſea, eſteemed a pretty good harbour.

I come next to the dutchy of Sleſwick, or South Jutland, bounded by North Jutland, towards the north, by the Baltick ſea towards the eaſt, by Holſtein on the ſouth, and the German ocean

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ocean towards the weſt; being about ſixty miles long, and five and forty broad, over which the King of Denmark and Duke of Holſtein are joint Sovereigns: only there are ſome towns and bailiages in which they have a ſeparate and diſtinct juriſdiction, particularly the bailiages of Hader, Sleben, Ripen, Flensbury, the territory of Chriſtianpris, the iſles of Roem and Mandoa, and the weſt ſide of the iſland of Foer are ſubject to the King of Denmark ſolely. And the bailiages of Gottorp, Tonderen, Appeurade, Huſem, Eyderſtede and Lhom Cloſter, the iſles of Femeren, North Strandſylt, and the eaſt ſide of Foer are ſubject to the Duke of Holſtein ſolely. The chief towns are, 1. Sleſwick, or Sleyſwick, ſituate on the river Sley, which a little lower falls into the Baltick; and ſtands about twenty miles north weſt of Kiel, a town much reſorted to formerly by foreign merchants, and was alſo a Biſhop's ſee. A little to the ſouthward of this town are the ruins of the wall which ran quite croſs the country from the Baltick ſea to the German ocean, built by the Daniſh Kings, to prevent the excurſions of the Saxons. 2. Gottorp, where ſtands the palace of the Dukes of Holſtein, ſituate in the middle of a lake, about fifteen miles to the weſtward of the city of Sleſwick: this is eſteemed one of the fineſt palaces of the north, and hath the advantage alſo of good gardens, adorned with fountains, caſcades, and every thing that can render it a delightful abode. Here is alſo a noble library, and a fine collection of rarities, particularly a copper globe ten feet and half diameter, with a ſphere, wherein the ſun moves on the ecliptick, and all the heavenly bodies are carried about by wheels, turned by a ſtream which falls from a neighbouring mountain. But this palace hath ſuffered much by the Danes, who in the year 1688, without any right, or even pretence, ſeized upon it, together with the Duke's perſon and all the reſt of his dominions; which they were compelled to reſtore again by the Engliſh and ſome other powers, who intereſted themſelves in the Duke's quarrel in the year 1689. 3. Eckrenford, or Ekelford, ſituate at the bottom of a bay of the Baltick ſea, in the midway between Sleſwick and Kiel, a good harbour, and a place of ſome trade. 4. Frederickſtat, a little town, ſituate on the river Eyder; about thirty miles to the weſtward of Eckrenford: here it was that FREDERICK Duke of Holſtein endeavoured to ſettle a trade for Perſian and Indian ſilks; and to that purpoſe ſent a famous embaſſage to Perſia in the laſt century, which hath been frequently mentioned in this work. 5. Tonninghen, ſituate on the ſame river Eyder, about five miles below Frederickſtat, and four or five leagues from the German ocean: this is one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes belonging to the Duke of Holſtein. 6. Huſum, ſituate on a bay of the German ocean, about ten miles north of Frederickſtat. 7. Flensburg, ſituate on a bay of the Baltick ſea, twenty miles north-eaſt of Huſum; a fine city, conſiſting of one large ſtreet two miles in length: the harbour ſo convenient, that the merchants lade and unlade their ſhips at their own doors. The country between this town and Sleſwick is extremely pleaſant, and ſaid to be the ſeat of the antient Angles who invaded Britain, and communicated their name to the ſouth part of the iſland. 8. Luxburg, or Glucksburg, a little town with a caſtle adjoining, from whence the Dukes of Holſtein Glucksburg take their title. 9. Haderſleben, a ſea port town, ſituate on a bay of the Baltick ſea; thirty miles to the northward of Flensburg; a well built town, the ſtreets large and uniform. 10. Tunderen, a port town, ſituate on the German ocean; twenty five miles to the northward of Huſum. 11. Lhom Cloſter, ten miles to the northward of Tunderen. 12. Sunderburg, ſituate on the ſouth part of the iſland of Alſen in the Baltick ſea, the uſual reſidence of the Dukes of Holſtein; Sunderburg eſteemed a very ſtrong town. 13. Nordburg, ſituate on the north part of the iſland, from whence the Duke of Holſtein Nordburg takes his title. There are ſeveral iſlands alſo belonging to Sleſwick in the German ocean, particularly Norſtrant, ſituate over-againſt Huſum, Fora and Amron, a little to the northward of it; Sylt, over againſt Tonderen, with Rom and Mindo farther northward, and ſeveral other leſſer iſlands which lye about theſe already mentioned.

Sleſwick city.

Gottorp.

Tonninghen.

The dutchy of Holſtein, like that of Sleſwick, hath the King of Denmark as well as the Duke of Holſtein Gottorp for its Sovereign, as will be ſhewn more at large when I come to treat of the government of theſe countries; I ſhall only obſerve here, that Holſtein is a fief of the Empire; and the King of Denmark on that account deemed a Prince of the Empire as well as the Duke of Holſtein; whereas Sleſwick is a fief of the crown of Denmark. The dutchy of Holſtein is bounded by the dutchy of Sleſwick on the north, by the dutchy of Saxlawenburg and the Baltick towards the eaſt, by the Elbe towards the ſouth, and by the German ocean towards the weſt; extending about an hundred miles in length from eaſt to weſt, and fifty miles in breadth from north to ſouth, within which limits I include Ditmarſh, Wagerland and Stormar.

Dutchy of Holſtein.

Holſtein.

1. Holſtein, properly ſo called, conſiſts chiefly of the inland parts of this country, lying between Stormar and Jutland: the chief towns whereof are 1. Kiel Chilonum, ſituate on a bay of the Baltick ſea, in the latitude of fifty four degrees odd minutes, fifty miles to the northward of Hamburg, and forty north-weſt of Lubeck: it hath a good harbour defended by a caſtle, and is a populous

Holſtein Proper.

Kiel city.

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a populous trading town: here alſo is held the annual aſſembly of the ſtates of Holſtein, and they have an univerſity founded in the year 1669. 2. Rensburg, or Reinolsburg, ſituate on the river Eyder, by which it is almoſt ſurrounded, twenty miles to the weſtward of Kiel, eſteemed one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in Holſtein. 3. Wilſter, a pretty well built town, ſituate on a river which falls into the Stoor; about thirty miles ſouth-weſt of Rensburg. 4. Itzehoa, a little to the eaſtward of Wylſter, ſituate on the river Stoor. And 5. Newmunſter, which lyes near the mouth of the river Stoor.

Ditmarſh province.

2. The province of Ditmarſh is ſituate between Holſtein Proper and the German ocean; being bounded by the river Elbe towards the ſouth, and the river Eyder towards the north: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Meldorp, a town of good trade, ſituate on the German ocean, about thirty miles ſouth-weſt of Rensburg. 2. Lunden, ſituate near the mouth of the Eyder, fifteen miles to the northward of Meldorp.

Stormar province.

3. The province of Stormar, or Stormaſh, a low marſhy country, bounded by the river Stoor, which divides it from Holſtein towards the north, and by the river Elbe and Lunenburg towards the ſouth, a country which very much reſembles Holland in its dykes and banks made to keep out the ſea, but the flats are nevertheleſs frequently overflowed. They have great advantages in trade on account of the neighbourhood of the river Elbe, and the city of Hamburg, which ſtands cloſe to the boundaries of this province; but is one of the Hans towns, and governed by its own magiſtrates. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Altena, formerly a very pretty town, within leſs than a mile of Hamburg, belonging to the King of Denmark; which hath been mightily encouraged by the Dane in hopes that it might in time participate of the trade and wealth of Hamburg; but it was burnt to the ground in the laſt war by the Swedes, and as ſome ſuggeſt, at the inſtigation of the Hamburghers, who apprehended this town might in time become their rival in commerce: however, Altena is now re-built, and more beautiful than ever. 2. Gluckſtat, or Gelucſtat, a ſmall city, ſituate on the Elbe, about thirty miles north-weſt of Hamburg: it is eſteemed a place of ſtrength, and here the Dane had formed a project, of compelling all veſſels to pay a toll in their paſſage to and from Hamburg; but the ſubjects of ſo many conſiderable powers were concerned in this impoſition, that he hath not yet carried his point: he hath however, often forced the Hamburghers to raiſe him conſiderable ſums, under pretence that he hath a right to the dominion of that city; which was formerly, it is true, reckoned to be within the dutchy of Holſtein, but is now a free imperial city. 3. Krempe, or Crempen, about ſix miles to the northward of Gluckſtat; and eſteemed a place of ſome ſtrength. 4. Pennyburg, ſituate about ten miles to the northward of Hamburg; and only remarkable for giving name to the diſtrict about it.

Wageren province.

4. The province of Wageren, or Wagerland, encloſed on three ſides by the Baltick ſea, and the river Trave, and bounded by Holſtein Proper towards the weſt, is about fifty miles in length from north to ſouth, and thirty in breadth from eaſt to weſt. This country had its name from the Wagrii, a people of Sclavonia, who conquered this country: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Segeburg, ſituate on the river Trave, twelve miles to the weſtward of Lubeck. 2. Odelſloe, or Oldelſloh, a good town, ſituate on the ſame river Trave, almoſt in the midway between Lubeck and Segeburg. 3. Ploen, ſituate on a lake, which almoſt ſurrounds it, and ſtands about twenty miles to the northward of Segeburg: this town gives a title to one of the branches of the houſe of Holſtein, who are ſtyled Dukes of Holſtein Ploen. 4. Oldenburg, ſituate near the Baltick at the north eaſt part of this country, and gives name to a ſmall diſtrict about it: it was formerly a town of good trade, but the harbour being landed up, it is upon the decline at preſent.

Counties of Oldenburg and Delmonhurſt, Weſtphalia.

The counties of Oldenburg and Delmonhurſt, part of the Daniſh territories, lye on the ſouth ſide of the Elbe, and are ſeparated from the reſt, as hath been obſerved already, by the whole dutchy of Bremen: they are bounded by a bay of the German ſea towards the north, by the river Weſer towards the eaſt, by the biſhoprick of Munſter towards the ſouth, and by the county of Embden on the weſt, and are together about ſixty miles in length, and thirty in breadth: the chief town of Delmonhurſt is of the ſame name; and ſtands on the river Delm, about ten miles to the weſtward of Bremen. And the only conſiderable town in Oldenburg is alſo of the ſame name as the county: it is ſituate on the river Hund, not far from the place where it falls into the Weſer, the river being navigable as far as the town, which makes it a place of ſome trade.

Norway divided into four governments.

The kingdom of Norway is ſeparated from Denmark by the ſea called the Categate; and is uſually divided into four governments, or dioceſes, viz. 1. The government of Wardhuys, or Finmark. 2. The government of Drontheim. 3. The government of Aggerhuys. And 4. The government of Berghen: after the deſcription of which, I ſhall enquire into the iſlands dependent on Norway.

Wardhuys.

1. The government of Wardhuys, or Finmark, or as it is frequently called the Norwegian Lapland, is bounded by the ocean on the north and weſt, by Muſcovite Lapland towards the eaſt, and by Swediſh Lapland towards the ſouth. The

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only place which can pretend to the name of a town in this country, is Wardhuys, ſituate on an iſland at the north-eaſt part of it; about fifteen miles in circumference: here is an old caſtle, the ſeat of the Governor, and a ſtreet of cottages; as to the reſt of the Norwegian Lapland, there are only cottages diſperſed here and there, ſeldom more than two or three together, as in Swediſh and Muſcovite Lapland already deſcribed: only in the iſland of Maggero (the land whereof makes the North Cape well known to our mariners who uſe the Ruſſian trade) and upon two or three other iſlands near it, there are churches built by the Danes, and the people make ſome pretenſions to Chriſtianity; but the natives, who live on the continent, are generally Pagans ſtill.

Drontheim.

2. The government of Drontheim, bounded by Wardhuys on the north, by ſome provinces of Sweden, and the Swediſh Lapland towards the eaſt, by the province of Berghen on the ſouth, and the ocean towards the weſt; being about five hundred miles in length, and one hundred in breadth. This country was yielded to the Swedes by the treaty of Roſchild in the year 1651, but reſtored to the Danes by the treaty of Copenhagen in the year 1660. The chief towns are, 1. Drontheim, or Truntheim, ſituate at the mouth of the river Nyder, which falls into a bay of the Northern ocean, in ſixty four degrees odd minutes north latitude, and ten degrees of longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London; and was antiently named Nidroſia, from the river on which it ſtands. It was antiently an Archbiſhop's ſee, and the ſeat of the Kings of Norway, but is at preſent a very mean town: there is however a caſtle ſtill remaining, where the Governor reſides. 2. Opdale, ſituate at the bottom of a narrow bay, about ten leagues weſt of the ocean, and an hundred miles ſouth of Drontheim. 3. Romſdale, ſituate on another bay, about thirty miles to the ſouthward of Opdale. 4. Solendale, ſtanding on another bay of the ocean, thirty miles ſouth weſt of Romſdale.

Aggerhuys.

3. The government of Aggerhuys, bounded by Drontheim on the north, by Sweden towards the eaſt, by the Baltick towards the ſouth, and by the province of Berghen towards the weſt; extending about two hundred miles in length from north to ſouth, and forty or fifty in breadth from eaſt to weſt: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Obſlo, or Anſlo, generally called Chriſtiana at preſent, ſituate at the bottom of a bay of the Baltick ſea, in the latitude of ſixty degrees odd minutes. Here are held the chief courts of juſtice for the kingdom of Norway, and it was antiently a Biſhop's ſee: in this city King JAMES VI. of Scotland (afterwards JAMES I. of England) ſolemnized his nuptials with ANN the daughter of FREDERICK King of Denmark, on the 23d of February 1589. This Princeſs, it ſeems, was driven back by contrary winds on her attempting to come to Scotland: whereupon King JAMES went over to Chriſtiana, and married her there. 2. Aggerhuys, from whence the province takes its name, ſituate on the oppoſite ſide of the bay on which Chriſtiana ſtands, and but a few leagues to the weſtward of it; eſteemed a ſtrong fortreſs, having held out a long ſiege againſt the Swedes in the year 1567. 3. Frederickſtat, ſituate at the mouth of the river Glammen, which falls into another bay of the Baltick ſea, about ſixty miles ſouth-eaſt of Chriſtiana. 4. Frederickſhall, a ſtrong fortreſs on the borders of Sweden, a little to the caſtward of Frederickſtat; in the ſiege whereof the late King of Sweden CHARLES XII. the greateſt heroe of the age, was killed in the year 1718. 5. Saltzburg, ſituate on the river Drammen, about twenty miles north-weſt of Chriſtiana; which the neighbouring copper and iron mines render a town of pretty good trade. 6. Tonsburg, ſituate on the bay of Obſlo to the weſtward of Chriſtiana. 7. Hollen, ſituate on the lake Nordſee, fifteen miles north-weſt of Tonsburg; remarkable for a church hewn out of a rock, and ſuppoſed to have been antiently a heathen temple. 8. Hammer, formerly a Biſhop's ſee, eighty miles to the northward of Chriſtiana.

Berghen.

4. The province or government of Berghen, containing the ſouth weſt part of Norway, is bounded by Drontheim on the north, by Aggerhuys on the eaſt, by the entrance of the Baltick on the ſouth, and by the ocean on the weſt; extending from the Naze Point in the ſouth to the latitude of ſixty three north. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Berghen, an antient ſea port on the German ocean with a commodious harbour, in the latitude of 61 degrees, being an hundred and forty miles to the northward of Naze Point. It is almoſt ſurrounded with mountains, and is eſteemed one of the largeſt, as well as the moſt populous and trading town in Norway, and is the reſidence of the Viceroy. 2. Eyde, fifteen miles to the caſtward of Berghen. 3. Staffenger, ſituate in a peninſula on a bay of the ocean, ninety miles to the ſouthward of Berghen; a ſmall city, once a Biſhop's ſee, and hath an indifferent harbour defended by a caſtle.

The iſlands.

There are a great number of iſlands on the coaſt of Norway, and others belonging to that kingdom at a diſtance from it; the moſt remarkable of which are, 1. Iceland, about an hundred and fifty leagues to the weſtward of the coaſt of Norway: the arctick circle paſſes over the north part of it; and the weſt end lyes about ten degrees to the weſtward of London: it extends in length from weſt to caſt about three hundred miles, and in breadth from north to ſouth about an hundred

Iceland.

hundred and fifty: it is uſually divided into four provinces, viz. the eaſt, weſt, north and ſouth provinces, ſo called from their reſpective ſituations. Their mountains are always covered with ſnow, and three of them vulcanos, which continually throw out fire; the moſt remarkable of which is mount Hekla, ſituate about the middle of the ſouthern coaſt. The chief towns of the iſland are, 1. Skalholt, ſituate in ſixty ſix degrees to the north-eaſt of mount Hekla. 2. Hola, ſituate on the north coaſt. 3. Beredit, to the ſouth-eaſt. And 4. Hammer, to the ſouth-weſt. The Viceroy reſides at the caſtle of Beſted, which ſtands towards the ſouth-weſt part of the iſland. Their houſes are built of wood, and covered with the bark of trees, the skins of beaſts, or turf; and many of the natives have no ſettled habitation, but wander from place to place, like the Laplanders.

The iſlands of Fero and Schetland, which lye between the north of Scotland and Iceland, are alſo ſubject to the King of Denmark, of which I ſhall give a farther account hereafter.

CHAP. III.

Treats of the perſons and habits of the Danes; of their genius and temper, learning, diet and diverſions.

THE Danes are generally tall and ſtrong limbed, their features and complexion good; their hair fair, and for the moſt part yellow, or red; and as few of the men wear wigs, they take a great deal of pains in curling their yellow locks; neither men nor women are aſhamed of red hair, or endeavour to conceal or change the colour. They have groſs Dutch ſhapes, and their mien is not to be admired: when we ſee the Daniſh women ſitting in a coach, or chair, ſome of them appear exquiſitely beautiful; but if they riſe and attempt to walk, they ſpoil all; ſo ſluggiſh is their motion, and ſo groſs their ſhape, at a little diſtance one is troubled to know whether they move at all. Both ladies and gentlemen in ſummer affect to imitate the French dreſs; but in winter wrap themſelves up in furs, or wool, like the reſt of the northern people. They are neat in their linen, changing it often, and affect to make a grand appearance.

It is obſerved that Denmark ſeldom produces a bright genius, they are neither good at invention, or imitation; neither deeply learned, nor exquiſite mechanics. The belle lettres, or polite learning, they are perfect ſtrangers to, and few books are found amongſt them, except thoſe of controverſial religion. Mr. MOLESWORTH, in ſumming up their character, ſays, he never knew a country where the minds of the people were more upon the level, as we find none of extraordinary parts, or qualifications, or excellent in particular ſtudies, or arts; ſo we ſee no enthuſiaſts, madmen, natural fools, or whimſical people; but a certain equality of underſtanding reigns among them; every one plods on in the ordinary beaten track of common ſenſe, without deviating to the right or left. The common people, however, in general write and read, and their clergy uſually talk Latin, but not in the greateſt purity.

The vices the gentry are moſt addicted to are gluttony and drunkenneſs: when they ſit down to eat and drink they never know when to riſe; but the debauch ſometimes continues whole days and nights. The firſt thing a friend is preſented with at his coming into the houſe is a dram of brandy; and they are no ſooner ſet down to dinner, but every man and every woman hath a glaſs ſet by their plate, and on the propoſing a health (which is not ſeldom while the dinner laſts) all take off their glaſſes together, and by that means make quick diſpatch: the women indeed retire ſoon after dinner; but the men ſit it out till they have loſt that little ſenſe which, Mr. MOLESWORTH obſerves, falls to their ſhare. And as the extreme cold is aſſigned as one reaſon why the northern people ſeldom excel in arts, or ſciences, poſſibly hard drinking may be aſſigned for another. The natives drown their intellects and loſe their memories; and what wonder is it, if in that condition, one race of drunken loggerheads beget another? The liquors drank by people of condition, are Rheniſh wine, cherry brandy, and all ſorts of French wine. The men, ſays a late writer, are fond of them, and the fair ſex do not refuſe them. The poor people indulge in bad beer, and ſpirits extracted from malt or barley. Nor do the Norwegians, who can afford it, come behind the Danes, as one who travelled amongſt them obſerves; before we ſat down, ſays he, beer and brandy were brought us; after ſupper all of us fell to ſmoking and drinking till morning: 'tis the cuſtom of the country, and both among the gentry and common people, lewdneſs and intemperance paſs for wit and ingenious converſation. Liquors.

As to their eating, the tables of people of condition are covered with a variety of diſhes; but I cannot however, ſays a late traveller, commend their entertainment; for the fleſh, except beef, and veal, is generally lean, and ill taſted; as are their tame fowls; and wild ducks are ſcarce eatable. There are no fallow deer, woodcocks, pheaſants, or rabbits; and red deer are the King's game, and not to be purchaſed. Their hares and their bacon are excellent, as are their freſh water fiſh, particularly carp, perch and craw fiſh; but ſea fiſh is ſcarce, and ill taſted; and in general, ſays the gentleman already cited, their cookery is not agreeable to an Engliſh palate. Eating.

The

CHAP. III.

The common people, whether in town or country, live upon coarſe rye bread, lean ſalt fleſh, ſtockfiſh or roots, and very bad cheeſe; ſeldom taſting freſh fiſh, and hardly ever fleſh. As to the character of the common people, Mr. MOLESWORTH adds, they are poor mean ſpirited wretches, far from the warlike temper of their anceſtors, inclined to groſs cheating, and intolerably jealous and ſuſpicious that others have a deſign upon them; which may be obſerved to be the caſe of moſt men of moderate underſtandings. In our age, ſays PUFFENDORF, the Danes have loſt much of their antient glory, becauſe the preſent nobility and gentry (which are all one here) are rather for enjoying their revenues in caſe and luxury, than for undergoing the fatigues of war; and the commonalty have followed their example. The Norwegians, ſays the ſame writer, undergo all kinds of hardſhips with more courage and vigour, to which they are inured by the climate they live in; but the Danes ever ſince they have been maſters of Norway, have endeavoured to depreſs, and keep that people under, by taking from them all opportunities of exerting their vigour, and there are now very few of the antient nobility left in Norway.

Character.

Travelling.

The Danes travel either in waggons, on horſeback, or in ſledges, and there is an officer who regulates the prices of carriage, and puniſhes thoſe who extort more than their due. If any gentleman can procure a warrant from the court, when he is about to undertake a journey, the peaſants or farmers are obliged to furniſh him with horſes and carriages in every country through which he paſſes, without being allowed any thing for them, as they do for the King and the whole court whenever they travel. The Danes have their playhouſe, as well as the Engliſh, for their diverſion. They take their pleaſure alſo in their ſleds upon the ice in winter, but downright drinking is their favourite recreation, the moſt ſerious affairs ſubmit to this, the great buſineſs of the day and night. Nor do the Danes indulge more in eating and drinking, than in their lodging, for as there is no place where there is greater plenty of good feather beds, they lay one under and another over them all the winter ſeaſon. But lodgings for ſtrangers are procured with difficulty in private houſes, and in publick houſes they are obliged to eat and ſleep in common, no man being allowed a room to himſelf, except his quality be very great.

Diverſions.

Lodging.

CHAP. IV.

CHAP. IV.

Treats of the nature of the ſoil, and produce of the ſeveral countries under the dominion of the King of Denmark; and of their plants, animals and minerals; as alſo of their trade and manufactures.

THE nature of the ſoil in dominions ſo far extended and disjoined by ſeas as thoſe of Denmark are, muſt be various. The iſland of Zeland, wherein the capital city of Copenhagen ſtands, produces no bread corn, but rye, of which moſt of their bread is made: of this they have enough for the ſubſiſtence of the inhabitants, but not any to export. There is not much meadow or paſture ground in the iſland, but what they have is a ſhort ſweet feed. One fourth part of the country is foreſt, and reſerved for the King's game, ſuch as ſtags, wild boars, &c. which no ſubject may meddle with, tho' he finds whole herds of them devouring his corn, and the farmers are generally great ſufferers by them. In a wet ſeaſon they have the greateſt plenty of grain in Zeland. Their cattle are ſmall and lean in the winter, kept within doors ſeven or eight months of the year, and fed with grains, roots, weeds, or ſuch other ſtuff as their owners can provide; but in ſummer when there is graſs to be had, their beef is pretty good. Near Copenhagen the ſea is not well ſtored with fiſh, which is ſuppoſed to proceed from the water not being ſo ſalt as that in other ſeas.

Produce of Zeland.

The iſland of Funen produces corn and wood ſufficient for the natives, and they have cattle for their uſe, but affords nothing for exportation, except ſome few horſes. Laland is a plentiful iſland, and produces all ſorts of corn in abundance, particularly wheat, with which it ſupplies Copenhagen, and all other parts of Denmark in ſmall quantities, for wheat is a very great rarity among them. The iſlands of Falſtria, Langland and Mona are reckoned tolerably fruitful. Arroe and Alſen produce annis ſeeds, which they mix with their bread, and uſe in the ſeaſoning their meat.

Produce of Funen, and the other Baltick iſlands.

Jutland hath corn enough for the natives, and abounds in cattle. The horſes and hogs of this country are reckoned very good; and black cattle are tranſported lean from hence to Holland, where they grow fat in a ſhort time, of which the Dutch make a conſiderable profit.

Produce of Jutland.

The country of Sleſwick hath a ſufficient quantity of corn, cattle and horſes, with which they furniſh their neighbours.

Of Sleſwick.

Holſtein is a pleaſant fruitful country, ſaid to reſemble England in its variety of hills, woods, rivers, meadows and corn fields. Stormar and Ditmarſh

Of Holſtein

CHAP. IV.

Ditmarsh lye low, near the Elbe, being a rich soil, compared to Holland for its fertility, and the improvement of its lands, which are sometimes overflowed however by the neighbouring ocean. Oldenburg also is a flat country, much exposed to inundations, but abounds in cattle, and hath a breed of horses much esteemed for their being of a cream colour, though they have generally tender feet, and last but a little while. Delmenhurst is a more hilly country than Oldenburg, and pretty well wooded.

Norway is a very barren country, having neither corn nor cattle sufficient for the subsistence of the inhabitants. A ridge of mountains run along it from south to north, dividing it from Sweden, besides which the country is full of hills and rocks, which produce scarce any food for man or beast, and are almost continually covered with snow. As to Lapland, the most northerly part of it, there seems to be no difference between that and the Swedish and Muscovite Laplands already described. Two things however Norway is valuable for, and that is their fir timber and their mines. The English and Dutch are better supplied with masts, planks, and timber for shipping here, than in any other northern country, and they export a good quantity of pitch and tar. Their mines are chiefly iron, they have one of silver and another of copper, but not so valuable as those of Sweden. The seas abound with all manner of fish, and they export great quantities of stockfish, which are dried without salt upon the rocks, and are of great service in victualling our fleets for that reason, the eating of salt meat for any time being constantly attended with the scurvy.

Produce of Norway.

Produce of Iceland, &c.

The islands of Iceland, Fero and Schetland are almost as barren as Norway, corn will scarce grow in any of them, but they seem to abound more in cattle. The natives of Iceland feed on the flesh of bears, wolves and foxes, and bread made of dried fish ground to powder. They barter their dried fish, tallow and sulphur, for such other commodities as they want. There are not either in the islands of Iceland or Fero any trees except juniper shrubs, birch and willows, but they have roots and other garden stuff, which with their fish, seems to be their greatest support. There is one writer however, namely, JACOB DEBES, provost of the churches in the islands of Fero, who says they have barley in those islands, and that it yields twenty or thirty fold increase, but no other corn will grow there he acknowledges. They have good pastures also the same writer assures us, and a tolerable breed of black cattle, small sized horses, and some flocks of sheep, and almost all manner of roots and herbs which grow in our kitchen gardens, and are pretty well stocked with fish and fowl: but the cold is very severe in all these islands, and their winters dark, as may easily be gathered from their situation. Whatever some writers may have said to their advantage who have seen them in summer, one who hath been bred in these latitudes possibly would choose to leave the world rather than enjoy a long life in those wretched islands; though use indeed may have rendered those things in some measure easy to the natives, which would be intolerable to us.

CHAP. V.

Manufactures and trade.

As to the manufactures of Denmark and Norway, there are none, except that of iron, which is not very considerable. Holstein and Sleswick seem to be extremely well situated for a foreign trade, lying both upon the Baltick and the ocean, but I do not find they reap any advantage from their situation at present. Hamburg on one side, and Lubeck on the other, which border upon Holstein, are indeed towns of great trade, and the Dane sometimes pretends to the sovereignty of Hamburg, but by the countenance of the neighbouring powers, that city hath hitherto preserved her liberties. Jutland and Holstein, as hath been observed already, export nothing but horses and cattle. From Norway indeed there are great quantities of fir timber for masts, yards and planks exported, with pitch, tar, stockfish, oil and iron, for which they receive ready money chiefly of the English; but of the French, wine, brandy, alamodes, and other trifles to gratify their vanity in return. The Danes have some inconsiderable factories in the West Indies, and on the coast of Guinea; and in the East Indies they are masters of the city and fort of Tranquebar, one of the most considerable towns on the east side of that continent, and from hence are sent home some years, two or three ships laden. The Dutch have for many years been endeavouring to undermine the Danes in the East Indies, and make themselves masters of the town of Tranquebar, inciting the natives to lay siege to it; and the Danes were in great danger of losing it about five and twenty years ago, but were generously supported by Mr. PITT, the Governor of fort St. George, with a detachment of English troops, whereby the treacherous Hollander was disappointed in his designs, as was observed in the description of India.

The Dane hath generally been reckoned to abound more in shipping than the Swede, the reason whereof may be, that Norway furnishes Denmark with a considerable number of hardy seamen, who are used to fishing in those boisterous seas; and the Dutch also maintain great numbers of the Norwegians in their fleets, where they live better than on their own barren coasts, which makes this people apply themselves more to the sea service than any other subjects of Denmark. And there is always a considerable number of them ready to man the Royal navy, which brings

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brings me to enquire into the ſtrength and forces of the Danes by ſea and land.

CHAP. V.

Treats of the forces of the King of Denmark by ſea and land, and of his revenues.

Forces.

I CANNOT enter upon this head, without making the ſame reflections an old whig writer does. It is certain, ſays he, that the levying taxes on the ſubject here, is not more grievous to them, than the reaſon for which they are levied, namely, The maintenance of a great ſtanding army. The people are made contributors to their own miſery, and their purſes drained in order to their ſlavery. The French King hath taught the Princes and States of Europe, that pernicious ſecret of making one part of the people both the bridle and ſcourge of the other, which in time muſt needs end in a general deſolation. The King of Denmark hath been but too apt a pupil to ſuch a maſter, and hath even endeavoured to exceed his original, raiſing more men than his country can maintain; and at preſent the northern and German Princes eſtimate their wealth, not by the fertility or extent of their territories, by the trade or induſtry of their people, but by the numbers of horſe and foot in their ſervice; for the ſubſiſtence of which, after they have eaten up their own ſubjects, they make uſe of an hundred cruel and unjuſt pretences to ruin and encroach upon their neighbours; and when they cannot accompliſh ſuch deſtructive projects, foment quarrels among other Princes, that they may have an opportunity of letting out their troops to cut throats for hire, which they are not able otherwiſe to maintain, and hath found the art of receiving pay without intereſting themſelves in the quarrel, which hath been the conſtant practice of the Danes, and ſome neighbouring Princes for many years paſt. Theſe practices however, the ſame writer well obſerves, have been very pernicious to Denmark; nor at the time thoſe reflections were made had the Dane ſucceeded in any of his attempts, either againſt the city of Hamburg, the Duke of Holſtein, or the Swedes; but in the laſt war indeed taking advantage of the diſtreſs the Swedes were reduced to by a potent confederacy, the Dane made himſelf maſter of Bremen and Verden, which he afterwards conveyed to the Sovereign of Hanover, and ſeized alſo on the Duke of Holſtein's territories in his minority, which he ſtill detains; but I am miſtaken if he does not one day pay dearly for his ill gotten acquiſitions. But to proceed to the account of the Daniſh forces. It is computed that Denmark, Holſtein, and Oldenburg, maintain 5450 horſe, 1500 dragoons, and 17000 foot. Norway maintains 1256 horſe and dragoons, and 14300 foot; making in all a body of near forty thouſand men.

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A rix dollar about 4 s. 6 d.

The pay of a Captain of foot is twenty rix dollars per month; of a Lieutenant eleven rix dollars; and an Enſign ten. A Serjeant's pay is ſix rix dollars per month; and a Corporal's about four. A Drummer hath three rix dollars and eight ſtivers (or pence); and a common Soldier two rix dollars thirty two ſtivers per month. A Colonel, beſides his Captain's pay, hath thirty rix dollars per month; a Lieutenant Colonel twenty; and a Major ten. A common ſoldier receives but ſeventeen ſtivers, or pence, weekly, the reſt is applied for bread, clothes, &c. The foot ſoldiers, both officers and private men, are generally foreigners of all countries, Poles, Germans, Swedes, Scots, &c. There are more reaſons than one for not employing too many of the natives, but the principal reaſon I take to be is, leſt they ſhould ſhew too much affection to their own country, and not ſo readily obey the arbitrary commands of their officers. Officers of horſe receive no more pay in time of peace than thoſe of the foot. The horſe are uſually natives, and maintained every one by his peaſant or farmer, who is obliged to provide him man's meat, and horſe meat, and ſix ſhillings per month in money, half of which the Colonel takes towards his mounting; and in Holſtein they have ſomething better pay than in Denmark. In Norway little money is expended in paying the forces, the private ſoldiers being quartered on the boors, and ſubſiſted by them.

For the ſea ſervice three thouſand mariners are conſtantly maintained at Copenhagen, as well in peace as war, having a weekly allowance of ſalt fleſh, ſtockfiſh, meal, grout, &c. for themſelves and their families, and about eight rix-dollars a year in money; and there are ſeveral ſtreets of little houſes or barracks near the walls where they live, and where their wives and children remain while they are at ſea. Their buſineſs in time of peace is to work in the King's yards and docks which are over againſt the palace in Copenhagen, where they take it by turns to ſerve in all laborious works relating to the ſhipping, and once a year it is uſual to equip a ſmall ſquadron of men of war, and ſail out of harbour with them two or three months, for exerciſing the ſailors. All the officers of the fleet are in conſtant pay, as well in peace as war, and the Danes compute that they can rig out thirty ſail of men of war and upwards at a very ſhort warning.

Revenue.

The King's revenue ariſes either, 1. From the duties paid by his own ſubjects. 2. By the cuſtoms paid by foreigners. Or, 3. By the crown lands, fines and confiſcations.

The taxes paid by his own ſubjects are either fixed or variable; that is, the Prince in ſome caſes chooſes to follow a certain rule, eſtabliſhed by himſelf

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himſelf, which he may however alter if he ſees fit; and in others he frequently varies. Of the firſt ſort are the duties of import and export, and the exciſe, commonly called the conſumption, laid upon every thing that is eat or drank in the kingdom. There are alſo duties paid for marriage licences, duties of ſtamped paper, on which all bargains, contracts, grants, proceedings at law, &c. are written, ſome of theſe duties amounting to ſeveral rix dollars per ſheet. Duties are alſo laid upon brewing, and all malt and corn that is grinded in mills. Theſe duties are certain, or ſeldom altered. The uncertain duties are, 1. The taxes on land, which are not aſſeſſed by the acre, but according to the annual value of the farm. 2. Poll money, impoſed upon every one according to the perſonal eſtate he is ſuppoſed to have, which is ſometimes levy'd twice a year. 3. Money levy'd for erecting or repairing the fortifications. 4. An occaſional tax raiſed only when a daughter of Denmark is to be married, whoſe portion is uſually an hundred thouſand crowns. 5. A tax laid upon every tradeſman for the liberty of exerciſing his calling, and the gain he is ſuppoſed to make by it, who is obliged alſo to quarter ſoldiers. 6. The ground rents in all cities and towns, which the King taxes according to the value of the houſe, or the ability of the poſſeſſor. In Holſtein the lands are taxed according to the number of the ploughs, each plough paying a certain ſum every month. Not many years ſince, a valuation was made of all the houſes in the cities and towns in the King's dominions, and all the lands in the country were admeaſured, that the crown might the better underſtand their value; and the ground tax in the cities and towns was aſſeſſed at four per cent. of the whole value the ground was rated at if it was to be purchaſed. For example, a vintner, the ground of whoſe houſe was valued at 900 dollars, was obliged to pay thirty ſix yearly for the ground tax, and the like proportion was obſerved towards others in regard to their houſes and profeſſions. The moſt moderate aſſeſſment of their poll tax is according to the following proportion, viz. A citizen worth eight or ten thouſand rix dollars, pays four rix dollars for himſelf, four for his wife, two for every child, and one for each ſervant, and for every horſe one rix dollar. An alehouſe-keeper pays one rix dollar for himſelf, another for his wife, twenty four ſtivers for every child, and ſixteen for every ſervant. The fortification tax is uſually laid high. A merchant worth ſix or eight thouſand rix dollars hath ſometimes paid ſixty-eight dollars, an ordinary citizen eight or ten, and others in proportion.

In Norway the revenue ariſes from the tenths or tythes of timber, tar, fiſh, and oil, and the cuſtoms ariſing thereby; and there is ſomething ariſes from their mines. The exciſe and other taxes laid on the inhabitants are the ſame as in Denmark. The laſt and moſt inconſiderable branch of the revenue ariſes from the crown lands and confiſcations, for notwithſtanding the King's demeſns are daily increaſed by confiſcated eſtates, the King is ſometimes the poorer for them; for he no ſooner becomes poſſeſſed of them, but the labour ceaſing which was formerly applied to cultivate and improve them, the lands are frequently converted to foreſt, and ſerve for little but his Majeſty's diverſion; and if they do happen to yield any thing, they are uſually conferred on ſome courtiers, who have the government of the King's houſes, or care of his demeſns, boors, and tenants. Upon the whole, a late writer hath computed the revenues of the crown of Denmark as follows, the toll of the Sound at 65000 rix dollars per annum. The reſt of the toll of Denmark farmed at 165000 rix dollars. The conſumption, or exciſe of Copenhagen farmed at 140000 rix dollars. The conſumption of the reſt of Denmark at 140000 rix dollars. The ſmaller taxes of Denmark at 100000 rix dollars. Poll tax, fortification tax, ground rents, and land tax at 100000 rix dollars. The whole revenue of Norway at 700000 rix dollars. The crown lands, confiſcations, &c. at 200000. The revenue of Iceland farmed at 27000 rix dollars. Oldenburg and Delmenhurſt 8000. And the toll upon the Weſer 5000 rix dollars. So that the whole revenue of Denmark amounts to 2622000 rix dollars per annum. But as the gentleman who makes this calculation obſerves, that the poll tax and fortification tax are never raiſed the ſame year, upon which account if we deduct 400000 rix dollars out of the ſum total, the whole revenue will then amount to two millions two hundred twenty two thouſand rix dollars, or about five hundred thouſand pounds of our money, which in that part of the world will go near as far as three times that ſum with us, conſidering the cheapneſs of proviſion and labour in Denmark and Norway.

It is computed alſo that there is not an hundredth part of the ready caſh in Denmark as there is in England. Except a very few, none have any caſh by them, and the trading people through whoſe hands it runs, being men of ſmall ſubſtance, and deeply in debt to their creditors in Holland and Hamburg, no ſooner receive any caſh but they pay it away again. The nation alſo is perpetually drained of its ſpecie by the officers of the army, who are generally foreigners, and if they lay up any thing, place it out in the banks of other countries, as many of their own miniſters of ſtate do whatever they can ſcrape together. The over balance of trade alſo carries off a great deal, for they conſume more foreign commodities, than their product can countervail; all which would incline

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incline one to believe, that they have but little running cash, and great part of this is copper money, as it is in Sweden, where if a man has an ordinary sum to receive, he must take a wheelbarrow or two along with him to bring it home; and our merchants who trade to Sweden and other northern countries inform me, that in their accounts *there is constantly a certain sum set down* for wheelbarrows, which are used in transporting their cash from place to place.

Coins, weights and measures.

In the conclusion of this chapter it may not be improper to give some account of their coins, weights, and measures, which are as follow. A rose noble is eighteen shillings sterling. A ducat nine shillings. A rix dollar four shillings and six pence. A slet dollar three shillings. A rix mark about eleven pence. And a slet mark nine pence. And a stiver a peny. Besides which there are a great variety of copper coins of a small value. Another gentleman informs us that a rix dollar is more than 4 s. 6 d. and but little short of a crown. That a stiver is more than an English peny, and that forty eight stivers make a rix dollar.

Their weights are the great and small hundred, the first 120 lb. and the other 112 lb. They have also their lispound, which is as much as our stone, and their shippund, which is twenty lispounds. An hundred pound English does not make above ninety two Danish pounds. A Danish ell is about one third less than the English.

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Treats of their laws, and the administration of justice.

Courts of justice.

JUSTICE, according to a late writer, is no where obtained with more expedition and less charge than in Denmark. The whole body of their laws is contained in one moderate quarto volume, written in their own language, so plainly and intelligibly, that it scarce needs a comment. They have three several courts, the lowest, or most inferior court, is styled the heredsfougds-court, and seems to resemble our court leet, or hundred court; from these there lyes an appeal to the landstag court, or general court of the province; and from thence to the court called the highright in Copenhagen, composed of the prime nobility, where the King sometimes sits in person. In cities and towns they have the bisoghts court, of which the burgesses are judges; from whence they may appeal immediately to the court of Copenhagen, consisting of the burgomaster and common council of that city, without passing through the provincial court; and from thence may by appeal remove the matter to the highest court, above-mentioned, which in any case where the law is silent, or doubtful, hath a power of determining the matter arbitrarily; and through all these courts the suit is carried in the space of thirteen months: the whole charges not amounting to more than ten or twelve pounds sterling. They have no publick societies of lawyers, or inns of court, as with us; but every one who hath a mind to it takes up the profession, which is scarce worth any man's while, the fees are so mean, and consequently advocates are not very numerous; and there is the less occasion for them, because every man is at liberty to plead for himself, and manage his own suit. The greatest expence is in the stamped paper the proceedings are written upon; and to prevent this being excessive, the clerks, or registers, are obliged to bring the whole matter into a certain number of sheets, as well the allegations and proofs as the sentence itself, which are all reduced to writing. In the inferior courts the reasons on which every sentence is grounded are expressed; but in the highright court no reason is given for the determination. The judges of the inferior courts are not only punished for misdemeanors committed in the execution of their office, but are obliged to make satisfaction to the party injured by an unjust sentence. The salaries of the judges are paid out of the Exchequer: a judge of the bisgoht court hath not above five and twenty pounds per annum, and others proportionably, which would be a strong temptation to them to accept a bribe, if they were not kept in awe by the supreme court, which can punish them arbitrarily. Our merchants who have had occasion to prosecute suits in this country, admire much the equitableness of their laws, and the readiness with which justice is obtained. Causes which concern the publick revenue are brought before the Rent Chamber, which answers to our court of Exchequer; and there are colleges, or courts for every branch of business almost as in Sweden.

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No societies of lawyers.

The severity exercised in criminal cases is supposed to be the reason there are but few offenders of that kind: the crimes of high-treason, housebreaking, or robbery, are seldom heard of; and seditious discourses and practices are still more uncommon. These are what arbitrary governments will never suffer; nor do they wait for manifest proofs, the least intimation or suggestion is sufficient to convict a man of disaffection. The punishment for capital crimes is beheading, which is usually done by one stroke of a sword.

There is an officer, called the polity-master, in the city of Copenhagen, who takes care that good orders are kept, composes differences among merchants, sees their merchandize be good and saleable, and that they do not interfere in one anothers business: he causes the streets, bridges, and canals to be cleansed and kept in good repair, and free from nusances, or obstructions; he takes care that the city be supplied with bread-corn, and at a moderate

a moderate price: ſeizes prohibited goods, and aſſiſts at the extinguiſhing fires, for they do not ſuffer the mob to ruſh in on theſe occaſions, but have certain companies of men, whoſe proper buſineſs it is, and who are provided with inſtruments for the purpoſe, no other perſons may approach within a certain diſtance of the place: and becauſe great quantities of fir are uſed in their buildings, which is apt to take fire, they ſuffer no flambeaux or torches to be carried in the ſtreets; but make uſe of lanthorns inſtead of them, which are fixed on the top of a ſtaff. The polity-maſter alſo is the general game-keeper, and ſeizes guns, nets and veniſon unlawfully taken: he alſo apprehends night-walkers, no perſon being allowed to be abroad after the beating of the taptoo, and ſuppreſſes riots and tumults in the ſtreets.

There is nothing the Danes ſeem to be more apprehenſive of than the abuſes of apothecaries in vending and applying their drugs: they admit no perſon therefore to exerciſe that profeſſion who is not appointed by the college of phyſicians, and confirmed by the King himſelf. In that great city of Copenhagen very lately they allowed of but two, and one in every other great town, which muſt certainly be too few if ſome of their phyſicians did not prepare their own medicines. The apothecaries ſhops are viſited by the magiſtrate and phyſicians two or three times a year, and the bad or decayed drugs taken and thrown away. The prices of all drugs are fixed, from which they durſt not vary: they keep exact books of whatever they ſell and to whom, that where an ill accident happens they may know whom to charge it upon; and for the ſame reaſon they are obliged to file all the preſcriptions which are brought them.

CHAP. VII.

Treats of their religion, univerſities, marriages, and funerals.

Religion. THE antient religion of Denmark was the ſame with that of Sweden; Woden, Thor and Friga, were their common deities in the Pagan times, for a more-particular account of whom I refer the reader to the deſcription of that kingdom in the former part of this volume. The Chriſtian religion was planted in this country, or at leaſt in Holſtein, the ſouthern part of it, by St. AUGARIUS, Biſhop of Bremen, the general Apoſtle of that part of the world, about the year 826. But the converſion of the Norwegians did not happen till the eleventh or twelfth century. The Lutheran doctrine was firſt propagated here about the year 1537, by BUGENHAGE, a Pomeranian divine, who was encouraged therein by King FREDERICK I. Lutheraniſm being the eſtabliſhed religion, no other denomination of Chriſtians are tolerated here any more than in Sweden: this would be eſteemed as mere a perſecuting church by our ſectaries as ever the Romiſh was, and perhaps requires a ſtricter conformity than any Catholick ſtate in Europe at this day; people not being allowed to talk, or expreſs themſelves with any freedom on the points in diſpute, or to abſent themſelves from their churches upon any pretence.

The clergy here are countenanced and protected by the government for that vile reaſon, as one of our own whig writers relates, becauſe they are ſo mean ſpirited as to preach up obedience to ſuperiors, as a duty incumbent on mankind; but however that be, it is no wonder that the common people ſhew them all imaginable reſpect, when they ſee them favoured by the magiſtrate, and not made the jeſt of the court and gentry as they are in ſome other Proteſtant countries, where their doctrines accordingly have a ſuitable weight with the audience. But to proceed, the clergy of Denmark do not intermeddle in any civil affairs, nor is it cuſtomary to retain chaplains in the King's court, or the houſes of the great men, but ſome page ſays grace before his Majeſty. In the pulpit the clergy are allowed to take great liberties, and will reprove a ſinner of quality for his vices publickly; nor is it taken amiſs, as long as they do not intermeddle with politics. They are much admired by the common people for theſe freedoms, who love to ſee their ſuperiors reprehended, and encourages them to be the more generous in their benevolences to the clergy, which is the beſt part of their ſubſiſtence in towns. Another thing which keeps up the authority of the clergy amongſt them is, their retaining confeſſion, without which no perſon is permitted to come to the ſacrament.

Inſtead of Biſhops and Archbiſhops, the Danes and other Lutheran churches have conſtituted Superintendents in their room, who retain almoſt as little of the authority of Biſhops as they do of the name. One of theſe gentlemen is extremely obliged if any one gives him the title of Biſhop or his Lordſhip. There are ten of them in the dominions of Denmark, viz. one in Zeland; one in Funen; four in Jutland, and four in Norway; but they have no temporalities, hold no eccleſiaſtical courts, have no cathedrals with Deans and chapters, but are chiefly buſied in animadverting on the doctrines and manners of the clergy. The Superintendent, or Biſhop of Copenhagen has a ſtipend of two thouſand rix-dollars per ann. every other Biſhop, or Superintendent of Denmark fifteen hundred rix-dollars; and thoſe of Norway a thouſand each. Their habit is like other clergymens, viz. a plaited black gown, with ſhort ſleeves, a large ſtiff ruff, and a

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round trencher cap. Their clergy preach conſtantly without book, and uſe abundance of action. They obſerve their holy days as ſtrictly as Sundays; and in time of divine ſervice the gates of Copenhagen are ſhut, and the common people very conſtant at their devotions: but the ſervice is no ſooner over than they fall to all manner of ſports and diverſions. It is not uncommon to ſee a clergyman ſit down to cards a little while after he is out of his pulpit, when he has preached in that moving manner as to draw tears from moſt of his congregation, and perhaps bore them company himſelf. Penances impoſed by the confeſſor the people readily perform: nor do they refrain coming to the publick worſhip, though they are ſometimes enjoined by the prieſt for ſome offence to ſtand at the door like criminals for months together in time of divine ſervice. One Lady particularly I knew, who, for a little levity in her conduct, was ſentenced to come no farther than the door, and yet conſtantly took her place there every Sunday: which occaſioned my enquiry into the reaſon of her humility, and brought to my remembrance an anabaptiſt conventicle held above ſtairs, where they uſed much the ſame diſcipline. In that congregation there happened to be a certain wet brother, who was frequently found diſordered by liquor, to the great ſcandal of the godly, who was thereupon condemned to ſit on the loweſt ſtep going up to the meeting-houſe, and every Sunday after he was to advance a ſtep higher, if he kept himſelf ſober the week before: but this poor ſinner could never reach the top, for uſually when he had got about half way up, he was kicked down to the bottom again for a freſh offence. Still the man perſiſted to viſit his conventicle every Lord's day; from whence we may naturally infer, that the fellow imagined there was no other way to heaven, or he would not have continued of this congregation after ſo many mortifications: eſpecially ſince there was no civil authority to compel him to frequent it.

Univerſities.

There is at preſent but one univerſity in Denmark, and that is at Copenhagen; the profeſſors reſide in the college, which is inferior to the worſt in Cambridge, or Oxford; and the ſtudents lodge in private houſes all over the town, not eating together in common, as with us; but are diſtinguiſhed, however, from other people by their black cloaks: many of their divines, it is ſaid, have had their education in the Engliſh univerſities, for which they are much valued in Denmark. The Danes are great lovers of organs in their churches, and have ſome fine hands, who entertain them half an hour before or after ſervice. Whereas our ſectaries are all Calviniſts, and confounded at the very ſound of a muſical inſtrument, though they can entertain themſelves hours together with their own inharmonious voices and very bad metre. There was not long ſince another univerſity at Sora, about forty miles from Copenhagen, where the buildings much exceeded thoſe of Copenhagen, but the crown ſeizing on the revenues, it is now deſerted, and a grammar ſchool erected in the room of it. The revenues, even of their hoſpitals, as well as the tythes and church lands were ſeized on by the government at the reformation. Nor is there a Proteſtant church in Europe which hath ſo much of their revenues left them as England; though here indeed the ſpoil was very great, and can never be abſolutely juſtified; though in mitigation of thoſe alienations, it is generally ſaid, the reformation could never have been effected out of a principle of conſcience alone, if the nobility and gentry had not been permitted to ſhare part of the lands and revenues of the clergy: and this is looked upon to be the ſtrongeſt barrier againſt the return of Popery in Lutheran countries, as well as in our own.

Marriage.

The marriage ceremonies in Lutheran countries do not differ much from thoſe of our own; what is moſt taken notice of by our people who viſit them is, that the parties are often contracted ſeveral months and years before the marriage is ſolemnized in a church, and are as free with one another as man and wife uſe to be. If they perform the ceremony before the woman is brought to bed, all is well. This is no offence, nor is it animadverted upon by their eccleſiaſticks: and in this the Calviniſts agree with them. In Holland it is an ordinary thing to ſee ſix or ſeven couple come to be married together, who have been long contracted, and lived in the moſt intimate familiarity. But then their eſpouſals or contracts are very ſolemn before friends, and the parties are not at liberty to marry elſewhere. So that I look upon that firſt contract to be in reality the marriage, and the other a ceremony only to render it more publick before any children are born, that there may be no diſpute about their legitimacy.

Funerals.

In their funerals they are exceeding magnificent, as in Sweden; and like them, it is not uncommon to let a corps lye uninterred ſome years, in order to make preparation to ſolemnize the burial with the greater pomp. The poor people are buried with leſs ceremony, but even they are attended to their graves by a ſet of mourners, hired by every pariſh for that purpoſe.

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Treats of the antient and preſent conſtitution of the kingdom of Denmark.

The firſt governments patriarchal.

FROM ſacred and prophane hiſtory we learn that the patriarchal form of government firſt prevailed in every nation under heaven, and children and ſubjects were originally names of the ſame import. When people multiplied, and there was a neceſſity of ſending out colonies in order to ſubſiſt, the ſenior of the family ſent abroad was conſtituted Captain and Governor of them. Some of theſe bodies, thus detached, fixed themſelves in fruitful countries, while others choſe a wandring life, and rambled from place to place with their flocks and herds for many ages; and ſome even to this day continue that courſe of life, particularly the Tartars and Arabs. Theſe enjoy an undivided property in all the lands they graze their cattle upon, and, conſequently, never can have any conteſt concerning the boundaries of their particular eſtates. The weſtern Scythians, who long continued this roving life, were the anceſtors of the preſent inhabitants of Scandinavia, viz. of the Swedes, Goths, Norwegians, and Danes. When they firſt fixed their habitations does not appear; but it is evident, in a ſucceſſion of ages, when they had multiplied to ſuch a degree as to be ſtraitened for room, and their own barren ſoil could no longer ſubſiſt them, they encroached upon their ſouthern neighbours, whom they had obſerved to live in greater eaſe and plenty, in ſettled habitations, and ſucceeded them in their ſeats, parting with their tents for more ſubſtantial dwellings. Every tribe or family had their certain bounds, and their chief, or leader, governed them as prince and father of his people. Theſe little principalities afterwards grew up into kingdoms by various means; by inter-marriages, or compacts for mutual defence, or perhaps by pure force. Some powerful chief invaded his weaker neighbours, and reduced many of theſe little monarchies into one. Where theſe governments were founded on compact, it is very natural to ſuppoſe the ſeveral families ſhould ſtipulate to enjoy their antient liberties, and either take it by turns to give a Sovereign to the whole kingdom, or refer it to the election of a majority. But where a ſtate aroſe by conqueſt, it is no leſs rational to believe that the conquered royalties ſuffered in their liberties and properties; that the lands were divided among the creatures of the new Sovereign, and their former Lords reduced to the condition of private men, or perhaps made a ſacrifice to reaſons of ſtate, if not upon the firſt defeat or ſubmiſſion, yet as ſoon after as the conqueror could meet with a favourable pretence to deprive them of their territories, and introduce his own dependents. For Sovereigns never think themſelves ſecure while they have left an injured Prince any poſſibility of reſuming his antient rights.

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But whatever was the antient government of the kingdoms of Scandinavia, we find that at ſome times theſe monarchies were hereditary, and at others elective; ſometimes the three kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were under one Sovereign, but oftner under three diſtinct Princes, who ſometimes acted arbitrarily, and at other times were ſo reſtrained by the nobility and clergy, that they enjoyed little more than the name of Kings. Every Biſhop, and every nobleman, had his caſtles and ſtrong towns, and ſet up for an independency, and the commonalty were their vaſſals, only ſummoned to inform their Lords of the condition of their farms, and the value of their effects, in order to be taxed, and bear the burthens of the ſtate, to which the nobility and gentry refuſed to contribute any thing. The executive power was lodged in the ſenate or privy council of the kingdom, of whom the King ſeemed to be no more than Preſident in time of peace, and in war was General of the army, but diſabled to raiſe either men or money, to make peace or war, without the conſent of his ſubjects.

The northern crowns ſometimes hereditary, and at others elective.

This was the ſtate of Denmark in the year 1660, when the commonalty, wearied out with taxes, and other oppreſſions of the nobility and gentry, which they had ſuffered during a long war, choſe to throw themſelves into the arms of their Prince, and aſſiſt him in ſuppreſſing the exorbitant power of their ſuperiors, concluding that their condition could not be worſe, under the government of a ſingle perſon than under ſuch a variety of tyrants; and with them the clergy, who conſtituted another of the eſtates, but had as little ſhare in the adminiſtration as the commonalty, readily joined. Of which revolution Mr. MOLESWORTH hath given a very particular account, and not an ill one, perhaps, making ſome allowances for his principles, (which appear in every paragraph) the ſubſtance whereof follows.

The preſent ſtate of Denmark.

When money was to be raiſed for diſbanding the army, and other exigencies of the government, and the ſtates of the kingdom were aſſembled for that purpoſe, in the year 1660, the commons propoſed, that ſince the nobility and gentry enjoyed the greateſt profit from the lands, of which themſelves were but the occupiers, or farmers, they might bear a ſhare of the publick taxes. To which the nobility anſwered, that the commons neither underſtood nor conſidered the privileges of the nobility, who had at all times been exempted from taxes, nor their own condition,

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condition, who were no better than ſlaves: that they had beſt keep within their own bounds, and acquieſce in ſuch meaſures as antient practice warranted, for the Lords would maintain their authority. To which the preſident of Copenhagen, ſpeaker of the commons, replied, they were no ſlaves, nor would, for the future, be treated as ſuch by the nobility; and thereupon withdrew from the aſſembly, being followed by the clergy and commons: they afterwards marched in a kind of proceſſion, with the Biſhop or Superintendent of Copenhagen, and the ſpeaker of the commons at their head, to a certain hall in the city, proper to entertain ſo large a company, and ſet apart from the nobility. Here they reſolved immediately to attend the King, and offer their aſſiſtance to make him an abſolute Monarch, and the ſucceſſion of the crown hereditary, by which they imagined they ſhould lay ſuch an obligation on his Majeſty, that he would free them from that ſlaviſh dependance on their ſuperiors they had long groaned under. Nor did they at this time much fear the reſentment of their Lords, the army being compoſed of their own body, and very much devoted to them; nor could they run any hazard by the change of maſters, ſo grievous were their chains already. Beſides, if they muſt be ſlaves, it was urged, they had better be ſo to a great Prince than be tyrannized over by every aſſuming neighbour, ſtyled a gentleman, procul a JOVE procul a fulmine, was an antient maxim. They had now alſo an opportunity of revenging themſelves upon thoſe who had long inſulted them, and ſo lucky an occaſion of gratifying their ſpleen was not to be reſiſted. They had ſeen the King alſo, with great courage and conduct, defend their capital city more than once againſt a formidable enemy; and could not but obſerve his firmneſs in all the calamities he ſuffered, when the Swedes had made themſelves almoſt entirely maſters of his dominions: they could never ſufficiently expreſs their gratitude therefore to him, their great deliverer, or think their liberties (if they had yet any left) in danger in his hands. Thus thoſe who at one time ſeem extremely jealous of their liberties, upon conceiving ſome uncommon excellencies to be lodged in their Prince, which, perhaps, are but imaginary; have been as forward to compliment him with their rights, as ever they were in other reigns to prevent the loſs of them. But to proceed, the clergy, ſays my author, had a farther view in the propoſed change, for having been hitherto kept in great ſubjection by the nobility and gentry, they hoped now to have no other ſuperior but the King; and as they engaged to influence the people in his favour, and preach up unlimited obedience to the Royal authority, they did not doubt of his Majeſty's protection, and hoped for ſome encreaſe of power.

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The court were ſo far from being ignorant of theſe proceedings, that, according to our author, they were the firſt movers, and at the bottom of the deſign; the Biſhop of Copenhagen and the ſpeaker of the commons were the Prime Miniſter's creatures, and directed by him; but the nobility, it ſeems, had yet no ſuſpicion of any formed deſign: they had been ſo long uſed to ſlight and tyrannize over the commons, that they apprehended no danger from them, and contemned their threats. But the nobility being aſſembled the next day, were informed, that the commons deſigned them a ſudden viſit; and they ſoon after appeared, with the Biſhop of Copenhagen and the ſpeaker at their head, who gave the Lords to underſtand, that having conſidered the diſorders with which the kingdom was diſtracted, they apprehended the only remedy for them would be to enlarge the King's prerogative, and make the crown hereditary, and had come to a reſolution accordingly, in which if the nobility thought fit to concur, they were ready to accompany them to his Majeſty; if not they ſhould attend the King themſelves, and the matter would be done without them. The nobility, who the day before deſpiſed the reſentment of the commons, being now convinced that they were countenanced and ſupported by the miniſtry, were very much confounded. They reflected that they were aſſembled in a fortified town, and in the power of thoſe who could compel them to ſubmit to what was required of them. That there was now no poſſibility of retiring to their reſpective countries where their intereſts lay, (and where they had long governed like ſo many petty ſovereigns) the gates of the town being kept ſhut by his Majeſty's particular order. In this condition therefore they thought it was their wiſeſt courſe to ſeem to ſubmit to what they could not prevent; and accordingly anſwered the commons, that they were not at all averſe to the propoſal made them; but ſome previous deliberation was neceſſary in an affair of ſo great moment: that ſuch an important tranſaction ought not to have the appearance of force, or to be the effect of a ſudden tumult, but of their free choice, after mature deliberation. They deſired therefore that the commons would a little defer the putting their deſign in execution, and conſult with them how it might be beſt effected to their mutual advantage. To this the ſpeaker of the commons replied, that theſe were only evaſions to gain time, that the nobility might find means to fruſtrate their intentions; that they came not thither to conſider but to act; and if the Lords would not join in it, they would attend his Majeſty

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jesty without them: and left their Lordships to reflect upon the consequences.

During these debates the nobility had privately sent a deputation to the King, offering to settle the crown upon his Majesty and his heirs male: but the King told them he should not accept of it, unless the gift was more general, and the females were included. But before this answer was brought to the Lords, the commons being impatient of delay, had proceeded by themselves towards the court, where they were met by the Prime Minister, and conducted into the hall of audience. His Majesty soon after appeared, and the Bishop, in the name of the clergy and commons, addressed himself to his Majesty, offering their assistance to make the crown hereditary: for which the King returned them thanks; but as the concurrence of the nobility, he said, was necessary, of which he had no reason to doubt, he advised them to continue their session, that this great affair might be accomplished with a solemnity suitable to the importance of it.

The nobility in the mean time were in the utmost distraction, their deputies having informed them, that their proposal of settling the crown upon his Majesty's heirs male was not pleasing to the court; and that even this offer was looked upon to proceed from persons who would not have granted any thing if they could have avoided it. And being informed the same day, that the city gates were shut, they began to be apprehensive of some design against their persons. Whereupon they dispatched other deputies to court, and to the commons, to signify they were ready to comply with all that the commons had proposed. Whereupon, says my author, the King resolved to keep the city gates shut till they had sworn fealty to him, in the face of the people and the army; and divested themselves of all right as well as power to cause any disturbance, or alteration for the future. Three days were taken up in the preparations for this great solemnity, when they were to make a formal surrender of their liberties. The King, Queen, and Royal Family, appeared on a kind of theatre erected for that purpose; and being placed in chairs of state, under velvet canopies, received the homage of all the senators, nobility, clergy, and commons, which was performed kneeling, in the sight of the army and burghers, who were drawn up under arms. And here they took an oath to be true and faithful to his Majesty and his heirs. GERSDORF, a popular senator, was the only man who opened his mouth in behalf of their expiring liberties, saying, he was confident his Majesty designed only the good of his people, and not to govern them after the Turkish manner; but wished his successors might follow the example he would set them, and make use of that unlimited power for the good of their subjects. Thus, says my author, the kingdom of Denmark was changed in four days time from an aristocracy to as absolute a monarchy as could be found in the world: and the commons, instead of enjoying the liberties promised them, had only the comfort of seeing their former oppressors in as miserable a condition as themselves. And the citizens of Copenhagen obtained little by the change, but the trifling privilege of wearing swords.

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The clergy only, says Mr. MOLESWORTH, (against whom he seems to have a particular spleen) were gainers by it, and are still much encouraged by the court, as the instruments that first promoted, and now keep the people in a due temper of slavery: the passive obedience principle riding triumphant in this unhappy kingdom. So that Mr. MOLESWORTH would have the world believe that the loss of their liberties proceeded purely from the clergy's preaching up passive obedience, though he hath before spent many pages in shewing, that the arrogance and oppressions of the nobility were the real occasion of this revolution: besides, I cannot discover from the whole relation what the clergy gained, unless the being freed from the insolent treatment they met with from the gentry. No church lands or tythes were restored, or their revenues any ways encreased; but they still depend in a great measure, according to his own account, upon the benevolencies of the people: but so violent are the prejudices of some gentlemen against the whole order, that nothing less than a total extirpation, probably, will ever satisfy them. The clergy are at the bottom of every thing they do not like, and pointed out to the mob as the proper objects of their fury. And whoever reads the account of this revolution, cannot but observe farther, that the people, the lower class of mankind, by far the most numerous, were but little concerned in the alteration of the government; for Mr. MOLESWORTH himself assures us, that they were under an aristocracy before, and slaves rather than subjects to the nobility. Now it may be difficult to shew that aristocracy is jure divino any more than monarchy: or, that a people are happier under the government of many than of one: had the nobility and gentry of Denmark been the representatives of the peasants, and lower rank of people, the commons might have suffered some loss by the change; but the peasants were vassals to the quality, compelled to bear the whole charges of the government, both civil and military, and to perform such other drudgeries as their Lords were pleased to lay upon them; and what people in such circumstances would not have thrown themselves into the arms of their Monarch, and rely upon his honour, rather than be insulted and oppressed

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oppreſſed by their fellow ſubjects in every village. They neither loſt nor acquired any liberties or properties: they only ſuffered a change of maſters. But the people, it is obſerved, are ever brought into theſe diſputes as the injured perſons, for the ſake of that darling whig maxim, that 'There 'can be no legal government which is not found-'ed in the choice of the people: the voice of the 'people is the voice of GOD.' But alas, in this revolution in Denmark, the intereſt of the people was no more concerned than in the diſputes between the Kings of England and their Barons antiently: which party ſoever ſucceeded, a majority of the people ſtill remained in a ſtate of vaſſalage. No doubt, whoever expects a ſhare in the government, by dethroning a Monarch and ſetting up an ariſtocracy, is in the right to wheedle the people into a belief, that it is their dear intereſts only he is concerned to promote, that he hath nothing at heart but the good of his country, 'My country! O my country!' muſt be ever in his mouth: by which he means no more than his own particular intereſts: he would gladly change the condition of a ſubject for that of a legiſlator: he may too, in his own wiſe conceit, poſſibly imagine that the people would really be happier under his conduct than under the government of any Prince upon earth: but however that may be, he is ſure of bettering his own condition by the change; and when that is done, he will probably have done with the people, and leave them in at leaſt as wretched a condition as he found them: and, it is obſervable, there is not a commonwealth in Europe, how happy ſoever we may imagine their ſubjects to be, that will ſuffer the people ſo much as to petition for the redreſs of a grievance, or take the leaſt notice of male-adminiſtration. On the contrary, they have their inquiſitions, or committees of ſecrecy, where perſons, but ſuſpected of diſaffection, are frequently puniſhed arbitrarily, without knowing either their accuſers, or their crime: and what Monarch can be guilty of a greater act of tyranny?

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Contains an abſtract of the ſucceſſion of the Daniſh Princes; with the modern hiſtory of Denmark, or the principal occurrences of the two laſt reigns.

WHEN the kingdom of Denmark was firſt eſtabliſhed, PUFFENDORF obſerves, is very uncertain; but among their antient Kings, FROTHO was moſt famous he relates, who, according to their traditions, reigned a little before the birth of our Saviour, and was Sovereign of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, England, Ireland, and other neighbouring ſtates. He made a conqueſt of the Vandals, who then inhabited Pomerania and Mecklenburg, and firſt ſtyled himſelf King of the Vandals. Having nothing certain to relate of the immediate ſucceſſors of FROTHO, he paſſes on to ERICK, the firſt Chriſtian King of Denmark, who reigned about the year 246. The next Prince he mentions is GORMO II. who endeavoured to extirpate Chriſtianity, but was compelled by the Emperor HENRY, ſirnamed the Birdcatcher, to permit the free exerciſe of it in his dominions again. GORMO was ſucceeded by his ſon HAROLD, who left the crown to his ſon SUEN, or SWAIN, in the year 980. This Prince conquered part of England, and died in the year 1012. CANUTE, ſirnamed the Great, the ſon of SUEN, or SWAIN, ſucceeded him, and was Sovereign of England, Denmark, and Norway: in which kingdoms he was ſucceeded by his ſon HAROLD, who dying without iſſue, HARDECANUTE, the third ſon of CANUTE, aſcended the Daniſh throne, being at the ſame time King of England and Norway; but was the laſt of the Daniſh race who had the ſovereignty of England. MAGNUS King of Norway alſo made himſelf maſter of Denmark, upon the deceaſe of HARDECANUTE: but SUENO, of the Royal Family of Denmark, recovered the kingdom of Denmark again, and died in the year 1074, to whom ſucceeded his ſon HAROLD VII. and after him his brother CANUTE IV. This King granted the tenths of all the revenues of his kingdom to the clergy, and inveſted the Biſhops and eccleſiaſticks with great authority; by which, it is ſaid, the Jutes were ſo exaſperated, that they aſſaſſinated him. But the clergy, out of a ſenſe of their obligations to CANUTE, placed him in the number of their ſaints, and his memory was afterwards celebrated in full bowls at their feaſts. His brother OLAUS IV. ſucceeded him, who died anno 1095. After whom his brother ERICK II. aſcended the throne; upon whoſe death the kingdom was in great confuſion, there being three competitors for it, viz. SUENO III. CANUTE VI. and WALDEMAR I. who, after a long ſtruggle for the whole, agreed to divide the kingdom between them. But CANUTE being aſſaſſinated, and SUENO killed in battle, WALDEMAR reigned ſole Monarch of Denmark. He was ſucceſsful againſt the Rugians and Vandals; and, it is ſaid, firſt laid the foundation of the city of Dantzick. In his reign alſo the city of Copenhagen began to be built by ABSALOM Biſhop of Roſchild. CANUTE VI. his ſon, ſucceeded him, and was engaged in a bloody war with the Vandals; and having ſubdued them, ſtyled himſelf King of the Vandals, or ſlaves. He took alſo from ADOLPH Earl of Holſtein the city of Hamburg, and ſeveral other places. He conquered Eſthonia and Livonia, and cauſed the

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FROTHO. ERICK I. 246. GORMO. HAROLD. CANUTE. HARDECANUTE. CANUTE IV. 1081. WALDEMAR I. 1157. CANUTE VI. 1164.

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the Chriſtian faith to be eſtabliſhed in thoſe countries. To whom ſucceeded his brother WALDEMAR II. anno 1202, who had under his dominion the kingdom of Denmark, Eſthonia, Livonia, Courland, Pruſſia, Pomerania, Rugen, Mecklenburgh, Holſtein, Stormar, Ditmarſh, and Wageren; with the cities of Lubeck and Lawenburgh. But in the latter end of his reign the provinces of Mecklenburgh and Pomerania, with the cities of Lubeck and Dantzick, revolted from him. ADOLPH Earl of Lawenburgh diſpoſſeſſed him of Holſtein, and STORMAR and the Knights of the croſs took from him Eſthonia and Livonia. He was ſucceeded by his ſon ERICK V. but his father had divided part of the kingdom among his other three ſons. To ABEL he had given Sleſwick, to CANUTE Blecking, and to CHRISTOPHER the iſlands of Laland and Falſter: each of whom ſet up for independent Sovereigns in their ſeveral appennages: and ERICK endeavouring to reduce them, was murdered by his brother ABEL, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom: but within two years after was himſelf killed by the Frieſlanders and Ditmarſians. To him ſucceeded his brother CHRISTOPHER I. who happening to engage in ſome conteſts with the clergy, it is ſaid, they poiſoned him with the conſecrated hoſt. But ERICK VI. his ſon, however, ſucceeded him, who being engaged in wars with Sweden, Norway, and Holſtein, was taken priſoner by the Duke of Holſtein, and afterwards murdered by the great men of his kingdom. He left the crown to his ſon ERICK VII. who entered into a war with the King of Norway, for protecting his father's murderers: and had ſome other differences with the neighbouring ſtates. To him ſucceeded his brother CHRISTOPHER II. who cauſed his ſon to be crowned King in his life-time. This King was expelled the kingdom by his ſubjects, on pretence of their being oppreſſed by taxes; and WALDEMAR Duke of Sleſwick elected in his room: of whom the Danes being ſoon weary, recalled their King CHRISTOPHER again. Under this reign Schonen was conquered by the Holſteiners, and ſurrendered to MAGNUS King of Sweden by them. The reſt of Denmark alſo was torn in pieces in this reign, and the King remained Sovereign but of a ſmall part of it: after whoſe death there happened an interregnum of ſeven years; when Denmark was for the moſt part in ſubjection to the Holſteiners. But the Danes at length called in WALDEMAR, the ſon of CHRISTOPHER II. who ſerved at this time in the Emperor's court, by whoſe aſſiſtance they ſhook off the yoke, and WALDEMAR, in ſome meaſure, reſtored the declining ſtate of the kingdom; but ſold Eſthonia and Revel to the Knights of the croſs for 28000 marks, moſt of which he ſpent in a voyage to the Holy Land. He procured Schonen to be reſtored to Sweden again, and had Gothland ſurrendred to him by ALBERT King of Sweden.

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OLAUS VI. 1375.

OLAUS VI. grandſon to WALDEMAR, ſucceeded to the crown. He was the ſon of MARGARET, the daughter of WALDEMAR, and of HACQUIN King of Norway; and after the death of HACQUIN ſucceeded to the crown of Norway: he laid claim alſo to Sweden, his father being the ſon of MAGNUS SMECH, Sovereign of that kingdom: but he died young, and both the Danes and Norwegians received MARGARET his mother for their Queen; who entering into war with ALBERT King of Sweden, he was deſerted by his ſubjects, and MARGARET became Sovereign of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. She afterwards cauſed ERICK of Pomerania to be aſſociated with her: and the next year the eſtates of all the three kingdoms being aſſembled at Calmar, ERICK was declared their King; and it was agreed among them that Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, ſhould for the future be governed by the ſame Sovereign. MARGARET died in the year 1412. After whoſe death ERICK was ſole Monarch of the three kingdoms: but the Danes depoſed him, and elected CHRISTOPHER Duke of Bavaria, his ſiſter's ſon, for their Sovereign: after whoſe death the Danes made an offer of their crown to ADOLPH Duke of Sleſwick and Earl of Holſtein; but he refuſed it on account of his advanced age, and recommended to them CHRISTIAN Earl of Oldenburg, who reigned over both the kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, and drove CHARLES CNUTSON King of Sweden out of that kingdom: but CHARLES ſome time after recovered his crown again.

Denmark and Norway united MARGARET.

The three northern crowns united.

ERICK VIII. 1396.

CHRISTOPHER. 1439.

CHRISTIAN of Oldenburgh. 1448. From whom the preſent Royal Family deſcended

In the year 1471, the Emperor FREDERICK gave him Ditmarſen, and the country of Holſtein, and he married his daughter MARGARET to JAMES III. King of Scotland, giving her the iſlands of Orkney and Schetland for her dowry, which were before dependent on Norway. After whom ſucceeded his ſon JOHN, who divided the dukedom of Holſtein with his brother FREDERICK. He entered into a war with STEEN STURE, Governor of Sweden, and was ſo ſucceſsful as to procure himſelf to be crowned King of that people: but was afterwards driven out of Sweden again by STEEN STURE, aſſiſted by the Lubeckers. He was ſucceeded by his ſon CHRISTIAN II. who being pitched upon by the Pope to put a decree in execution againſt the kingdom of Sweden, he defeated STEEN STURE the younger, who was then Governor or Adminiſtrator of Sweden, and killed in the ſame battle, and afterwards procured himſelf to be crowned King of Sweden. But having treacherouſly maſ-

JOHN. 1481. Holſtein divided between two brothers.

CHRISTIAN II. 1513.

ſacred

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sacred many of the nobility of Sweden, and exasperated that people, he was driven out of the kingdom by GUSTAVUS ERICKSON. Ever since which time the Swedes have maintained their independency, and never been governed by a Danish Sovereign: he had drawn upon himself also the hatred and contempt of the Danes on account of his being governed by his concubine, and an old Dutch woman her mother. He was at length deposed and forced to retire to the Netherlands; and afterwards attempting to regain the crown of Denmark was taken prisoner, and continued so the remainder of his life: and his uncle FREDRICK Duke of Holstein obtained the crown. FREDRRICK died in the year 1533. and was succeeded by his son CHRISTIAN III. who met with great opposition from his own Bishops, which gave that King some pretence for seizing the revenues of the church, and encouraging the reformation of religion, which he established in Denmark about this time. To CHRISTIAN III. succeeded his son FREDERICK II. anno 1560. who was engaged in a long war with Sweden, but died in peace in the year 1588. being succeeded by his son CHRISTIAN IV. who was also engaged in war with Sweden, and afterwards with the Emperor, being General of the circle of Lower Saxony, but was defeated; and the Imperialists possessed themselves of Holstein and Jutland, which were however restored by a peace. The Swedes also took from him Gothland, Osel, Jemperland, and Halland. This Prince died in the year 1648. and was succeeded by his son FREDERICK III. who attacking the Swedes at the instigation of the Hollanders, had ill success: his whole country was overrun by the Swedes, and himself besieged in his capital city of Copenhagen, and by a peace was compelled to yield to the Swedes, besides Bahus, the fine provinces of Blecking, Schonen and Halland. It was in this reign that the King of Denmark was declared an absolute Sovereign, and the nobility were deprived of their privileges in the manner related in the last chapter. He died in the year 1670. and was succeeded by his son CHRITIAN V. who, finding the King of Sweden engaged in a war with the Emperor, resolved to take this opportunity of recovering those provinces which Denmark had lost in the last reign: but as the Duke of Holstein was an ally to Sweden, he thought it proper to secure himself from being attacked by that Prince in the first place, to effect which, he acted a very mean and treacherous part. There were, it seems, some differences between the King of Denmark and Duke of Holstein concerning the succession to the counties of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, and in relation to the revenues of the dukedoms of Slesvick and Holstein, of which the King of Denmark claimed the greatest share, in consideration that the greater part of the forces maintained for the defense of the country were paid by him. On the other hand, the Duke insisted that the taxes ought to be equally divided; and that if the King introduced more troops than were necessary for the defense of the country, that ought not to prejudice his right to an equal share of the revenue, especially when the King kept up that force without the Duke's consent, or that of the states of the dutchy, both which by antient compact he ought to have had. These disputes seemed to be in a fair way of accommodation; the King professing all imaginable friendship for the Duke, and offering to yield whatever he could reasonably insist upon. And being about to take a review of his troops in Holstein, in order to lull the Duke into a deeper security, says my author, he wrote him very obliging letters, and desired he would not take any umbrage at his journey into Holstein, since he had no other end in it than usual; namely to visit the places which belonged to him, and take a view of the condition of his troops, and if possible to put a final end to the differences which had so long subsisted between them. The Duke had so little suspicion of any hostile design against him, that he went to meet his Majesty upon the road accompanied by his brother the Bishop of Lubeck, and several others of the nobility; and afterwards made him a splendid entertainment at a seat of his upon the road, not far from his palace of Gottorp, where the King caressed him extremely, and desired to see him at Rensburg, a fortified town of the King's, near which he had appointed the rendezvous of his forces. The Duke still relying on the fair professions made by his Danish Majesty; and hoping to put an end to all disputes between them by a personal treaty, went attended by his Prime Minister and many of his nobility to Rensburg, to the entertainment he had been invited to on the 25th of June, 1675. where he was welcomed by the discharge of the cannon on the ramparts, and all other demonstrations of respect: but the next day the treacherous Dane caused the Duke of Holstein's guards to be disarmed, and himself made prisoner; and sent out detachments of his troops to seize on all the places in Holstein and Slesvick which belonged to him. The Duke exclaimed loudly against this usage: he alledged that he was a sovereign Prince of the Empire, independent of any other power, that he was brother-in-law to the King of Denmark, and an invited guest: that all the laws of justice, of blood, of friendship, and hospitality were violated, &c. but all in vain, the King had now thrown off the mask, and was determined to follow his blow. He upbraided the Duke that he was always in the interest of Sweden, and never to be trusted; and gave

The Swedes threw off the Danish yoke.

FREDERICK I. 1532.

CHRISTIAN III. 1533.

The reformation established here.

FREDERICK II. 1560.

CHRISTIAN IV. 1588.

FREDERICK III. 1648.

CHRITIAN V. 1670.

Seizes on the Duke of Holstein's territories.

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gave him to underſtand that unleſs he would renounce his right to the lands in diſpute, he would put garriſons in all his towns, and take poſſeſſion of his whole country; and that he ſhould be detained priſoner till he ſigned an order to the commander of the fortreſs of Tonninghen to ſurrender it; which laſt article the Duke at length conſented to, being under ſome apprehenſions there was a deſign againſt his life, and accordingly Tonninghen, with all the cannon and ſtores, was delivered up to the Danes.

The Duke was afterwards permitted to reſide at his own palace of Gottorp, but was ſtill in reality a priſoner, guards being placed at all the avenues to prevent his retreat, and ſome hard propoſals and articles were ſent him every day to ſign, one of which was the renunciation of his ſupreme and independent right over the dutchy of Sleſwick. His Dutcheſs, who was the King of Denmark's ſiſter, was all this while at Copenhagen, and ſuppoſed to conſent to the injuries offered to her husband. But the Duke wearied out by the indignities he ſuffered, and the conditions put upon him, contrived his eſcape, and arrived ſafely at Hamburg, where he proteſted againſt the validity of all the acts he had been forced to ſign. The King being extremely vexed to find the Duke out of his power, immediately gave orders for demoliſhing the fortreſs of Tonninghen, and ſequeſtred the dutchy of Sleſwick, cauſing both magiſtrates and people to ſwear allegiance to him, declaring them abſolved from their allegiance to the Duke. He alſo cauſed all the Duke's revenues to be brought into his own treaſury, continued garriſons in his towns, and even in his palace of Gottorp. And not knowing how ſoon he might be obliged by the Duke's allies to deliver up what he had ſo unjuſtly ſeized, he exacted contributions from the poor ſubjects to the value of many millions, to the ruin of as flouriſhing a province as any in Germany, whereby he filled his own treaſury, and diſabled the Duke's ſubjects from giving him any aſſiſtance. The Duke remained ſtill at Hamburgh, from whence he ſent his ſon to the German Princes to implore their aſſiſtance. He applied alſo to the court of England, which was guarantee of the peace of the north, but to very little purpoſe, till the King of Sweden, CHARLES XI. undertook his cauſe in the year 1689, and was about to have tranſported an army into Germany for the reſtoration of the Duke. The German Princes, and the Engliſh and Dutch, who were now entered into a confederacy againſt France, being apprehenſive that this might diſturb the peace of the Empire, and divert their troops from the French war, held ſeveral conferences on this ſubject at Altena, and at length obliged the King of Denmark to reſtore the Duke of Holſtein his dominions after he had been in poſſeſſion of them thirteen years, but took no care that the Dane ſhould make him any ſatisfaction for the devaſtation of his territories; one reaſon whereof might be, that the Dane promiſed to aſſiſt the confederates with a good body of his troops in that war, and had it not been more upon account of their own intereſt than any concern to ſee juſtice done the Duke, he might have remained diſpoſſeſſed of his territories thirteen years longer.

From the concluſion of the differences between the King of Denmark, and the Duke of Holſtein, at Altena, by the mediation of the confederates in 1689 to the year 1696 things remained in tolerable peace; but the late Duke of Holſtein, CHRISTIAN ALBERT, dying about that time, and the King of Denmark having ſent a deputation to his ſon and ſucceſſor Duke FREDERICK, to renew the union between them, and to let him have a ſight of the late Duke's will, that he might ſee if there was any thing in it in favour of the eldeſt Prince, in relation to the ducal part of the dutchy of Sleſwick, the Duke refuſed both the one and the other, alledging that the treaty of Altena in 1689 had not been obſerved, or juſtice done to the ducal houſe, particularly in reſtoring the ſigniory of Gottes Gabre in the iſland of Aroa.

The guarrantees of the treaty of Altena ſeeing both ſides inclined to a rupture, interpoſed their good offices, and engaged them to ſettle conferences for compoſing their differences, which were held at Penenburgh: but the Duke continuing to introduce Swediſh forces into Holſtein, and build and enlarge his fortifications during the time of the treaty, the King of Denmark marched an army into the country, and cauſed the new fortifications to be demoliſhed in the year 1697, which the Duke at that time, not finding himſelf in a condition to oppoſe, thought fit to acquieſce in till the death of the then King, which happened the fourth of September 1699, when he was ſucceeded by his ſecond ſon, FREDERICK the fourth. This the Duke looked upon as a favourable opportunity to build the fortifications which had been deſtroyed, eſpecially having married the King of Sweden's ſiſter, and aſſured of being ſupported by that crown. He began therefore to repair the fortifications of his demoliſhed forts, as he inſiſted he had a right to do by the treaty of Altena; and introduced into the country a conſiderable number of Swediſh troops, to prevent their being demoliſhed again. The mediators and guarantees of the treaty of Altena employed their good offices to prevent a rupture, and propoſed that both the Swedes and the Danes ſhould withdraw their troops out of Holſtein, and that the fortifications ſhould not be proceeded in till the matter was ſettled by a treaty. But the Dane being determined on a war, both with

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Sweden and Holſtein, and having entred into a confederacy both with Ruſſia and Poland for that end, would not hearken to any pacifick meaſures, but on the contrary, ordered his General the Duke of Wirtemburgh, to demoliſh Huſum, Frederickſtat, and other places belonging to the Duke of Holſtein, which he ſoon after effected: and not content with raſing ſuch new fortifications as had been erected, inveſted Tonninghen, in which General BANNIER commanded with a garriſon of five thouſand men. Whereupon the Princes guarantees gave the King of Denmark to underſtand, that ſince he had rejected all their friendly propoſals, they ſhould no longer ſee the treaty of Altena broken, or ſuffer the Duke of Holſtein to be diſpoſſeſſed of his country again, under the pretence of oppoſing the building of forts, which were already demoliſhed. The Duke of Holſtein alſo publiſhed a manifeſto, ſhewing the right he had by the treaty of Altena, to build fortifications in his own dominions, and the injuſtice of the Daniſh invaſion. And not only the German Princes, but the Dutch joined their forces with the Swedes in order to bring the Dane to reaſon: and marching towards Tonninghen, the Daniſh General thought fit to raiſe the ſiege, without coming to a battle. The Engliſh and Dutch alſo ſent each of them a ſquadron into the Baltick, and joined the Swediſh fleet, compelling the Danes to retire into the harbour of Copenhagen. In the mean time the young King of Sweden landed with fifteen thouſand horſe and foot upon the iſland of Zeland, about three miles to the ſouthward of Elſinore, and was preparing to inveſt Copenhagen, when the Dane finding himſelf upon the brink of ruin, was glad to accept of ſuch terms as the Princes guarantees, who at this time held their conference at Travendale, were pleaſed to preſcribe; and a treaty was accordingly concluded at Travendale, on the 18th of Auguſt 1700, wherein it was agreed, in relation to Holſtein and Sleſwick, that in ſuch places as the King and Duke had an equal right, nothing ſhould be done on either ſide without the conſent of the other, but that in their particular territories, each party ſhould be at liberty to act as he ſaw fit. And by the fourth article, that in the dutchies of Holſtein and Sleſwick, neither parties ſhould pretend to greater prerogatives than the other. By the fifth, that both parties ſhould contribute equally to the defenſe of the lands enjoyed by both. That the Duke ſhould enjoy the full power of raiſing ſoldiers, making alliances, and building forts in his own dominions, without asking the conſent of the King of Denmark, but that neither party ſhould build any fort within two German miles of the fortifications of the other, or within one German mile of the territories of the other, and neither party ſhould keep in the ſaid dutchies upwards of ſix thouſand men, unleſs upon account of ſome foreign invaſion, or the like; and when the King of Denmark ſhould be obliged to ſend forces to the aſſiſtance of his allies in the Empire, the Duke ſhould allow them paſſage through his country, but the Danes ſhould not take quarters or encamp in his Highneſs's territories, but pay for ſuch proviſions as his ſubjects furniſh them with. By the ninth article, the King was obliged to pay the Duke two hundred and ſixty thouſand dollars, in conſideration of the damages done to his territories. By the twelfth, the fort of Grovenhoff in an iſland of the Elbe near Hamburgh was to be raſed, and the navigation of the Elbe remain undiſturbed by either party. And by a ſeparate article, the King of Denmark was obliged to abandon the King of Poland his confederate, and no longer aſſiſt him againſt Sweden.

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The Duke of Holſtein being made General of the Swediſh forces, was killed in the year 1702, at the battle of Liſſaw in Poland, in the beginning of the action, but the Swedes afterwards obtained the victory. He was ſucceeded by his ſon CHARLES FREDERICK, the preſent Duke, then an infant of two years of age, his uncle, the Biſhop of Lubeck, being made regent or adminiſtrator of Holſtein during his minority.

CHARLES FREDERICK prince of Holſtein

The King of Sweden afterwards happening to loſe the battle of Pultoway, and retire into Turkey for refuge, the King of Denmark, who was not the ſtricteſt obſerver of treaties, or uſed to let ſlip an opportunity of falling upon a neighbour in diſtreſs, united his forces with the Muſcovites and Poles, in order to drive the Swedes out of their German dominions, which they did not only effect, but the King of Denmark under pretence of the infant Duke of Holſtein's favouring the Swedes, ſeized upon the Duke's territories again, and ſtill continues in the poſſeſſion of them. But it is to be preſumed that thoſe illuſtrious Princes guarantees of the treaties of Altena and Travendale, will one time or other ſee juſtice done to the Duke of Holſtein, and reinſtate him in his hereditary dominions, as they have his anceſtors formerly, when they were in like manner forcibly driven from their country by the Dane. At leaſt we may be confident they will never oppoſe the Ruſſian court, to whom the Duke is ſo nearly allied, if they ſhould attempt his reſtoration: unleſs it ſhould appear that thoſe Princes have ſome private views in preventing the Duke of Holſtein's return to his dominions. But I proceed now to give a farther account of the war the Dane and his allies commenced againſt the Swede after the misfortune of Pultoway, in which they deprived the Swede of all his German territories, whereof only an inconſiderable part were reſtored by the laſt peace. This is a piece of modern hiſtory that cannot

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cannot be omitted or unacceptable to thoſe who are deſirous to be acquainted with the preſent ſtate of Europe.

The laſt war between Denmark and Sweden.

The King of Denmark no ſooner heard of the King of Sweden's defeat by the Muſcovites at Pultoway, which happened on the 30th of June, 1709, but he began to conſider of ſome pretence to renew the war with him, and join his old confederates the Czar and King AUGUSTUS again. He immediately recalled the Daniſh regiments which were in the Emperor's ſervice in Hungary, and quartered them in Holſtein. He tranſported ten thouſand men from Norway to Denmark, levy'd new troops at Hamburg, and fitted out a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war, and having aſſembled an army of eighteen or twenty thouſand men, proclaimed a faſt to implore a bleſſing upon his deſigns; or rather, ſay the Swedes, to beg of GOD to proſper his breach of faith, and the unjuſt invaſion of a Prince's dominions, who had given him no offence, and with whom he was then engaged in a ſolemn league of friendſhip, and with whom he had no other reaſon to break, than becauſe the King of Sweden was not in a condition to help himſelf or defend his Subjects. However the King of Denmark on the 28th of November 1709, publiſhed a manifeſto to juſtify his intended enterprize, ſetting forth that the ambitious deſigns of the King of Sweden had for ſeveral years paſt occaſioned great devaſtations in the kingdoms of the north; and that he had received repeated inſtances of the animoſity that Prince entertained againſt him and his ſubjects, as well by the oppoſition made to his intereſt by the Swediſh miniſters in foreign courts, as by ſeveral expreſſions in his own letters; and therefore thought himſelf obliged to prevent the impending danger, and not imprudently wait till the deſigns of the Swedes were ripe for execution. He complains alſo of the dedication of a book, wherein the King of Sweden is ſtyled Emperor of Scandinavia, of which Denmark and Norway are part. And of the Swedes granting paſſes to foreign veſſels which paſs the Sound, whereby the revenue of Denmark was impaired. For theſe reaſons he declares war againſt all the territories of Sweden, except thoſe in Germany; and imbarking ſix thouſand horſe and dragoons, and twelve thouſand foot, he made a deſcent upon Schonen, landing at Helſinburgh the 12th of November, 1709; but it being winter time, he only took up his quarters in the country towns at firſt, and invited the people of Sweden to join him, waiting for a proper ſeaſon to enter upon action, which gave the Swedes time to put themſelves in a poſture to defend their country. About the middle of January by the favour of a hard froſt the Danes advanced towards Chriſtianſtat, where a battalion of Saxons being in garriſon, laid down their arms and went over to the Danes, whereby that town fell into their hands. They afterwards made themſelves maſters of Carelſhaven in the province of Bleking, and threatned Carelſcroon, where the Swediſh fleet and magazines were laid up. At the ſame time a ſtrong detachment extended themſelves towards Halland, on the weſtern ſide of Schonen, and their forces receiving frequent ſupplies, their army was conſiderably increaſed, and became very formidable. But the Swediſh General, Count STEINBOCK, having aſſembled eighteen or twenty thouſand men, and marching towards Helſinburgh, as if he intended to cut off the communication of the Danes with that place, they immediately abandoned all their conqueſts, quitting Carelſhaven and Chriſtianſtat, and retreated to Helſinburgh, near which place the armies came to an engagement, and the Danes were entirely defeated; a day or two after they quitted Helſinburgh, tranſporting the remainder of their troops to Denmark in the night, which after their ill ſucceſs did not amount to above ſix or ſeven thouſand men: and thus ingloriouſly ended the King of Denmark's expedition againſt Schonen, which ſay the Swedes was a juſt puniſhment for his perfidious breach of treaties.

The Danes having been diſappointed in their enterprize upon Schonen, the next year joined King AUGUSTUS and the Czar's troops, and fell upon the Swediſh Pomerania, deſtroying the whole country in a moſt barbarous manner, and the Swediſh forces not being ſtrong enough to oppoſe theſe united powers, retired into Stralſund, the iſle of Rugen, and other places of ſecurity. The King of Denmark, while the Muſcovites and the Saxons blocked up Stralſund, paſſed the Elbe, and entered the dutchy of Bremen, where the Swediſh General not having a ſufficient body of troops to oppoſe him, the Dane took the town of Staden, and made himſelf maſter of the whole country. In their return the Danes inſulted the city of Hamburg, threatning them with a bombardment, to avoid which the Burghers were compelled to raiſe them two hundred and thirty thouſand rix dollars. Count STEINBOCK, the Swediſh General, found means afterwards on the 22d of December, 1712, to engage the Danes ſingly, when they were ſeparated from their allies near Wiſmar, and having given them a great defeat, purſued them into Holſtein, ſeized the magazines the Danes had laid up there, and put the Daniſh Holſtein under contribution. From hence he marched to Penenburg, near Hamburg, where he determined to burn the Daniſh city of Altena, not ſo much by way of retaliation or revenge for the many Swediſh cities deſtroyed by the Danes, and their allies the Muſcovites and Saxons, as he declared in a memorial publiſhed on this occaſion, as to deter them from committing the like barbarities for the future.

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The Danes, Saxons and Muſcovites being now joined to the number of fifty thouſand men, and marching towards Count STEINBOCK, whoſe army did not conſiſt of above fourteen or fifteen thouſand, he found himſelf under a neceſſity of retiring into the ducal Holſtein, whither the allies followed him, and preſſing him with all imaginable eagerneſs, he threw himſelf into Tonninghen; and by that means avoided them for that time; which the Dane afterwards made a pretence for ſeizing the Duke of Holſtein's dominions, alledging that the Governor of Tonninghen admitted General STEINBOCK into the place by the direction of his maſter, the Duke of Holſtein, (who was not at that time above twelve years of age), this occurrence happening in February, 1712-13. But however that be, the confederates blocking up the city of Tonninghen till May following, and the Swedes not being in a condition to ſend General STEINBOCK any reinforcements or ſupplies, he was obliged to ſurrender himſelf and his little army, conſiſting of nine thouſand men, priſoners of war, on condition of keeping their clothes and baggage, and being exchanged or ranſomed the firſt opportunity. And thus for a little time the war ſeemed to be at an end in Pomerania: but the Muſcovite the next year inveſting Stetin, the King of Pruſſia ſo managed the matter, that by the agreement of the Czar and the Swediſh Governor, the town was ſequeſtred into the hands of his Pruſſian Majeſty, and agreed to be garriſoned by an equal number of Pruſſians and Holſteiners, but was to be reſtored to the King of Sweden at the end of the war.

The Dane and all the Princes of the north confederate againſt Sweden.

In the latter end of November, 1714, the King of Sweden, returning out of Turkey, arrived at the city of Stralſund, when he found a league was formed againſt him, the parties to which were the Kings of Denmark, Pruſſia, and Poland, and the King of England, as Elector of Hanover; the avowed deſign whereof was to preſerve the Peace of Germany, which was propoſed to be done by ſecuring the ſequeſtration of Stetin to the King of Pruſſia, and the poſſeſſion of Bremen and Verden, and whatever elſe the Dane had ſeized of the dominions of Sweden in Germany, to the Dane, and thoſe he ſhould or had aſſigned his intereſt in thoſe conqueſts to. This the King of Sweden thought highly unreaſonable, namely, that he ſhould not be permitted to recover thoſe territories again, which had been ſurprized in his abſence. And the Kings of Pruſſia and England inſiſting that this would embroil the north of Germany in a war, they came into a confederacy againſt the diſtreſſed King of Sweden, who had before the Muſcovite, the King of Poland, and the King of Denmark to contend with.

The King of Pruſſia, on the 28th of April 1715, formally proclaimed war againſt Sweden, diſarmed the regiment of Holſtein, which was in Stetin, entring upon that city as a conqueſt from Sweden, and holding it no longer in ſequeſtration. And the Danes and Pruſſians ſoon after aſſembled their forces to the number of ſixty thouſand men, and appeared before Stralſund, under the walls of which city the King of Sweden found himſelf obliged to retire, his army not conſiſting of more than a fourth part of the enemies number. In this ſame month of July, a treaty was ſet on foot between the King of Denmark and the court of Hanover, by which the King of Denmark ſtipulated to convey and deliver up Bremen and Verden, which he had taken from the King of Sweden, to the Elector of Hanover, in conſideration that the Elector would enter into the war againſt Sweden, and advance a ſum of money to his Daniſh Majeſty.

Bremen and Verden ceded to the Elector of Hanover.

The confederates before Stralſund being joined by twenty four thouſand Ruſſians and a body of Saxons, carried on the ſiege of that town with great vigour: but finding the place continually received freſh ſupplies and reinforcements from the iſland of Rugen, which lyes over againſt it, they landed a great body of troops on the iſland, and after a ſhort diſpute, in which the King of Sweden was in perſon, made themſelves maſters of it on the 17th of November. Still the King of Sweden determined to defend the town to the laſt extremity, and it was a terrible winter's ſiege, the centinels being frequently frozen to death at their poſts, and the attacks were deſperate, in one of which the confederates loſt near a thouſand men; however they prevailed by their numbers at length, and the King of Sweden finding the town not tenable, retired in a light frigate, and arrived ſafely in Sweden, giving the Governor orders to capitulate, which he did the latter end of December upon very honourable terms, and both the town and the iſland of Rugen were put into the poſſeſſion of the King of Denmark, and all the inhabitants of the Swediſh Pomerania were obliged to take an oath of allegiance to him, except thoſe of the city and diſtrict of Stetin, the iſlands of Uſedom and Wollin, and the lands between the Oder and the river Pene, which were left in the hands of his Pruſſian Majeſty. The city of Wiſmar in the dutchy of Mecklenburgh, the only town which the Swedes had left in Germany, was inveſted by the Danes, Pruſſians, Hanoverians and Muſcovites the next ſpring, and obliged to ſurrender; after which the King of Denmark was left in poſſeſſion of it, and thus ended the war in Germany.

Stralſund taken by the Danes and their allies.

The year 1716 was taken up by the Danes and Muſcovites in making preparations for invading the King of Sweden's dominions in Schonen. The Czar of Muſcovy went in perſon to Copenhagen to

Preparations of the Danes and Muſcovites to invade Schonen.

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to that purpoſe, whither his Generals led an army of thirty thouſand horſe and foot. The Danes alſo aſſembled between twenty and thirty thouſand of their troops for this expedition, and had prepared ſeven or eight hundred veſſels to tranſport them: but great part of the Daniſh fleet being employed in Norway during the ſummer, to oppoſe an enterprize of the Swedes, on that ſide, the year was ſpent, and all theſe preparations came to nothing. The Czar of Muſcovy upbraided the King of Denmark that his fleet was not ready in time; and the Dane pretended to be very angry with the Ruſſian Monarch, that he would not make the deſcent in the latter end of the year, which the Czar obſerved was impracticable, there being no forage to be found, and the King of Sweden being ready to receive them at the head of forty thouſand veteran troops; and upon this the Danes and Muſcovites, who had been ſo long in a confederacy againſt Sweden, began to look very cool upon one another. The Dane drew up his forces under the cannon of Copenhagen, as if he had ſome jealouſy of his old ally, and the Czar ſoon after returned with his troops to Germany. And, it ſeems, not only the Dane, but other German Princes began to be apprehenſive that if this enterprize had ſucceeded, the Czar would have made himſelf maſter of Sweden, and have been a very formidable neighbour to many of them, which the Dane did not ſufficiently conſider when the ſcheme was firſt laid for the deſcent on Schonen; but being now pretty well convinced of his error, he choſe rather to ſit down with the vaſt expence he had been at in order to the invaſion of Sweden, and let the affair entirely drop, than contribute any farther to the aggrandizing the Ruſſian Emperor, who was become too powerful already. The Dane being now left almoſt alone to defend himſelf againſt the Swede, was threatned in return with an invaſion of Zeland by his Swediſh Majeſty, which had certainly been put in execution, if it had not been that King GEORGE was under ſome apprehenſions that thoſe preparations of the Swedes were intended againſt his dominions, and thereupon ſent a ſquadron of men of war to the aſſiſtance of his Daniſh Majeſty, which put an end to the King of Sweden's intended enterprize againſt Zeland.

The following year, 1718, the Swedes marched two armies into Norway, one to the northward as high as Drontheim, and the other led by the King in perſon towards Chriſtiana, laying the whole country under contribution, there being no army in Norway ſtrong enough to oppoſe them; but the King of Sweden laying ſiege to Frederickſhall, was unfortunately ſhot in the trenches, and the Danes thereby delivered from their fears: for had the Swedes made themſelves maſters of Frederickſhall, as it was computed they might have done in a fortnight more, all Norway had been irrecoverably loſt, and the Daniſh dominions reduced to a very narrow compaſs. By the death of the King of Sweden, the war between Denmark and that crown was in a manner brought to a concluſion, tho' the peace was not formally ſigned till the year 1720. When the Swedes being invaded and diſtreſſed by the Ruſſians, were obliged to accept of ſuch conditions as the mediators and guarantees of it, the Kings of Great Britain and France, were pleaſed to preſcribe.

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By the 5th article of this treaty, the King of Denmark obliged himſelf not to aſſiſt his Czariſh Majeſty againſt Sweden, or permit the Ruſſian men of war to enter his ports. And by the 6th article, the Swedes obliged themſelves not to oppoſe ſuch meaſures as ſhould be taken by the ſaid mediators in behalf of the King of Denmark, in relation to the dominions of the Duke of Holſtein. By the 7th article, the King of Denmark promiſes to deliver up to Sweden the city of Stralſund, and part of Pomerania as far as the river Pene, to evacuate the fortreſs of Marſtrand, the iſle of Rugen, and all other iſlands which were taken by the Danes in the late war; as alſo the town of Wiſmar in Mecklenburgh: in conſideration whereof, the Swedes by the 9th article renounce the privilege of paſſing the Sound without paying toll, and agreed to pay the ſame toll as the Engliſh and Dutch. And by the 10th article, the crown of Sweden engages to pay to the King of Denmark ſix hundred thouſand crowns before the aboveſaid places be delivered to the Swedes. And by a ſeparate article, it was agreed that Wiſmar, the fortifications whereof were demoliſhed, ſhould never be fortified again. As to Bremen and Verden, theſe provinces were confirmed to King GEORGE by the Swedes by another treaty, which hath been mentioned already; and are now a fine addition to his German territories, lying contiguous to them, and having a communication with the ocean.

Treaty between Denmark and Sweden anno 1720.

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Treats of the arms, ſtyle and titles of the Kings of Denmark, of the preſent Royal Family, and prerogatives of the crown; of their nobility and orders of knighthood; and of the intereſt of Denmark in relation to other powers.

THE King of Denmark bears party of three, and coupe of two, which makes twelve quarters. In the firſt Or, ſeme of hearts gules, three lions paſſant gardant azure, crowned languid and armed of the firſt for Denmark. 2. Gules, a lion rampant Or, crowned and armed of the firſt in his paws a battle ax Argent, hilted of the ſecond for Norway. 3. Gules, a lion paſſant gardant Or,

Arms of the King of Denmark.

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Or, on nine hearts of the ſame in feſſe, for Gothland. 4. Gules, a dragon crowned Or, for Schonen. 5. Azure, three crowns Or, for Sweden. 6. Gules, a paſchal lamb Argent, ſupporting a flag of the ſame marked with a croſs Gules, for Jutland. 7. Or, two lions paſſant gardant Azure, for Sleſwick. 8. Gules, a fiſh crowned Argent, for Iceland: over theſe eight quarters a great croſs Argent (which is the antient device of the kingdom) on the centre of which are placed the arms of Ditmarſh, viz. Gules, a cavalier armed Argent. 9. Gules, a nettle leaf open and charged in the middle with a little eſcutcheon, the whole Argent for Holſtein. 10. Gules, a cygnet Argent gorged with a crown Or, for Stormaſh. 11. Gules, two feſſes Or, for Delmenhorſt. 12. Gules, a croſs pattree fitchtree Argent, for Oldenburgh. The ſhield ſurrounded with the collar of the order of the elephant. The creſt is a crown Or, flowered raiſed with eight diadems, terminating in a mond of the ſame. The motto, pietas & juſtitia coronant.

Style of the King.

The ſtyle of this Prince is King of Denmark and Norway; of the Goths and Vandals, Duke of Sleſwick, Holſtein, Stormar and Ditmarſh, and Earl of Oldenburgh and Delmenhorſt. The

His family.

preſent King is FREDERICK IV. ſon of CHRISTIAN V. and CHARLOTTA AMELIA, daughter to WILLIAM Landgrave of Heſſe. He was born the 11th of October, 1671. and ſucceeded his father the 4th day of September, 1699. He married the Princeſs LOUISA, the daughter of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, Duke of Mecklenburgh Guſtraw, by whom he had iſſue, 1. Prince CHRISTIAN, born November the 30th, 1699. 2. CHARLOTTE AMELIA, born October the 6th, 1706, and ſome other children ſince dead, Queen LOUISA dying lately, he married the daughter of Count RAVENTLAW, Chancellor of Denmark, within four days after her deceaſe.

Prerogative.

The King of Denmark is an abſolute Prince, as hath been already obſerved, and conſequently his prerogative unbounded. He is pleaſed, however, to act by laws and rules of his own, or his anceſtors framing, which he takes the liberty of repealing and altering when he ſees fit. He is the guardian of all noble orphans, and hath the marriage of all heirs and heireſſes, as the Kings of England had formerly: and none can ſell, or alien their lands without the leave of the crown, the King being entitled to a third part of the purchaſe money upon every ſale. There was

Nobility.

little or no diſtinction between the nobility and gentry of theſe kingdoms formerly: they compoſed but one eſtate, as in Sweden, and had no particular titles; but of late they have introduced the titles of Baron and Count, of which number there may be thirty or forty, who are generally creatures of the court. Theſe are the only ſubjects who have the liberty of diſpoſing their eſtates by will; all other eſtates are diſtributed among the children as the law directs upon the death of the anceſtor. Foreigners, or men of mean extract, it is obſerved, are generally more conſidered in the court of Denmark than the antient nobility, and more frequently preferred to poſts in the goverment and army. Theſe, ſays Mr. MOLESWORTH, are the beſt executors of the will and pleaſure of arbitrary Princes, and are careſſed accordingly; and there is this farther advantage, as he obſerves, in preferring this kind of men, that after they are grown rich by extortion, and have ſucked the blood of the poor: when clamours grow loud againſt them, the court can ſqueeze theſe leaches, laying all the odium of their own oppreſſions at their door; and this without any danger of diſcontenting the nobility, who are rather pleaſed than offended with the precipitate fall of theſe muſhroom miniſters.

Knights.

There are two orders of knighthood in Denmark, namely, that of the elephant, and that of danbrage. The firſt is the moſt honourable, and conferred only on perſons of the higheſt quality, or extraordinary merit. It was inſtituted almoſt three hundred years ago by CHRISTIAN I. at his ſon's wedding. Their badge is an elephant with a caſtle on its back, ſet with diamonds, and hung on a watered sky coloured ribbon, worn as the knights of the garter wear their George in England. The other order of knighthood, is the reward of inferior noblemen, or gentlemen: their badge is a white ribbon with red edges, worn over the contrary ſhoulder, with a ſmall croſs of diamonds hung to it; and an embroidery on the breaſt of their coats like a ſtar, on which is the motto pietate & juſtitia.

Court of Denmark.

In the court of Denmark, Mr. MOLESWORTH obſerves, no enſigns of Majeſty appear, except ſuch as are military, and belong to the horſe and foot guards, or trabants, whom he compares to the yeomen of the guard in the Engliſh court; accordingly trumpets, kettle drums, and military muſick are here in perfection, and uſed every day as much as in the camp. But here are ſeen no ſword of ſtate, heralds, maces, chancellor's purſe, &c. on the moſt ſolemn occaſions. At dinner the Queen, the King's children, relations, miniſters, and general officers ſit down with his Majeſty. The Court Martial inviting every day one or other, till they have all had the honour of dining with the King in their turns. A page ſays grace, and though the King, as well as every one of his ſubjects, hath a confeſſor: there are no chaplains in waiting, as in the court of England, one or two Gentlemen only wait at the table, the reſt of the attendants are ſervants in liveries, nor is the ceremony of the knee uſed to the King. The officers of the houſhold are, the marſhal,

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marshal, who regulates the affairs of the family, and gives notice when dinner or supper are ready. The comptroller of the kitchen, who places the dishes of meat on the table. The master of the horse, who looks after the King's stables, and studs of mares, of which the King has a great many good ones, especially a breed peculiar to him, of light iron-grays, with black heads, tails and mains. But, says Mr. MOLESWORTH, these officers may rather be compared to those in the houses of an English nobleman, than to the officers of the King of England's household.

Denmark at this day seems to be much the weakest of the three northern powers: Muscovy, which thirty years ago was looked upon with contempt, by the constant war it hath had with the Swedes, hath so improved in military discipline, as to become a terror to all its northern neighbours; and that large extent of country, with the ports they have made themselves masters of in the Baltick, hath let them into a considerable share of trade with most of the nations of Europe, and given them such an opportunity of improving their shipping, that the English find themselves under a necessity every year almost of sending a strong squadron into the Baltick, to protect either the Swede, or Dane, or their own trade, against their insults; though one would think the united fleets of Sweden and Denmark were yet sufficient to curb the Muscovite without foreign assistance. These two nations, indeed, have formerly shewn the greatest antipathy to each other, and been almost in a continued state of war; nor could any thing have united them but their mutual danger from Muscovy. Sweden seems apprehensive that Russia will some time or other impose a King upon them, (viz, the Duke of Holstein) which may bring them in subjection to that empire; and Denmark cannot but be sensible if Russia and Sweden were governed by the same councils it would be difficult for them to maintain their independency long. Denmark also is under continual apprehensions that the court of Russia will attempt the restoring the Duke of Holstein to his dominions, which the Dane hath seized, and perhaps retaliate the injury, and carry the war into Denmark itself. This makes the Dane call loudly on the court of Hanover and other German powers for their assistance, insinuating that their dominions also will be exposed if a Russian army should enter Holstein. And notwithstanding Denmark is in itself become a very inconsiderable kingdom, yet as there are so many powers whose interests are bound up with that of Denmark, who can never with any good policy see the Holstein, and consequently the Muscovite arms make any progress in Germany, the Dane seems to be as well supported as he can wish at present; especially since he hath nothing to fear from Sweden, who is exceeding poor, having lost great part of its best territories in the late war, and in continual danger of being attacked itself by the Russians. No peace can be expected to continue long between Sweden and Russia if they refuse to declare the Duke of Holstein successor to the crown of that kingdom; and if they should comply with the court of Russia, and declare the Duke heir to the crown, the consequences may be less fatal. And however these powers may be seemingly reconciled by the mediation of other princes for the present, they will probably one day set all Europe in a flame. The trade of the Baltick will be again interrupted, and want a fleet of men of war to protect it, which may be an expence equivalent to what we can propose to get by that commerce. How happy therefore would it be for this nation, if naval stores might be had from our own plantations in America, and we had no reason to concern ourselves in the quarrels of the northern crowns? Honour may be procured by the fitting out royal fleets, and visiting annually every distant coast; but that the wealth or trade of the nation will be encreased by such expeditions is not equally certain.

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Contains a farther account of the Danish laws.

The Danish laws.

THE following account of the laws of Denmark having been communicated to me, I shall take leave to insert them here, before I proceed to the description of any other country.

The King of Denmark, as hath been intimated already, is the great interpreter of his laws, and can change or abrogate them at pleasure. He is the supreme judge of the kingdom, and president of the high court of justice, when he pleases to sit there, which is not often: however, whether present or absent, the advocates always address themselves to the King, as is provided by the Danish code.

The Princes of the blood, the nobility and gentry can only be tried in this high court; and the Superintendents, or Bishops, have the same privilege, where they are charged with heresy, or any other notorious crime.

Where any person calumniates the government, or the administration, he is declared infamous, and his goods confiscated: but if such discourses tend to a sedition, or insurrection, they are to be punished, says their law, with the utmost severity; which in an arbitrary government possibly extends to the life of the offender. As to those who endeavour to defame a magistrate, either civil or ecclesiastical, or injure the reputation of a person of honour by writings, or otherwise, they are

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to pay eighty rix dollars to the party grieved, and a fine of three marks to the crown, and in default of payment are condemned to the pillory, and to carry ſtones for the repair of the fortifications and publick buildings.

If any perſon refuſes to take up arms and ſerve the government either by ſea or land, in caſe of an inſurrection, or invaſion, when he is ſummoned to attend the royal ſtandard, he is to be declared infamous, and to forfeit his eſtate. A perſon guilty of theft is not only ſentenced to be whipped and to hard labour in the publick works, but to reſtore double the value of the goods ſtoln to the owner. Coining is puniſhed with the loſs of life and honour, and confiſcation of the eſtate of the offender: and the ſame puniſhment is inflicted on him who removes an antient land mark.

He who counterfeits the hand, or ſeal of another, or forges a writing for his own benefit, is ſentenced to have his hand cut off, his goods confiſcated, and declared infamous. The torture is ſeldom uſed in Denmark but in caſes of high treaſon, and then only upon perſons already convicted of the ſame crime, in order to make them diſcover their accomplices, which is directly contrary to the preſent law of England, that will not ſuffer a criminal to be witneſs againſt any perſon, tho' it was otherwiſe antiently.

Duels, and even the challenging another to fight, is puniſhed with the loſs of life and eſtate; and ſeconds who do not endeavour to prevent it, are puniſhed in like manner; he who is killed in a duel is not ſuffered to be buried in conſecrated ground. Whoever reflects upon another for refuſing a challenge is puniſhable, and declared infamous by the Daniſh law. Where one hath been guilty of any injurious language, or ſtruck another with his hand, he is puniſhable by fine and impriſonment, and where the offence is very heinous, with the loſs of his eſtate, according to the nature of the offence; and theſe crimes are puniſhed by the Governor of the place, with the aſſiſtance of the noblemen and gentlemen of the neighbourhood.

In caſes of ſhipwreck the Daniſh ſubjects are required to give all imaginable aſſiſtance to thoſe in diſtreſs, and to preſerve the goods for the owner's uſe. The ſhips which guard the coaſt are directed to ſave what effects they can, for which they have a very moderate reward; and the owners are permitted to ſell them in the country, or embark them on board other veſſels. If a ſhip or goods be driven on the coaſt, and no body appears to claim them, the King's officers, or the Lord of the manor (as the caſe is) takes care to preſerve them, or if they are periſhable goods to ſell them to the beſt advantage, and to reſtore them to the owner; but if they are not reclaimed within a year and a day they become the property of the King, or the Lord of the place. If the maſter of a ſhip finds goods floating on the ſea, he is to take care of the ſame, and deliver them to the next magiſtrate, who muſt keep them a year and a day, to ſee if any one can claim them, and if no body owns them, they belong to the King: and if any one conceal or embezzle ſuch wrecked goods he is to be puniſhed as a felon; and the law is much the ſame where a perſon finds goods, or cattle upon the road, for he is obliged to publiſh it in the court of the diſtrict, and can have no property in the goods till a year and a day be paſſed, where no body comes in to reclaim them.

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As to travelling, which is uſually performed in a little waggon drawn by two or four horſes, the magiſtrates of every city oblige the waggoners of the neighbourhood to form themſelves into a ſociety, and elect one of their number to preſide over them, who is called the waggon-maſter, and when a traveller comes to any place this officer is to ſee him furniſhed with a waggon without delay, and that no more be extorted for the hire than is allowed by the government; the rates being ſet up in all taverns and publick houſes: if a waggoner demands more than his due, or refuſes to go at the ſet price, the maſter waggoner informs the magiſtrate with it, and he is ſeverely puniſhed; and if the maſter waggoner does not do his duty in ſupplying the traveller with a carriage and horſes, he may have juſtice done him on a complaint made to the magiſtrate; and the law is the ſame againſt watermen and ferry-men, who demand more than their fare.

There being but one univerſity in Denmark, a divinity reader is appointed to reſide in every cathedral to expound the ſcriptures to the people. And theſe divinity readers, as well as the maſters of colleges, are examined by the profeſſors of the royal academy of Copenhagen, before they are admitted to officiate. Private ſchools are expreſly prohibited by the laws of Denmark, and no other allowed but thoſe eſtabliſhed by publick authority in the cities and great towns, and they have two or three maſters belonging to each ſchool, who have taken their degree of maſters of art at leaſt, as well as the rector. The firſt maſter or rector is choſen by the Superintendent or Biſhop, having paſſed his examination before him and the miniſter of the pariſh. The undermaſters are appointed by the rector, with the approbation of the miniſter of the place. The leſſer ſchools, where only writing and accompts are taught, are appointed by the magiſtrate, the teacher having been firſt examined by the prieſt, who is alſo to take care that they are inſtructed in the Lutheran doctrine.

No perſon may appoint a tutor to travel with his ſon, who hath not been firſt examined by

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by the Superintendent of the dioceſe, and found to be orthodox in the religion of the country. And the ſame is required where one takes a tutor into his houſe. The tutor alſo ought to be a ſtudent of the univerſity of Copenhagen.

As no other method of teaching is allowed than that preſcribed by the government, ſo no other books may be read but ſuch as are appointed by authority, which are compoſed chiefly by the profeſſors of their univerſity. The importation of books is alſo prohibited, eſpecially thoſe which treat of any other perſuaſion of religion than that eſtabliſhed amongſt them. No other calenders or almanacks are allowed to be publiſhed, than thoſe made by the order of the rector and ſenate of the univerſity, on pain of confiſcation of goods. They are prohibited alſo to ſtuff their almanacks with predictions relating to war, plague, or famine, or any other calamities.

The clergy of this kingdom are divided into three claſſes, viz. 1. Superintendents, or Biſhops. 2. Intendants, which ſome compare to our archdeacons. And, 3. Curates, or pariſh-prieſts. The Superintendent is obliged to viſit his dioceſe once every year, and to lye in the parſon's houſe when he comes to any place, who is to entertain him, his ſervants and four horſes gratis. The Superintendents are conſecrated by the Biſhop or Superintendent of Zeland, aſſiſted by five or ſix prieſts, but nominated by the King. The peaſants who pay tythes of all their corn, cattle, poultry, and bees, pay one third thereof to the crown, another to the Biſhop and other uſes of the church, and the remaining third to their pariſh-prieſt. But of graſs and fruits which grow ſpontaneouſly, no tythes are paid, it is ſaid. There are ſome other dues alſo, payable to the clergy by the peaſants for confeſſion, burials, marriages, &c. The Superintendent holds a kind of ſynod twice a year, conſiſting of the intendants in his dioceſe, where the Governor of the province preſides for the King. The intendants are choſen by the pariſh prieſts of each county or diſtrict, in conjunction with the Superintendent. And he is obliged to viſit all the pariſhes under his inſpection once a year at leaſt; and hath a power of cenſuring the lives and converſations of the prieſts in their reſpective diviſions. They ſee that the churches are kept in repair, and that their revenues are not alienated or miſapplied.

No Perſon can be admitted into prieſt's orders till he hath a cure provided for him. He muſt have a certificate alſo from the divinity profeſſor of the univerſity concerning the progreſs he hath made in his ſtudies, and his qualifications for the pulpit. And if he do not come immediately from the univerſity, he muſt have them from the intendant and pariſh-prieſt where he reſides, and if the Superintendent approves of the clerk, he is inſtituted and inducted as with us: but their law requires that none be admitted into prieſt's orders, who are under five and twenty years of age: and the giving any money or conſideration, either for orders, or a preſentment to a living, is forbidden, as in the church of England. And they are obliged to perform divine ſervice according to the eſtabliſhed form, or ritual, obſerved at St. Mary's in Copenhagen. They are obliged to pray for the King and magiſtracy, and for the propagation of the Goſpel, and are prohibited to admit any to the ſacrament, who have not firſt been at confeſſion. But the penitent, it is ſaid, need not give an account of every particular ſin, a general confeſſion, according to the order the commandments ſtand in, entitles him to abſolution. The prieſt is alſo forbid to take any money of the penitent, which the Lutheran miniſters frequently do notwithſtanding. The prieſt may not divulge the confeſſion of any one where it is particular, unleſs in caſes of high treaſon, or for the prevention of ſome great miſchief by ſuch diſcovery, on pain of deprivation; and in this caſe the name of the penitent ought to be concealed as long as poſſible.

The Danes look upon all, who have any ſervice appointed them in the church, as eccleſiaſticks, and they are accordingly taken from among the ſtudents, whether they be clerks, ſextons, or ſinging-men, and theſe wholly depend on the prieſt or curate of the pariſh.

The lands of every perſon convicted of turning Papiſt are forfeited to the next heir, unleſs he diſpoſes of them before he changes his religion, and ſuch an apoſtate is to be baniſhed the Daniſh dominions. Whoever hath received his education from the jeſuits is diſabled to have any employment eccleſiaſtical or civil; and Popiſh prieſts are prohibited to enter the Daniſh territories on pain of death. Nor is the law leſs ſevere againſt thoſe they are pleaſed to denominate hereticks. Jews are forbid to come into the kingdom without a royal licence; and whoever diſcovers a Jew is entitled to a reward of fifty crowns. Their laws alſo are pretty ſevere againſt gypſies and fortune-tellers, who pretend to foretel future events, and to be acquainted with the ſtars; no leſs than baniſhment being the pain of the firſt offence, and the ſecond capital.

Blaſphemers of GOD and religion are ſentenced, firſt to have their tongues cut out, and afterwards to loſe their heads. And if a prieſt or eccleſiaſtick is guilty of profaning the name of GOD, or any other notorious vice, his puniſhment is double to that of a layman's.

Their laws concerning marriage require that the conſent of the relations and guardians be had as well as the woman's. And if ſhe marries

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without the consent of her guardian, he shall receive the profit of her fortune during his life; but then if a guardian neglect to marry his ward till she is past eighteen years of age, the magistrate is impowered to relieve her. Their marriages are dissoluble, and a divorce may be obtained in Denmark in three cases, 1. For adultery. 2. On a voluntary and malicious elopement. And 3. For impotence. But in case of adultery, the crime must be well proved by witnesses or circumstances, the confession of the offending party not being deemed sufficient, since many have falsely accused themselves, in order to obtain a separation. The Danish law also requires that the party who brings the accusation be innocent, for otherwise no divorce can be obtained, unless it appear that the ill usage of the husband hath occasioned the wife to offend. And if the husband after he has discovered his wife to be guilty of adultery, shall cohabit with her afterwards, a separation will not be granted. Where a woman is divorced for adultery, she may marry again after three years are elapsed, with a royal licence, provided she hath lived chastely during that time, but she may not marry or reside within the same town or district where her former husband lived: and the like law is where the husband is divorced for adultery committed by him; but the innocent party is at liberty to marry so soon as the sentence of divorce is pronounced. What they term a malicious elopement, and is a second cause of divorce, is where one of the parties voluntarily absents him or herself from his or her spouse by the space of three years; but if the party deserted hath cohabited with another in the mean time, a divorce cannot be obtained on this account. However if it appear that the party going away from his or her spouse associate with a third person, the party deserted may then immediately marry again, on account of adultery. Where a person is absent on account of trade, or war, or other necessary avocation, this is not deemed a desertion, but the wife is obliged to wait seven years for his return; after which time if the wife marry again and the first husband return from abroad, he shall not reclaim his wife again, unless he make it appear that he hath lived chastly during his absence, and hath not associated himself with any other woman. And he is obliged to produce evidence of the places he hath resided at, that the wife may be at liberty to examine the matter. But if he produces such proof as is satisfactory to the magistrate, the woman must return to her first spouse. In the case of impotence the woman is obliged to prove that the same was previous to the marriage, and she is to wait three years at least, to see if it may be remedied: but when that time is expired, if there be no hopes of relief, the marriage is null. Where such a misfortune happens after marriage, it is said the party concerned hath no other remedy but patience.

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A man is not allowed to sell or alienate his lands before he is five and twenty years of age, without the consent of his nearest relations. And a woman, whether she be maid or widow, can never part with her lands, but must leave them to descend as the law directs.

An uninterrupted possession of twenty years is held to make a good title to an estate, and they are not permitted to run farther back in a trial of the right. All obligations also and personal debts are held to be void, if not renewed within twenty years. And notes and bills of exchange are of equal force with an obligation. But the law allows eight days time for all kind of payments to be made beyond the time prefixed, and if that time be elapsed four and twenty hours, the creditor may protest it, and have process either against the original debtor or accepter: but no person is obliged to pay any money lost at gaming.

The tenure of villainage still prevails in many parts of Denmark, and their vassals or tenants who hold by this base tenure, are purchased, and descend with the lands they live upon, as the fish in the waters, or deer in a park. Nor can these peasants leave the lands they belong to and retire elsewhere, if they do, the Lord of the soil may reclaim them with all their goods. Nor can any town or place receive them, unless they produce a licence from their Lord, and a certificate from the minister of the parish where they last inhabited. And if a peasant of this class endeavours to conceal himself, his lord may seize him whereever he finds him, and put him in prison, or remove him to any other tenement or farm, by way of punishment. If the wife of one of these peasants is brought to bed on the lands of another Lord, the child shall however belong to the Lord where the father lives. Although the Lord has a power to enfranchise his peasant, or to sell him with the land, yet he cannot sell him singly separate from the glebe.

The children of ecclesiasticks of the peasant race are free, and so are all students in the liberal arts. A peasant cannot have the freedom of any town till he is first enfranchised by his Lord. But if he hath resided ten years in any city unreclaimed, and becomes a tradesman or artificer, or applies himself to the sea, he is deemed free. A peasant also who hath lived twenty years in a foreign village off of the Lord's land, has thereby procured his freedom; or if he goes into the army and obtains a commission, this gives him his freedom.

As to their game laws, every freeholder may hunt or fish in his own grounds, and the nobility and gentry have the privilege of hunting in

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A MAP of the NORTH POLE

With all the Territories that lye near it, known to us &c. According to the latest Discoveries, and most Exact Observations. Agreeable to Modern History. By H. Moll *Geographer.*

Tho the Pole the Sun make but one day & one night throughout the whole Year: Here also the Sun never sets, but daily circles round every day parallel to the Horizon. The nearer any Place is to the Pole, the longer is the Suns continued Presence above, or absence from it. Place: thus the Lapplanders, & such as live in 72 degrees, have the Sun at least 2 monthes together above their Horizon part of the Year, and in the opposite season they are 2 monthes without the Sun.

NORTH PART of AMERICA

NEW DENMARK

PACIFIC OCEAN

ATLANTICK OCEAN

NORTH PACIFICK OCEAN

GREENLAND or Old West GREENLAND

ISLAND I.

Arctick Circle

Hudsons hold with hope

Ice and Mountains covered with Snow

Bell Sou English an.° 163

Baffins Bay

Smiths Sound

The 3 Islands

Sanderson's Hope

Hudsons Streights

Davis Streights

Buttons Bay

Cape Farewel

Trinity I.

Long Nass

Louis Bay

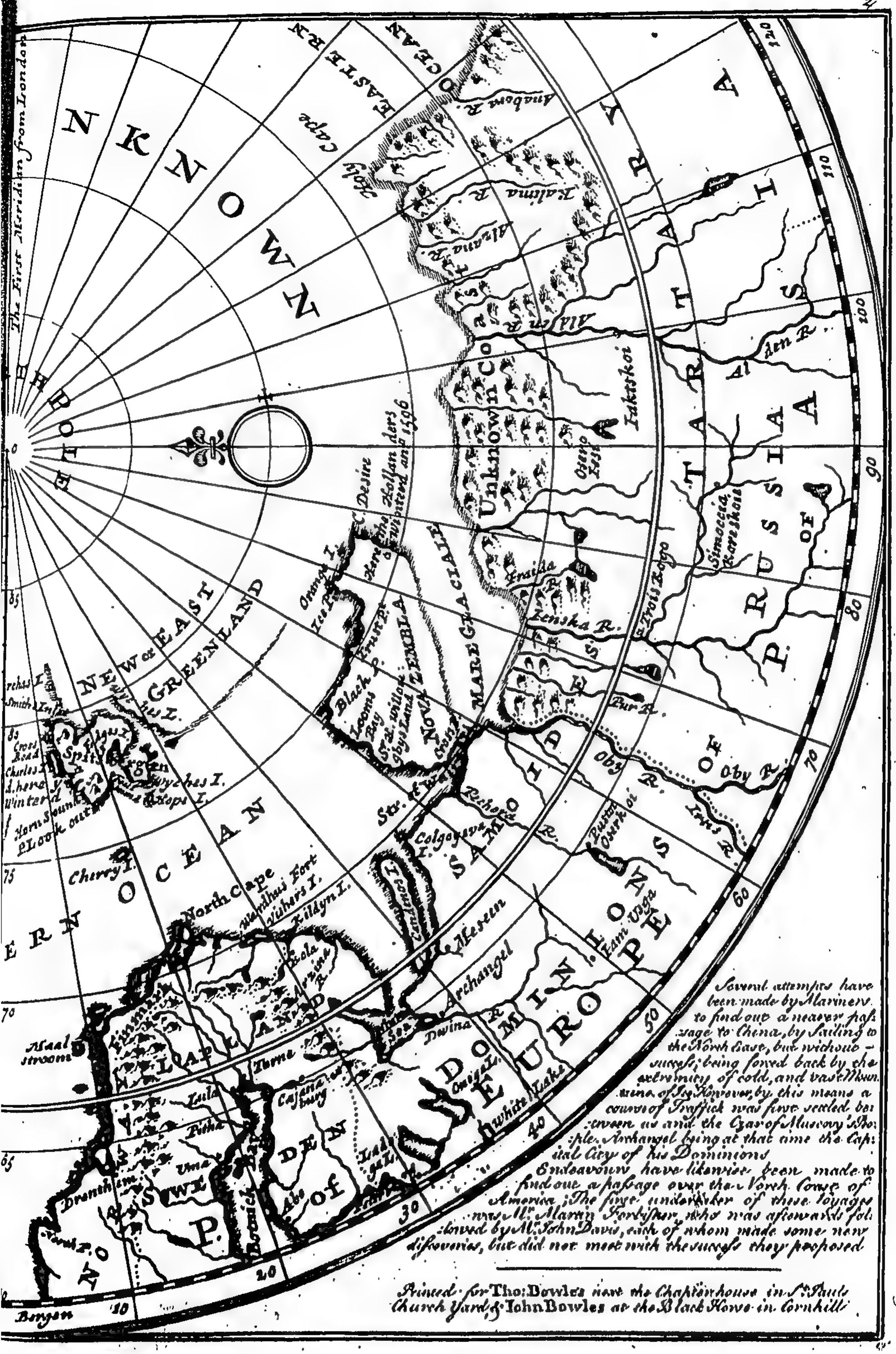
Faro I.

Shetland I.

Faire I.

Orkney I.

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150 160 170 180 190 200 210 220 230 240 250 260 270 280 290 300 310 320 330 340 350 360


The First Meridian from London
NORTH
NORTH OCEAN
NEW or EAST GREENLAND
Spitsbergen
Hakluyts I.
Cherry I.
North Cape
Wendhus Fort
Hakluyts I.
Kildyn I.
Tcolgoyeva I.
Waigats Str.
Nova Zembla
Black P.
Looms Bay
Str. willoughbys Land
Desire
Here the Hollanders wintered anno 1596
Orange I.
Fretum Hudson
Fretum Weigats
Petsora R.
Petsora
Kolguyeva I.
Colgoyeva
Pechora R.
Pechora
Samoyeds
Unknown Coast
Ostiack Tartars
Obdorskoi
Yaksarskoi
Yenisea R.
Yenisea
Lenska R.
Lena R.
Anabar R.
Yalima R.
Alzama R.
Yaksarskoi
Simoccia Koreskoi
Tartary
Russia or Muscovy
Obdorskoi
Obdorskoi
Pustozarskoi
Irtis R.
Irtis R.
Pur R.
Pur R.
Obdorskoi
Obdorskoi
Obdorskoi

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in common or waſte grounds, within ten miles of their ſeats, except in the King's parks, and they may fiſh in lakes and ponds, which are not appropriated to the King's pleaſure. For if any Lord hunt, ſhoot or fiſh in any place ſet apart for his Majeſty, he forfeits for every ſtag killed one thouſand rix dollars, for a fallow deer eight hundred, and for a hare four hundred, and for every ſwan, gooſe, duck, partridge or other fowl, two hundred. And whoever is convicted of hunting in another's lands, forfeits an hundred ounces of ſilver for every offence.

The people of this country being pretty much addicted to drinking, all buſineſs is prohibited to be tranſacted in taverns, and the ſitting tipling in publick houſes pretty much diſcountenanced; if they will drink it muſt be at home; and the reaſon of it a late writer ſuppoſes to be, leſt the people ſhould in their cups be too free with the government. It is obſerved alſo, that the ſubjects uſually endeavour to imitate the court: if it happen to be a ſober reign, the people are leſs given to exceſs; and when they have vicious Princes and miniſters the lower part of mankind do not fail to follow the lewd example their ſuperiors ſet them. CHAP. XI.

If any perſon be known to ſend his effects or money out of the kingdom to be lodged in foreign banks, the King claims a ſixth part of the whole, and the perſon is alſo obliged to pay a tenth to the magiſtrates of the town, or the Lord of the ſoil where he reſides: even foreign merchants have been obliged to ſubmit to theſe exactions on their returning home, notwithſtanding their reſpective Sovereigns have inſiſted upon an exemption; and when they have by importunity, or threats, been induced to make ſatisfaction in ſome particular caſes, they have nevertheleſs ſoon after proceeded to extort the like ſums from others.

THE

PRESENT STATE

OF

GREENLAND.

CHAP. I.

Treats of the ſituation, inhabitan's, animals, and produce of Weſt Greenland.

CHAP. I.

Weſt Greenland and Eaſt Greenland on the ſame continent

EAST and weſt Greenland may poſſibly be upon the ſame continent, and I am inclined to think they are; but as the extent from Cape Farewel, the ſouth-weſt part of it, in the latitude of ſixty degrees thirty minutes, to the north-eaſt part, in the latitude of eighty and higher, is a prodigious tract of land, if contiguous, they may very well be looked upon as diſtinct countries, and deſcribed apart. Our maps, and moſt of our geographers, call the weſtern ſide Groenland, and the eaſt ſide Greenland; but it is certain the weſt, which was firſt diſcovered, went by the name of Greenland long before the other was known, and probably the latter was ſo called by the firſt Engliſh diſcoverers, as imagining it to be the ſame continent with Weſt Greenland. The Dutch indeed called the eaſt part of it Spitsbergen, from the craggy rocks and mountains which appeared upon the coaſt: Spitz in that language ſignifying cragged or pointed; and Berg a hill. The King of Denmark, it ſeems, looked upon this north eaſt country, on the firſt diſcovery to be part of Old Greenland; of which he pretends to the ſovereignty, and accordingly claimed the dominion of thoſe ſeas, endeavouring to exclude the Engliſh from the whale fiſhery there; and had he been ſtrong enough to make good his title, would no doubt have inſiſted on it to this day: but as there where no inhabitants here who could be his CHAP. I.

ſubjects;

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subjects; and the Danes had never caſt an eye on this part of Greenland till the Engliſh began the whale fiſhing in thoſe ſeas, they did not think fit to diſcontinue their fiſhing, till their good friends the Dutch ſpoiled that trade (of which hereafter). I proceed now to the deſcription of Weſt Greenland, or Old Greenland, of which the King of Denmark calls himſelf Sovereign.

Situation.

Weſt Greenland, which the King of Denmark claims the dominion of, is a tract of land lying four or five days ſail to the northward and weſtward of Iceland. This country, it is pretended, the Norwegians diſcovered about the year 982. That they built ſeveral towns here, converted the natives to Chriſtianity, erected biſhopricks, and annually levy'd a tribute or duty on the inhabitants, which ſerved to maintain the King of Norway's table. But however that matter be certain it is, that when the Engliſh captain FORBISHER, in the year 1577. came upon this coaſt as he was endeavouring to find out a north-weſt paſſage to India, the people were perfectly barbarous, not ſo much as the ruins of any towns were to be met with; and there was no reaſon to think the people had ever been civilized, much leſs inſtructed in the Chriſtian religion. And this HUDSON, DAVIS, BAFFIN, JAMES, and all our diſcoverers to the north weſt unanimouſly agree in. Nay, the Danes themſelves, who pretend the natives are their ſubjects, making a voyage thither in the year 1605, could not ſo much as bring the inhabitants to converſe, or traffick with them; but found them ever upon their guard, and ready to ſurprize and fall upon the Danes as enemies and invaders of their country. And notwithſtanding they took ſeveral of the natives by force, and brought them to Denmark, they could never bring them to be ſociable, or learn any thing from them of their country: ſo that what the Kings of Denmark mean, by having the dominion of theſe people, whom they never conquered, a nation ſo far from acknowledging the Danes their Sovereigns, that they always ſtood upon their defenſe when their ſhips approached their ſhores, may be difficult to imagine.

Face of the country.

The country is generally rocky and mountainous, and their hills covered with ſnow; their ſhores are frozen up great part of the year, as thoſe of Iceland are; ſo that there is no coming near them. There have been ſeveral bays and inlets diſcovered to the north-weſt, particularly Baffins Bay, where the adventures ſailed as high as eighty degrees, but no paſſage could ever be diſcovered from hence to the ſouth, or rather weſtern ocean; on the contrary, there ſeems all the reaſon in the world to believe that the

Contiguous to America.

continent of Greenland is contiguous to that of America; for firſt it is obſerved, that to the weſtward the ice is unmoveable, and ſeems to adhere to the land, whereas in the ocean though there be large fields, or prodigious mountains of ice, they are frequently in motion: and was there a communication between our northern ocean, and the weſtern American ocean or South Sea, as it is called, the ice would ſometimes be ſeparated, and they might have made their way through the icy mountains, as they do in other ſeas in the ſame latitude. Another reaſon alledged againſt a paſſage to the weſtern, or American ocean, or South ſea, this way is, that the tides conſtantly flow from the eaſt to the weſt, where they are unreſtrained, and not compelled to alter their courſe by the winding of the ſhores, and ebb back again, which they would not do if they did not meet with land on that ſide to reſiſt their courſe.

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Harbours and rivers.

There are abundance of ſmall iſlands upon the coaſt of Greenland, which form ſeveral good bays and harbours. The rivers alſo which fall into theſe ſeas are large and navigable; into ſome of which our diſcoverers relate they ſailed up ten or twelve leagues, and found them plentifully ſtored with fiſh; and between the mountains were many fertile plains and valleys. The air, as may well be expected in theſe latitudes, is very cold three parts of the year; and the fogs are almoſt as troubleſome to the mariners as the ice. But what travellers take the moſt notice of, is the northern light, or aurora borealis, which in the ſpring of the year about the new moon darts ſtreams of light from the horizon almoſt to the zenith, as quick as lightning, without ceaſing, till near break of day, being ſeen frequently in Iceland, Norway, and other northern countries; and is of the ſame kind with that which was viſible in England in the year 1716, to our great aſtoniſhment, and hath been ſeen here ſeveral times ſince in a leſs degree. As to the various figures and battles which a fruitful imagination might diſcover in the air at that time, let every man form ſuch images as are moſt ſuitable to his fancy, and leave his neighbours at liberty to enjoy their ſeveral happy conceits. But it is obſervable, that theſe lights never ariſe to the ſouthward of the eaſt or weſt.

Aurora borealis.

Perſons of the natives.

As to the perſons of the natives they are rather ſhort than tall, and ſtrong built; their hair and eyes black, their complexions a very dark tawny; their faces flat and broad like the Tartars, and their lips thick as the negroes. They appear to have been extremely ſhy, and upon their guard whenever they converſe with foreigners; and where they have entered into any familiarity with our people, it ſeems to have been only to get an opportunity of ſtealing ſomething from them, or to do them miſchief. But as our ſhips have forcibly carried off ſeveral of the natives,

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and killed and wounded others, perhaps this hath given them ſuch a prejudice to ſtrangers as is not eaſy to be removed, and occaſion their looking upon us to be as barbarous as we eſteem them. It is not for any one adventurer to ſay, I treated the natives civilly, and endeavoured by all the good uſage imaginable to bring them to traffick with me, and be ſociable: if their country-men have ever received ill uſage from a foreigner before, they are all alarmed, no doubt, and expect to be dealt with in the ſame manner again. Their treating us as enemies therefore may be no effect of a ſavage temper, nor ought they to be denominated barbarous on this account; but it may be imputed rather to their fears, or their reſentment, on account of injuries received.

They do not ſeem to want courage, having engaged our men with ſlings, and bows and arrows, when we have fired both great and ſmall ſhot; and in this only they differ from the Samoieds and Laplanders, who are a timorous generation. Their habits and way of living is alſo much like theirs. They clothe themſelves with the ſkins of rain deer, of fiſhes or fowls, and are drawn on ſledges by dogs or other animals. They live in tents, wandering from place to place in ſummer, and in caves or huts under the hills in winter, having ſubterraneous paſſages from one dwelling to another, and their ordinary employments are fiſhing and hunting. Their women make long blue ſtrokes on their foreheads, lips and chins, with very coarſe paint. They braid their hair, and have pendants in their ears. The Greenlanders ſpeak very thick, and in the throat, pronouncing the letter g roughly like the Tartars. They want the letter r, uſing l inſtead of it, and it is ſaid, have ſome Daniſh words in their language: but thoſe who were brought over to Denmark however would never learn the Daniſh tongue. They have no value for gold or ſilver, but iron and iron ware, ſuch as knives, ſciſſars, needles, &c. they are very fond of, and have attempted to ſteal even anchors from the ſhip's crew; but what uſe they would be of to them is not eaſy to imagine, for they do not ſeem to have the art of forging iron, the heads of their darts and arrows being armed with a fiſh's bone inſtead of iron. They do not eat their meat raw, as ſome of our firſt diſcoverers ſuggeſted, but boiled or roaſted; and their common food is the fleſh of rain deer, of foxes, dogs, or dried fiſh; as for bread corn I do not find they have any in the country.

Habits and way of life.

Their government, I am ſatisfied, none of our travellers are ſo well acquainted with as to give us any tolerable account of it, though none of them but ſay ſomething on this head, according to their ſeveral humours or prepoſſeſſions; ſome will have them to live in a ſtate of nature, and that the weakeſt only ſubmit to the ſtrongeſt, becauſe they cannot help it. Others have found out abundance of petty Monarchs; and a third tells us of a mighty Emperor beyond the mountains, which ſeems to be the pure effect of imagination. Their religion we are not much better acquainted with. Travellers relate they have found abundance of deformed and monſtrous images on the ſhore, which they ſuppoſe to be their gods, and that when the people would have you put any confidence in them, they point to the ſun, whom they ſeem to adore, and lay their hands upon their breaſts. This planet therefore is generally ſuppoſed to be the ſupreme object of their worſhip.

Religion of the Greenlanders.

The beaſts that are found in Greenland are bears, foxes, rain deer, dogs, and ſea horſes or morſes, which are deemed an amphibious animal; but I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more of theſe when I come to the eaſtern Greenland, or Spitzbergen; the whale and ſword fiſh alſo I ſhall defer deſcribing till I come to treat of that country, where they ſeem to abound more than in any other, only it may be proper to obſerve here, that the ſword fiſh is frequently ſtyled the ſea unicorn, and that the teeth of ſome large fiſh have been frequently brought from Old Greenland to Denmark, and called unicorns horns. Their rivers are full of ſalmon and other good fiſh; and beſides their red geeſe and other water fowl, they have white partridges as in Lapland.

There is ſcarce any timber to be found near the coaſts of Weſt Greenland, and but little underwood. Some of their vallies, it is ſaid, are in appearance fruitful, and might bear corn if they were manured, but I do not find the experiment hath been ever made. Their mountains are perpetually covered with ſnow, and yield ſcarce any plants or herbage, according to the accounts we have received; but as our people have never had an opportunity of travelling up into the country, a particular account of the produce of the ſoil cannot yet be expected. The ſtructure of their boats is much admired by our ſeamen, of which they have two kinds, the one a ſmall veſſel, juſt large enough for one man; and the other, thirty or forty foot long, with ten or more ſeats for the rowers. The ribs of their boats are made of whalebone tacked together with the ſinews of animals, and covered with ſeal ſkins. The leſſer boats are managed with one oar, broad at both ends, with which they paddle ſometimes on one ſide the boat, and ſometimes on the other, rowing with an incredible ſwiftneſs, inſomuch that one of our ſix or eight oared boats, it is ſaid, cannot paſs them.

Produce of the ſoil.

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CHAP. II.

CHAP. II.

Treats of the ſituation of New Greenland; of the firſt diſcovery of it; and of the probability there is of its being contiguous to Aſia, as well as America; and of the attempts which have been made to diſcover a paſſage to China this way.

The ſituation and extent of New Greenland.

NEW Greenland lyes directly to the northward of the north cape of Norway, the moſt ſoutherly part of it in the latitude of 76, and extending northwards, for ought appears, as far as the pole; but our adventurers have actually diſcovered to 80 degrees and beyond. How far it extends to the eaſt and weſt is uncertain; but the moſt probable opinion is, that it is contiguous to Aſia on the eaſt, and to Old Greenland on the weſt.

The firſt northern diſcoveries.

The firſt northern diſcoveries were made at the charge of a company of Engliſh merchants, incorporated in the reign of EDWARD VI. and ſtyled the merchants adventurers, for diſcovering of lands unknown, &c. Their principal deſign was to diſcover a paſſage to India and China by the north eaſt, and to come in for a ſhare of that rich trade with the Portugueſe, by a ſhorter way than by the cape of Good Hope; or at leaſt they hoped to diſcover ſome countries where they might eſtabliſh a trade of equal advantage to them. Another reaſon of their endeavouring to make theſe diſcoveries, ſeems to be, that it was then looked upon as baſe and unfair to encroach upon, or ſupplant any other nation in their trade, and take the advantage of their diſcoveries; and the world ſeems to be of much the ſame opinion at this day, or it is not to be conceived what pretence there can be to exclude the Emperor's ſubjects from a ſhare of the India trade, which ſo many other nations enjoy at this time. Nay, we ſeem to think now, that the mere being poſſeſſed of any branch of trade, however we came into it, entitles us to the monopoly of it, and that we may by force exclude any other people who would endeavour to put in for a ſhare. But had the Engliſh governed themſelves by this maxim the laſt hundred and fifty years, their High Mightineſſes muſt ſtill have been the poor diſtreſſed States: for the Engliſh were firſt in the Indies, in Ruſſia, in the herring and whale fiſhery, &c. and have ſuffered the Dutch not only to ſhare theſe trades, but to intrude themſelves into the whole buſineſs almoſt, and exclude their benefactors, the firſt diſcoverers, from the moſt profitable branches of commerce, which they effected chiefly by bribing our miniſtry in ſome of the late reigns. It is juſtly ſaid of the Dutch grandeur, that it was produced and maintained by the corruption of our miniſters. But to return from this digreſſion, if it be one, the Engliſh company for diſcovery of unknown lands, in May 1553, fitted out three ſhips, of which Sir HUGH WILLOUGHBY was Admiral, who being ſeparated from one of them, doubled the north cape of Norway with the other two; and according to a note found in his cabin, ſteering north and north eaſt from thence for ſome weeks, diſcovered land, which the Engliſh ſay could be no other than Greenland, but the Dutch will have it to be Nova Zembla, or Newland, by which name, it is obſervable, both Greenland and Nova Zembla went on the firſt diſcovery, and it is highly probable they are the ſame continent; the boldeſt and moſt inquiſitive adventurers not having been able to diſcover any paſſage between them. But which ever it was Sir HUGH WILLOUGHBY diſcovered, he afterwards ſteered ſouth, or ſouth weſt again, and came upon the coaſt of Muſcovite Lapland in September following, and being imbay'd with the ice, he and all his company died, as it was at firſt ſuppoſed, by extremity of cold; but from other accidents of the like nature, it is moſt probable the ſcurvy was their greateſt enemy, having no other food but ſalt meat in the ſhip. They were moſt of them alive in January, as appears from their journals; and one would think as they were able to bear the cold in that rigorous month, they would have ſubſiſted afterwards if they had had no other misfortune to contend with. But the inſtances I ſhall give hereafter prove it to a demonſtration, that with moderate care and ſuitable proviſion, there is no part of the world yet diſcovered, but is habitable, even in the winter ſeaſon, and that by people bred in more ſouthern latitudes. And as the cold of Lapland does not ſeem to be leſs vigorous than that of Greenland, there is no reaſon to believe but if a colony was ſettled in the latter, their poſterity might live in Greenland, when they were enured to it, with as much ſatisfaction as the Laplanders do in their country. But notwithſtanding the Admiral, Sir HUGH WILLOUGHBY, periſhed in this firſt attempt to diſcover the countries of the north, one of his ſhips, called the Edward Bonaventure, Capt. CHANCELLOR commander, which had been ſeparated from him, doubled the north cape, and diſcovered the bay of Archangel, whereby he ſettled a trade directly with Ruſſia, which the Engliſh enjoyed alone for many years, till the Dutch ſupplanted them, as hath been ſhewn in treating of Ruſſia.

The Engliſh company ſtill perſiſted in their endeavours to diſcover a north eaſt paſſage, and accordingly in the year 1556, fitted out a ſhip under the command of Capt. STEPHEN BOROUGH, Comptroller of the navy in the reign of Queen ELIZABETH, who ſailed beyond the bay of Archangel to the north eaſt part of Ruſſia and Samoieda, diſcovering the river Pechora, Nova Zembla, and the ſtraits of Waigats, which divide

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Nova Zembla from the continent of Ruſſia, after which he returned home; and our adventurers, wearied with endeavouring to find a paſſage this way, which might lead them to the Chineſe ſeas, next attempted to find a way to the Indies by the north weſt, in which they employed Sir MARTIN FORBISHER in the years 1576, 77, and 78, and a bolder or more skilful diſcoverer they could not have ſent out. But after three years fruitleſs labour to make his way into the weſtern or ſouth ſea, as it is called, he was obliged to deſiſt from that enterprize, either by the intervening land, or ice which adhered to the land, as were many other commanders afterwards.

1576. FORBISHER.

In the year 1580, the Engliſh company fitted out two ſhips under the command of Capt. ARTHUR PETT, and Capt. CHARLES JACKMAN, to endeavour the diſcovery of a north eaſt paſſage to China again. They paſſed the ſtraights of Waigats, between Nova Zembla and Ruſſia, running as far eaſtward as they could for the ice, and then returned back through the ſaid ſtraights; but ARTHUR PETT was ſuppoſed to be loſt in his paſſage home, being never heard of more. The Engliſh alone frequented the northern ſeas hitherto, but now the Dutch began to follow their ſteps, coming to Kola in Lapland, and afterwards into the bay of Archangel. And in the year 1596, the Dutch fitted out four ſhips, WILLIAM BARENTS being their chief pilot, who ſailed to Nova Zembla, paſſed the ſtraights of Waigats, and ſailed to the eaſtward, till he was obliged by the ice to return back. The ſame Capt. BARENTS ſailed to the ſtraights of Waigats the following year with ſeven ſhips, in order to force a paſſage through to the eaſtern ocean, but was again prevented by the ice. Upon the return of theſe ſhips, the Dutch, being ſtill confident there muſt be a north eaſt paſſage, ſent out WILLIAM BARENTS with two other ſhips, who now ſtood more to the northward, and came to an iſland in the latitude of 74, by them called Bear iſland, but by the Engliſh, Cherry iſland; from hence they ſailed northward as high as 80, and ſaw the land by them called Spitzbergen, from its craggy promontories, but by the Engliſh, Greenland, and here they went on ſhore. BARENTS afterwards ſailed back to Cherry iſland, and from thence to the north eaſt of Nova Zembla, till they came into the latitude of 76, anchoring in Ice haven, as they called it, where they were blocked up with ice in September, ſo that there was no getting out; whereupon they went aſhore in order to build them an houſe, and winter there, and found great ſtore of timber trees driven on the coaſt for their purpoſe, though, as they obſerved, there were none growing in the country. By the end of September it froze ſo very hard, that the nails and iron they uſed ſtuck to their fingers and lips if they touched them. The ſun left them about the 4th of November, but then they ſaw the moon continually day and night, without going down, which with the ſnow, furniſhed them with a tolerable light. By the 8th of January they perceived day light again, and by the 24th could ſee the edge of the ſun, and the 27th the full body of that planet was above the horizon. On the 29th of April they ſaw the ſun to the north, and from that time they had the ſun with them all the twenty four hours. They ſtaid here till the 14th of June, and finding no probability of diſengaging their ſhip from the ice, ventured to ſea in two open boats, having buried one man at Nova Zembla, another had his great toe frozen off, and WILLIAM BARENTS the pilot, and another of their company, were fallen dangerouſly ill. It was with a great deal of difficulty they made their way through the ice in their boats: in ſome places they were forced to drag the boats two or three hundred paces over it, and on the 20th of April, their pilot WILLIAM BARENTS, and their other ſick man died, and the 5th of July another of their company died. The 20th of Auguſt, having croſſed the White ſea, they arrived ſafe on the coaſt of Ruſſian Lapland, and on the 2d of September came to Kola in Lapland, where they met with Capt. JOHN CORNEILSON (who ſailed out with them the laſt year) and ſeveral other Dutch veſſels. (From Ice harbour to Kola, whither they ſailed in their open boats, is above a thouſand miles). Here they went on board CORNEILSON, and arrived in Holland the 1ſt of November.

1596. BARENTS.

1607. HUDSON'S firſt voyage to Greenland.

Notwithſtanding the Dutch had found ſuch difficulties in ſearching for a north eaſt paſſage, the Engliſh merchants determined to attempt it again, and accordingly fitted out a ſmall ſhip, of which Capt. HENRY HUDSON had the command, who ſailed from England the 1ſt of May, 1607, and ſteering to the northward, arrived the 20th of June following on the coaſt of Greenland in the latitude of 78. The 12th of July they found themſelves in 80 degrees, Greenland bearing ſouth ſouth weſt of them 12 leagues. But the ice and fogs they met with made it very troubleſome and dangerous ſailing. Here HUDSON ſent ſome of his people on ſhore, who brought on board morſes teeth, whalebone, and deers horns, having quenched their thirſt at a ſtream of freſh water they met with by the ſea ſide, for it ſeems the weather was very hot on the ſhore. Mr. HUDSON afterwards ſaw the high land, extending as he conjectured, as far as 82, and hoped to have gone round it, but found it impoſſible on account of the great quantity of ice to the northwards, which adhered to the land; and he aſſures us, that between 78 degrees 30 minutes, and 82 degrees this way, there is no paſſage.

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Capt. HUDSON ſet out again from the river Thames on the 22d of April, 1608, having ſixteen men on board; and the 29th of May found himſelf in 73 degrees 13 minutes, when they ſaw the ſun on the north meridian, 5 degrees 35 minutes above the horizon; and the 3d of June the north cape of Norway bore ſouth weſt eight leagues from them. They met with the firſt ice on the 9th of June, being then in the latitude 75 degrees 29 minutes, and held a north eaſt courſe, endeavouring to make their way through the ice, till they were got four or five leagues within it, but found the ice a head of them ſo firm and thick, that they were forced to return the way they went in, and with great difficulty at length freed themſelves from it. They directed their courſe afterwards to the eaſtward, and being in the latitude of 72 degrees odd minutes, came in ſight of Swart cliff in Nova Zembla, which bore ſouth eaſt four leagues from them, and ſailing cloſe to the land, they ſent ſome people on ſhore, who found graſs, moſs, and flowers growing. They obſerved a croſs ſtanding by the ſea ſide, and a great deal of timber driven on ſhore, and ſaw fires had been made there. They could diſcover the footſteps alſo of bears, deer and foxes, and brought on board with them ſome whale fins and horns of deer. A day or two after they ſaw an herd of white deer, and killed a great many fowls. Here they obſerved a current ſo ſtrong that it carried the ice and every thing before it. This gave them great hopes of finding a paſſage to the eaſtern ocean, but ſounding ſix or ſeven leagues up the torrent, they found it too ſhallow for ſhips of any burthen, and hereupon they deliſted from any farther attempts, and returned home. Capt. HUDSON relates, that all the land he ſaw in Nova Zembla afforded a pleaſant proſpect; that there was much high land with no ſnow upon it, and in ſome places the land appeared green, with herds of deer feeding upon it. He aſcribes the great quantities of ice in theſe ſeas near the pole to the many ſounds, bays and rivers in Nova Zembla, Greenland, Tartary, Ruſſia, and Lapland, where it is formed; and from hence he concludes, that there can be no navigable paſſage to the north eaſt ſeas.

1676. WOOD.

The lateſt adventurer who attempted the north eaſt paſſage is Capt. JOHN WOOD, being fitted out by the Duke of York (afterwards King JAMES II.) in the reign of King CHARLES II. He ſet ſail from the river Thames in the Speedwell, having another leſſer ſhip in company, called the Proſperous Pink, on the 28th of May, 1676. Capt. WOOD relates, that following the opinion of WILLIAM BARENTS, the Dutch pilot who attempted the ſame paſſage, he ſteered directly north eaſt from the north cape of Norway, in order to fall in between Greenland and Nova Zembla; but he could find no ſea or inlet between thoſe countries; on the contrary, he obſerved the ice to adhere immoveably to the coaſt of Nova Zembla, and that all the Engliſh and Dutch pilots had been miſtaken in their conjectures of an open ſea hereabouts, for he could paſs no farther this way than to the 76th degree of latitude. Here the ſea was frozen, without any breach in the ice, as he could obſerve in coaſting along it, to that degree that it muſt have taken up ſome centuries to thaw. He concludes therefore that Greenland and Nova Zembla muſt be the ſame continent; beſides, had there been a paſſage, ſays Mr. WOOD, there would have been ſome current, whereas we found none, only a ſmall tide, which riſes about eight foot and ebbs back again; and as he ſuppoſes Nova Zembla to join to Greenland on the north, ſo he ſeems to be of opinion that Nova Zembla joins to Tartary, or Muſcovy on the ſouth, but if it does not, the ſtraight which divides them is ſo narrow and choked up with ice that it is unnavigable.

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Treats of the firſt eſtabliſhment of the whale-fiſhery in Greenland by the Engliſh; and of the endeavours of the Dutch to deprive them of the advantages of it.

Whale fishery firſt eſtabliſhed by the Engliſh.

I Come now to give ſome account of the voyages made to Greenland, &c. on account of the taking morſes and whales, which the Engliſh firſt obſerved to be in great numbers in theſe ſeas, in their northern voyages. The ſhips belonging to the Engliſh Ruſſia company were the firſt, as far as I can learn, that attempted the taking and killing of morſes, or ſea-horſes, on the ice, on the northern coaſt of Muſcovy, making oil of their fat, or blubber: they alſo made ſome advantage of the morſes two great teeth, or tusks, which were in thoſe days eſteemed equal to ivory: but the morſes being continually hunted on the Muſcovite coaſts by our mariners, became very ſhy, and in time almoſt forſook thoſe ſhores. The next place our people met with morſes at was Cherry iſland, diſcovered by Capt. STEPHEN BENNET, who was fitted out at the charge of Sir FRANCIS CHERRY, in the year 1603. And ſailing to the northward from Kola in Lapland, upon diſcovery, ſaw land in the latitude of 74 degrees odd minutes, where he went aſhore, and finding it to be an iſland, gave it the name of Cherry iſland in compliment to his owner; and obſerving that the morſes uſed theſe ſeas, by ſome of their teeth he found on the ſhore, he returned to England, the ſeaſon for taking them being paſt. The next year, 1604, Capt. BENNET ſailed to Cherry iſland again, and found above a thouſand morſes on the ſhore,

Morſes.

Cherry iſland.

BENNET's expedition to Cherry iſland.

of

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of which he killed ſeveral: and the following year, 1605, he made a third voyage thither, carrying coppers with him, and made eleven tuns of oil of the morſes fat, or blubber; he alſo brought home with him great quantities of their teeth. The Engliſh continued theſe voyages to Cherry iſland alone, with great ſucceſs, till the year 1610, making more and more oil every voyage.

Poole's voyage to Greenland.

In the year 1610 the Ruſſia company fitted out a ſhip, called the Amity, of ſeventy tuns, Jonas Poole, maſter, deſigned for Cherry iſland, and to make farther diſcoveries towards the north pole. This adventurer ſailed beyond Cherry iſland, into 76 degrees odd minutes, and had ſight of land, being the ſame which now goes under the name of New Greenland. He ſailed afterwards into 79 degrees odd minutes, and came to an anchor in a good road, where he ſent his boat on ſhore: his people found ſome whale fins, and great numbers of morſes here; and the third of June he erected a croſs on the ſide of a hill, from whence the neighbouring road is ſtill called Croſs road. And thus he took poſſeſſion of the country, called Greenland, for the Engliſh Ruſſia company; and having continued till the latter end of July, killing morſes and making of oil, he ſaw great numbers of whales, with which he acquainted his maſters at his return, arriving in the Thames the laſt day of Auguſt.

1611. The next year the Ruſſia company fitted out four ſhips, two for Ruſſia and two for Greenland. The two for Greenland were the Elizabeth and the Mary Margaret, commanded by Jonas Poole and Stephen Bennet; and deſigned for killing of whale and morſes on the coaſt of Greenland: for which purpoſe they entertained ſix or ſeven Biſcayners, who were expert at killing the whales, in their ſervice; and appointed Thomas Edge to be their factor, or ſupercargo. They ſet ſail from the river Thames the 11th of April, 1611. The Elizabeth being appointed to try if it was poſſible to paſs from Greenland to the pole itſelf. In their paſſage to Greenland they were much troubled with ice, and ſaw one bank of ice to the eaſtward of them above forty leagues in length, (which probably adhered to the ſhore). The two ſhips however, the Elizabeth and Mary Margaret, arrived ſafe in Croſs road in Greenland, on the 29th of May: Capt. Poole ſailed from hence as high as the latitude of eighty, where finding the ice fixed, and that it was impoſſible to paſs through it, he ſteered ſouth-weſt, as he found the ice and land lay for above a hundred and twenty leagues, till he judged he was near that part of Old Greenland called Hold with Hope, and ran forty leagues to the weſtward of it, where he ſaw abundance of whales by the ſide of the ice, which continued all along the ſhore as he ſailed, but finding the ice tend to the ſouthward, and no likelihood of any paſſage to the north, he ſailed to Cherry iſland, where he found ſome of the men belonging to the Mary Margaret aſhore, having loſt their ſhip, though they had killed ſeveral whales and morſes, and made a good quantity of oil, which was left aſhore in Greenland: whereupon Poole ſteered again for Greenland, to take in the effects the Mary Margaret had left behind: but while they were preparing to take the oil and fins on board, the Elizabeth alſo unluckily over-ſet, and had not a Hull ſhip happened to come this way a whale fiſhing, both the ſhips crews had been in danger of periſhing; but the Hull ſhip took all the men on board, with ſuch goods as they had ſaved, viz. twenty-two tuns of oil, ten tuns of whale fins, and five hogsheads of morſes teeth, with which they arrived ſafe in England on the eighth of September: and this was the firſt beginning of the whale fiſhery in the Greenland ſeas.

1612. Poole and Edge.

The following year the Ruſſia company fitted out two ſhips for Greenland, viz. the Whale and the Sea-horſe, commanded by Jonas Poole and Thomas Edge, who ſet ſail from the river Thames the ſeventh of April, 1612, and the third of May arrived at Cherry iſland, where they found a Dutch ſhip, which had been piloted thither by Allen Sallows, an Engliſhman, who afterwards ſailed with them towards Greenland; but the Engliſh captains ordered him to leave thoſe ſeas, looking upon the Greenland fiſhery as their own property, and accordingly the Hollander left them. On the firſt of June the Whale and Sea-horſe arriving in Greenland, found an Engliſh ſhip there, commanded by Thomas Marmaduke, who took up Captain Poole and his men, and carried them home the preceding year: but Marmaduke not belonging to the Ruſſia company, was looked upon as an interloper. Captain Poole and Edge, by the aſſiſtance of their Biſcayners, killed ſeventeen whales, beſides morſes, this year, of which they made one hundred and eighty tuns of oil, with which, and the whale-bone they got, they freighted their ſhips and returned to England. There came a Spaniſh ſhip this year alſo to fiſh for whales in Greenland, piloted hither by Nicholas Woodcock, an Engliſhman, formerly in the company's ſervice, who, upon complaint made by the company of his carrying the Spaniards to Greenland, was impriſoned ſixteen months, on his return to England.

1613. The Engliſh prohibit the Dutch and other nations reſorting to Greenland.

Seven or eight ſhips were fitted out by the company the next year, commanded by Benjamin Joseph, Admiral, and Thomas Edge, Vice-Admiral, who ſet ſail from the river Thames the

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thirteenth day of May, and arrived at Greenland the thirtieth, being but eighteen days in their paſſage. Here they found fifteen ſail of ſhips, two whereof were Dutch, four Engliſh interlopers, and the reſt Spaniards or French; and the Admiral having the King's commiſſion, which contained a prohibition to all foreigners, and others who were not of the Ruſſia company, to fiſh upon the coaſt, he drove them away, and obliged them to return home empty. The Admiral alſo ſet up a croſs of wood upon a low point of land, called Lowneſſe, to which he nailed the King of Great Britain's arms; and having made ſeveral hundred tuns of oil of the whales they took, they returned home.

1614. In the year 1614 the Engliſh Ruſſia company fitted out thirteen ſhips and two pinnaces, commanded by the ſame Admiral and Vice-Admiral as the year preceding: and the Dutch ſent eighteen great ſhips to Greenland, four of them being men of war, and finding themſelves ſtronger than the Engliſh, they ſtaid and fiſhed by force, whereby the Engliſh returned half laden. The 1615. next year alſo the Engliſh were inferior to the Hollanders, and made but a poor voyage. In the 1616. year 1616 the company ſent eight ſtout ſhips to Greenland, commanded by Captain THOMAS EDGE: they made thirteen hundred tuns of oil, and brought home a good quantity of whalebone, with the teeth of a thouſand morſes, or ſea-horſes, which they killed on Edge's iſland. This was the firſt year that all the company's ſhips returned full freighted. The Dutch had but four ſhips in Greenland this year, and made 1617. but an indifferent voyage. There were fourteen ſhips fitted out the next year, of which EDGE was again made Admiral. He ſet ſail from the river on the twenty-fourth of April, 1617, and arrived in Greenland the twenty-eighth of May, where finding ſome Dutch ſhips, he took their blubber from them: and this year the Engliſh made 1900 tuns of oil, which they brought ſafe home.

1618. The Dutch conteſt the right to the whale fiſhery with the Engliſh.

The following year the Engliſh Eaſt-India company and the Ruſſia company joined in the whale fiſhery, ſetting out thirteen ſhips and two pinnaces for Greenland, of which EDGE was Admiral again; but the Dutch fitting out a ſtrong ſquadron, fell upon one of the Engliſh ſhips in Greenland this year, killing a great many of their men, and plundered the ſhip of her artillery and effects, burning ſuch goods as they found aſhore: they alſo hindred the reſt of the Engliſh ſhips from fiſhing; ſo that they were forced to return empty to England. This, it is obſervable, was a year or two after King JAMES delivered up the cautionary towns to the Dutch; namely, Fluſhing, the Brill, and Ramekins, which the wife Queen ELIZABETH, his predeceſſor, always kept as a check upon thoſe proud merchants. From the time of the ſurrender of thoſe places they began to encroach upon our trade, and inſult the Engliſh in all parts of the world. Nor were they content to murder and plunder our people, but reviled the good natured King, and laughed at his commiſſion, when the Engliſh captains produced their authority. Indeed in the Engliſh court they ſpoke a ſofter language, and prevailed more by bribery than threats: they knew whatever miſchief they did the nation abroad, a handſome preſent well applied at home would ſilence, or rather drown the cries of our merchants; as they frequently experienced in this, as well as in ſome ſucceeding reigns.

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The next year the Dutch hindred our people 161[illegible] fiſhing again; ſo that they returned half laden. The Dutch alſo, to diſcourage them, ſold their oil at half price; ſo that what the Engliſh had remained a drug upon their hands. Whereupon the two companies finding our court ſo extremely eaſy and negligent of their intereſts; and that no redreſs could be had, or any probability of ſucceeding in this trade, they transferred their right in that fiſhery to Mr. RALPH FREEMAN, Captain EDGE, and ſome other private adventurers, who had not patience to ſee the Dutch run away with that gainful trade, which our countrymen had laid the foundation of. Theſe gentlemen continued the whale fiſhery to Greenland for ſeveral years with tolerable ſucceſs, but were frequently much incommoded by the Dutch, who applied themſelves with all their might to the improvement of this fiſhery; inſomuch that they ſent out ſome years above an hundred ſail; whereas the Engliſh till now have contented themſelves with ſending out ſix or ſeven annually, and have ſometimes laid the trade down for ſeveral years together. Laſt year indeed the 17[illegible] South-ſea company fitted out twenty-four ſail for South ſea revive the Greenland; but they came home not half laden. whale fiſhery. And it muſt be acknowledged that the Dutch are better acquainted with thoſe ſeas now than we can be, having continually frequented them: they know the haunts of the whales alſo, and have numbers of better harponiers than we can pretend to have, who are forced to hire ſuch foreigners as will enter into our ſervice. But under all theſe difficulties, conſidering what a vaſt capital the South-ſea company hath, and the diligence with which they apply themſelves to trade, great things may be expected from this undertaking in time; eſpecially as they are ſupported by an illuſtrious Prince, whoſe miniſters are proof againſt corruption.

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Contains a relation of the hardſhips eight Engliſhmen underwent, who were left aſhore in Greenland all the winter; with their obſervations upon the place, in the year 1630.

Obſervations on Greenland, by eight Engliſhmen who were left there.

THREE ſhips being fitted out for Greenland, in the year 1630, of which the Salutation was one, ſet ſail from the river Thames, on the firſt of May, and arrived in Greenland the eleventh of June following. The ſhips ſoon after diſperſed to ſeveral harbours, for the conveniency of fiſhing. And the Salutation being ſomething ſtraitned for proviſion, the latter end of the year, ſet eight men aſhore, at a place pretty much frequented by rain deer, to kill veniſon, leaving them a boat, and orders to follow the ſhip to Green Harbour, which lyes to the ſouthward of the place where they went aſhore. Theſe men, having killed fourteen or fifteen deer, lay that night aſhore, and propoſed next day to have gone on board the ſhip; but a great quantity of ice driving towards the ſhore, obliged the ſhip to ſtand ſo far out to ſea, that when they came to Green Harbour ſhe was out of ſight: however, the ſhips being to rendezvous in Bellſound, farther to the ſouthward; and being to leave the country within three days, our huntſmen began to be very anxious, leſt the ſhipping ſhould be gone from thence too before they arrived: they thought it proper therefore to fling their veniſon into the ſea, in order to lighten the boat, and make the beſt of their way to Bellſound, diſtant from thence about ſixteen leagues; but none of them knowing the coaſt very well, they over-ſhot their port above ten leagues, when being ſenſible of their error they returned to the northward: but one of their company being ſtill poſitive Bellſound lay farther to the ſouth, they were induced to ſail to the ſouthward again, till they were a ſecond time convinced of their miſtake, and then they turned their boat about to the north again, and at length arrived at Bellſound; but had ſpent ſo much time in rowing backwards and forwards, that the ſhips had actually left the coaſt, and were gone for England, to their great aſtoniſhment; being provided neither with clothes, food, firing, or houſe to ſhelter themſelves from the piercing cold they were to expect in ſo rigorous a climate: they ſtood ſome time looking on one another as men amazed at the diſtreſs they were on a ſudden reduced to; but their conſternation being a little abated, they began to think of the propereſt means to ſubſiſt themſelves during the approaching winter; and, the weather being favourable, they agreed in the firſt place to go to Green Harbour and hunt for veniſon, having two dogs with them very fit for that purpoſe. On the twenty-fifth of Auguſt therefore they went in their boat to Green Harbour, where they arrived in twelve hours, being about ſixteen leagues to the northward of Bellſound. Here they ſet up a tent, made with their boat's ſail, the oars ſerving for tent poles; and having ſlept a few hours, went early next morning to their ſport, killing ſeven or eight deer and four bears, and the day following they killed twelve deer more, with which they loaded their boat, and finding another boat, which had been left there by the company, they loaded that with the greaves of whales, (being the pieces which remain in the coppers after the oil is drawn from them) and returned with their booty to Bellſound. Here happened to be ſet up a large ſubſtantial booth, which the coopers worked in at the fiſhing ſeaſon: it was eighty foot long and fifty broad, covered with Dutch tiles, and the ſides well boarded. Within this booth theſe ſailors determined to build another of leſs dimenſions, being furniſhed with boards and timber by pulling down a booth which ſtood near the former; and from the chimneys of three furnaces, uſed for the boiling of oil, they got a thouſand of bricks: they found alſo four hogſheads of very fine lime, which mingled with the ſand on the ſea-ſhore, made excellent mortar. But the weather was now grown ſo cold that they were obliged to have two fires to keep their mortar from freezing. They perſiſted, however, in their work, and raiſed a wall of a brick thickneſs againſt one of the ſides of their innermoſt booth; but wanting bricks to finiſh the reſt in like manner, they nailed thick boards on each ſide the timbers, and filled up the ſpace between with ſand, by which means it became ſo tight and cloſe that the leaſt breath of air could not enter in, and their chimney's vent was into the greater booth. The length of this leſſer booth, or rather houſe, was twenty feet, the breadth ſixteen feet, and the height ten; their cieling being made of deal boards five or ſix times double, and ſo overlaid that no air could poſſibly come in from thence. Their door they did not only make as ſtrong and cloſe as poſſible, but lined it with a bed which they found there; and for windows they made none, except a little hole in the tiles of the greater booth, by which they received ſome little light down the chimney of the leſſer. Their next work was to make them four cabbins, chooſing to lye two in each cabbin. Their bedding was the skins of the rain deer, the ſame the Laplanders uſe, and they found them exceeding warm: and for firing they took to pieces ſome casks, and ſeven or eight of the boats which were left behind, (for it ſeems they uſe a great many boats in whale fiſhing, which they leave in the country every winter, rather than be at the

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the trouble of carrying them backwards and forwards). Our ſailors ſtowed their firing between the beams and the roof of the greater booth, in order to make it the warmer, and keep out the ſnow, which would have covered every thing in the greater booth, if it had not been for this contrivance.

Upon the twelfth of September, obſerving a piece of ice come driving towards the ſhore, with two morſes, or ſea horſes, aſleep upon it, they went out in their boat, with a harping-iron and ſpears, and killed them both; and on the 19th of the ſame month another, which was ſome addition to their food. But taking a very narrow ſurvey of all their proviſions, they found that there was not half enough to ſerve them the whole winter; and therefore they ſtinted themſelves to one meal a day, and agreed to keep Wedneſdays and Fridays as faſting days, allowing themſelves then only the fritters or greaves of the whales; which, as has been obſerved already, are only the ſcraps of the fat of the whale, which are flung away after the oil is gotten out of them, and is very loathſome food. By the tenth of October the nights were grown long, and the weather ſo cold that the ſea was frozen over; and having no buſineſs now to divert their thoughts as hitherto, they began again to reflect on their miſerable circumſtances; ſometimes complaining of the cruelty of the maſter of the ſhip in leaving them behind; and at others excuſing him, and bewailing his misfortune, as believing him to have periſhed in the ice. At length, putting their confidence in heaven, which only could relieve them in their great diſtreſs, they redoubled their prayers for ſtrength and patience to go through the diſmal trial, and received great ſatisfaction from their devotions, which were, no doubt, as ſincere and fervent as ever were offered up to the Deity.

And now having ſurveyed their proviſions again, they found that the fritters of the whale were almoſt all mouldy, having taken ſome wet; and of their bear and veniſon there was ſcarce enough left to afford them five meals a week; whereupon it was agreed to live four days of the week upon the mouldy fritters, and the other three to feaſt upon bear and veniſon: and leſt they ſhould want firing hereafter to dreſs their meat, they thought it proper to roaſt every day half a deer, and ſtow it up in hogſheads, and with this kind of food they filled three hogſheads and a half, leaving ſo much raw as would ſerve to roaſt every ſunday a quarter, and a quarter for Chriſtmas day. It being now the fourteenth of October the ſun left them, and they ſaw it no more till the third of February, but they had the moon all the time, both day and night, though very much obſcured by the clouds and foul weather. There was alſo a glimmering kind of day-light for eight hours the latter end of October, which ſhortned every day till the firſt of December; from which time to the twentieth of the ſame month, they could perceive no day-light at all: it was now one continued night, there appearing only in clear weather a little whiteneſs, like the dawn of day, towards the ſouth. On the firſt of January they found their day a little to encreaſe. They counted their days, it ſeems, in the dark ſeaſon by the moon, and were ſo exact that at the return of the ſhipping they were able to tell the very day of the month on which the fleet arrived. As for light within doors, they made them three lamps of ſome ſheet lead they found upon one of the coolers, and there happened to be oil enough to ſupply them left in the cooper's tent; for wicks they made uſe of rope-yarns; and theſe lamps were one of the greateſt comforts to them in that long diſmal night. But ſtill their miſery was ſuch that they could not forbear ſometimes uttering haſty ſpeeches againſt the authors of their misfortunes: at other times reflecting on their former ill-ſpent lives, they looked upon this as a juſt puniſhment of their offences; and at other times they hoped they were reſerved as a wonderful inſtance of GOD's mercy in their deliverance, and continued conſtantly to fall down on their knees two or three times a day, and implore the protection of the Almighty.

With the new year the cold encreaſed to that degree that it raiſed bliſters in their fleſh ſometimes, as if they had been burnt, and the iron they touched ſtuck to their fingers. When they went abroad for water the cold often ſeized them in ſuch a manner that it made them ſore, as if they had been ſeverely beaten. Their water the firſt part of the winter iſſued from a bay of ice, and ran down into a kind of baſon, or receptacle, by the ſea ſide, where it remained with a thick ice over it, which they dug open at one certain place with pick-axes every day. This continued to the 10th of January, and then they drank ſnow water, melted with a hot iron, until the 20th of May following.

And now they took another review of their proviſions, which they found would not laſt them above ſix weeks longer; but to alleviate their miſery, on the third of February they were cheared again with the bright rays of the ſun, which ſhone upon the tops of the ſnowy mountains, with an inconceivable luſtre: to them at leaſt this afforded the moſt delightful ſcene that ever was beheld. And after a night of many weeks or months, what could be imagined more glorious or pleaſing to a mortal eye? As an addition to their joy alſo, the bears began to appear again, on the fleſh of which animal they had made many hearty meals. But, as the writer of this narrative

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narrative obſerves, the bears were as ready to devour our countrymen, as they were the bears; and being pinched with hunger in this barren place, came up to their very door. One of theſe creatures with her cub they met at the entrance of their apartment, and gave her ſuch a reception with their pikes and lances, that they laid her dead upon the ſpot, and the young one was glad to make his eſcape. The weather was ſo cold that they could not ſtay to flay her, but dragged the beaſt into their houſe, and there went to work, cuting her into pieces of a ſtone weight, one of which ſerved them for a dinner, and upon this they fed twenty days, eſteeming her fleſh beyond veniſon; only her liver did not agree with them, for upon the eating it, their skins peeled off; though one of the company, who was ſick, attributes his cure in part to the eating of it. If it be demanded how they kept their veniſon and bears fleſh without ſalt, it is to be obſerved, the cold is ſuch that no corps or carcaſe ever putrifies, fleſh needs no ſalt to keep it here, and that was their happineſs, for had they been ſtocked with ſalt proviſions, they had infallibly died of the ſcurvy, as others did who were left on ſhore much better provided with liquors and other neceſſaries than theſe poor men were. But to proceed, by that time they had eaten up this bear, others came about their booth frequently, to the number of forty and more, of which they killed ſeven, (one of them ſix foot high at leaſt), roaſting their fleſh upon wooden ſpits, having no other kitchen furniture except a frying pan they found in one of the booths, and having now plenty of proviſion, they eat heartily two or three times a day, and could find their ſtrength encreaſe apace.

It was now the 16th of March, and the days of a reaſonable length, and the fowls, which in the winter time were fled to the ſouthward, began to reſort to Greenland again in great abundance. Here they live and breed in the ſummer, feeding upon ſmall fiſh. The foxes alſo, which had kept cloſe in their holes under the rocks all winter, now came abroad and preyed upon the fowls, of which our countrymen having taken ſome baited traps with their skins, and caught fifty foxes in them, which they roaſted and found to be very good meat, at leaſt in the opinion of men, who had fed hitherto pretty much upon bears-fleſh. Thus they continued taking fowls and foxes till the 1ſt of May, meeting with no farther misfortunes, except the loſs of one of their two maſtif dogs, which went from their houſe one morning in the middle of March, and was never ſeen afterwards, being over-powered probably, and eaten by the bears.

The weather beginning to grow warm in May, they rambled about in ſearch of willocks eggs, a fowl about the bigneſs of a duck, of which they found ſome, being a change of diet, they were much pleaſed with. And now the ſeaſon coming on for the arrival of ſhipping, they went ſome of them every day almoſt to the top of a mountain to ſee if they could diſcern the water in the ſea, which they had no ſight of till the 24th of this month, when it blowing a ſtorm, and the wind ſitting from the main ocean broke the ice in the bay, and turning about ſoon after eaſterly, carried great part of the ice out to ſea, but ſtill the water did not come within three miles of their dwelling. The next morning, the 25th of May, none of their men happened to go abroad; but one of them being in the outward booth, heard ſome body hail the houſe, in the ſame manner as ſailors do a ſhip; to which the man in the outward booth anſwered in ſeamen's terms; they were then juſt going to prayers, and ſtaid but for the man in the outward booth to join with them. Sure no ſailors were ever ſo devout! But even ſailors will addreſs themſelves to heaven in their diſtreſs, when no human aid can help them; as ſick men ſend for the prieſt, when the phyſician hath given them over. But to proceed. The man who hailed them was one of the boat's crew that belonged to an Engliſh ſhip juſt come from England; which our religious ſailors no ſooner underſtood, but they put off their devotions and ran out to meet their countrymen, looking upon them as ſo many angels ſent from heaven to their relief. And certainly the tranſports of joy they felt on this occaſion, if it may be conceived, can never be expreſſed. But there was one mortification ſtill in ſtore, which no man would have expected: one of the ſhips which now arrived was commanded by the ſame maſter which left theſe poor wretches on ſhore; and he, barbarous brute! in order to excuſe his own inhumanity, began to revile and curſe them, calling them rogues and runaways. And this ſame man, it ſeems, had left ſeven or eight other men in Greenland two years before, which were never heard of afterwards; for which, no doubt, he richly deſerved the gallows, though our laws take but little notice of offences of this kind. But notwithſtanding the barbarity of their own Captain, the commander and officers of the other ſhip took care they ſhould be kindly uſed, and brought to England when the ſeaſon for whale-fiſhing was over; where they received a gratuity from the Ruſſia company, and were otherwiſe well provided for by them. And perhaps there is no inſtance in hiſtory of a company of men in ſo exquiſite a diſtreſs, who ſhewed more courage and patience, or made a wiſer proviſion for their preſervation than theſe did. And, as the writer of this narrative obſerves, Greenland belongs to the crown of England now by double right, for

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we did not only firſt diſcover it, and begin the whale-fiſhery there; but theſe our countrymen did in a wondrous manner a ſecond time take ſeizin of the country for the King's uſe, being the firſt that ever did inhabit it the year round, and perhaps the laſt that ever will. And here it may not be improper to record the names of theſe eight heroick Engliſhmen, not one of whom loſt either his life or limbs, *though left deſtitute of all* neceſſaries, in a country within twelve degrees of the pole, viz. WILLIAM FAKELY, gunner; EDWARD PELHAM (the writer of the narrative) gunner's mate; JOHN WISE, and ROBERT GOODFELLOW, ſeamen; THOMAS AYRES, whale cutter; HENRY BETT, cooper; JOHN DAWS and RICHARD KELLET, landmen.

CHAP. V.

An account of ſeven Dutch ſailors, who were left in Greenland to make obſervations on the country; and of ſeven others who made a ſecond experiment of the like nature.

Seven Dutchmen left in Greenland.

THE Dutch Greenland company, to be the better informed of the ſtate of Greenland, and make aſtronomical obſervations during the winter there, ordered their fleet at the expiration of the ſeaſon for whale fiſhing, to propoſe to their ſailors, that if any ſeven of them would remain in the country till the return of the ſhipping the following year, they ſhould be furniſhed with all neceſſaries, and handſomely rewarded. Whereupon ſeven of the boldeſt and ableſt ſeamen in the fleet voluntarily offered to ſtay there during the winter, and the Dutch fleet accordingly left them in the iſland of St. Maurice in Greenland, on the 26th of Auguſt 1633.

The journal theſe unhappy mariners left behind them contains an account of the wind and weather every day, and of ſuch other things as they apprehended moſt neceſſary to be known. From whence it may be gathered, that there is very little ſettled weather in winter time in this part of the world. In September and the beginning of October it rained, and was tolerably warm for ſome days; on others it ſnowed and froze, but ſo little, that they had no occaſion to keep fires till the ninth of October. It was ſo warm, particularly on the ninth of September, that they were at play on the ſide of a hill in the ſun ſhine without their ſhirts: but by the middle of October, when the cold grew very ſevere, they found a dizzineſs in their heads, and a great alteration in their bodies: but this probably proceeded rather from their ſhutting themſelves up in a cloſe place with a fire, than from the intenſeneſs of the cold; for the ſame thing happened to the Dutchmen who wintered at Nova Zembla, who were ſoon relieved by throwing open the door of their hut. The fifteenth of October in the morning they ſaw two whales caſt on ſhore, and went out with their harping irons and lances to take them, but they got away from them on the tides coming in. By the laſt of October the ſea was frozen ſo far, that they could not diſcern the water; and by the eighth of November, the ſpring which was near their huts was frozen up, and they were forced to drink melted ſnow. It is not ſaid in what manner they formed their dwellings, but it appears every man had his particular hutt; and all of them ſeem to have been placed under one great booth or roof, uſed by the ſeamen in the ſeaſon for making oil, or other occaſions; for if there had not been a roof or ſhed which covered all their hutts, the ſnow and ſtormy weather would have prevented their coming to, or aſſiſting one another ſometimes. In November they ſaw a great many bears, but had not the good fortune to kill more than two or three of them. By the 19th of November the ſun left them, but it was ſtill ſo light without doors, that they could ſee to write or read: and notwithſtanding it is related that the ſea was frozen as far as they could diſcern the beginning of this month, we find by the latter end of it the ice was in motion again, and for four or five days the weather was as moderate as in Holland: and ſo it proved alſo the beginning of December; but they obſerved that the ſouth winds were always the warmeſt. The 23d of January they went out of their huts to a hill on the ſouth ſide of the iſland to view the height of the ſun, which now began to viſit them again; but it was too cloudy to make an obſervation. The 30th being a clear calm froſty day, they climbed with a great deal of difficulty up the ſame hill, and the ſun appeared about an hour and half high. In the middle of February they were viſited by a great many geeſe and falcons, ſhy to be taken. They ſet traps alſo for foxes, but without any ſucceſs; and having eaten very little freſh proviſions, were much afflicted with the ſcurvy. About the latter end of March they ſaw whales enough about the coaſt to have loaden a fleet with their oil. The 3d of April there were but two of the company in tolerable health, the reſt being crippled with the ſcurvy. The fifth they ſaw whales in abundance. April 16th, being Eaſter Day, their clerk died, and all the reſt were ſick. The 19th they grew worſe, and having no proviſions left, were out of hopes of recovery; for not being able to uſe any exerciſe, they were almoſt frozen. The 23d there was but one able to help himſelf, who was the perſon that continued the journal after the death of their clerk. He helped their commander out of his cabbin with the pangs of death upon him the ſame day, he being deſirous to be removed.

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moved. The 27th he killed their dog for want of other freſh proviſion. He continues the journal to the laſt of April, which he ſays was a clear ſun-ſhiny day; and the only word he wrote afterwards was [die.] It is probable however ſome of them might live two or three days in May, without being able to ſtir. It was the 4th of June before the Dutch fleet returned to Greenland this year, where they found every one of theſe unfortunate men dead in his own hut, he that died firſt being laid in a coffin. Near one of them ſtood ſome biſcuit and cheeſe; another had a box of ointment by him, with which he had rubbed his teeth and joints, and a prayer-book lay near him. It is pretty evident from the whole, that the ſcurvy was the foundation and principal cauſe of their deaths, for it appears the weather was ſo moderate that they went to the top of the hill almoſt every day till the laſt month or two; but when they were not able to ſtir, the cold, no doubt, contributed to haſten their end.

The Dutch Greenland company not knowing of the misfortune which had befallen the firſt ſeven men left in Greenland, ſent ſeven others to relieve them, and remain there the following winter, which they readily agreed to do, notwithſtanding the fate of their countrymen. Theſe laſt ſeven having meat, drink, herbs, phyſick, and all other neceſſaries provided for them, were left in the country by the fleet the 11th of September 1634. when they went in ſearch of the bears, foxes, and herbs the country afforded, but could meet with none. By the twentieth of October the ſun left them: (from whence it is to be preſumed they were farther north than the other ſeven, who did not loſe the ſight of the ſun, according to their journal, till the nineteenth of November.) And not being able to get any freſh meat, or herbs, they began to be overrun with the ſcurvy. The 14th of January one of their company died: on the 15th of the ſame month another died, and the 17th a third: the remaining four had juſt ſtrength enough to make coffins for their brethren. The 7th of February they took a fox; but were ſo far gone in their diſtemper, that nothing could recover them: if the whole number had been living and in health, there came ſuch numbers of bears about their dwelling ſoon after, that they could not have wanted freſh meat; but they were too weak now to maſter thoſe animals; and could not ſo much as bite their biſcuit: they were afflicted alſo with tormenting pains in their loins and bellies, which encreaſed with the cold. The 23d they kept cloſe in their cabbins, recommending themſelves to the mercy of GOD. The 24th of February, according to the journal, they ſaw the ſun again. The 26th, the journal concludes in this manner, viz. four of us, who are ſtill alive, lye flat upon the ground in our huts: we believe we could ſtill eat if there was one amongſt us who could ſtir out of his hut to get our meat ready, but our pains prevent us: we ſpend our time in conſtant prayers, imploring GOD in his mercy to deliver us out of this miſery; being ready whenever he pleaſes to call us: we are certainly not able to live without food or fire, till the ſhipping arrives: we cannot aſſiſt one another, but every one bears his own burthen. When the fleet arrived from Holland in 1635, they found them lying dead in their houſe cloſe ſhut up, that the wild beaſts might not devour their dead bodies, as is ſuppoſed. Three of them they found put into coffins, two others lying in their reſpective cabbins, and the remaining two on a piece of ſail-cloth on the floor. After theſe two fatal experiments, I do not meet with any other perſons who have been ambitious of the honour of ſpending a winter in Greenland: though I am far from thinking it impracticable, if they carried live cattle, hogs, and ſheep thither for them to live upon, or if they could kill rain deer, foxes, and fowls in the country ſufficient for their ſubſiſtence. For it hath been obſerved already, that no fleſh corrupts or putrifies in the winter, and therefore may be kept without ſalt; conſequently they would not be in any danger of the ſcurvy; and it is evident from theſe inſtances, that the cold alone would not deſtroy them.

CHAP. VI.

Treats of the plants in New Greenland.

Herbs of Greenland.

THE herbs and moſs in Greenland grow upon the girt of the rocks where the water runs down, and chiefly on that part of the mountain which is covered from the north and eaſt winds; and the dung of the fowls which reſort thither in great numbers, does not a little contribute to the growth of them. They ſoon come to maturity, being ſcarce green in June, and in July moſt of them are in the flower, and ſome their ſeeds half ripe: but as there are but few vegetables here, I ſhall be more particular in the deſcription of them than I uſed to be.

The aloes plant.

There is an herb grows here with thick, prickly and dark green leaves, like thoſe of the aloes, with a brown naked ſtalk half a finger long, on which hang round heads of freſh coloured flowers in bunches, ſcarce diſcernible by the eye, one plant producing ſometimes two ſtalks. There is another plant with indented leaves, like thoſe of the ſmall houſeleek. They grow about the root, and betwixt them a ſmall ſtalk of a finger long, round and hairy, without leaves, except where it emits another ſtalk, at which place it hath one

Houſeleek.

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leaf. The flowers come out with ſcaly heads, and are of a brown colour with eight pointed leaves. Of crowsfoot there are four kinds here, diſtinguiſhed only by their leaves. They have ſcurvy graſs alſo, which produces many leaves from one root, ſpreading upon the ground. Out of the middle of them ſprouts a ſtalk, with a few leaves underneath the ſprouts. The flowers have four white leaves, and many of them growing on the ſame ſtalk, one above another; and as one fades another ſucceeds in the room. The ſeed comes forth in a longiſh box, whereas here it is produced in a round one. There are great quantities of it upon the rocks which are not expoſed to the north or eaſt winds. It ſeeds in July, and its leaves have ſo little ſharpneſs, that the ſeamen eat it as a ſallad in Greenland. There grows alſo a kind of ſmall ſnakeweed here, but it is not very common. The twilted root ſhews it to be of the Biſtorta kind, and is about the thickneſs of a man's little finger, with ſmall fibres, brown without and fleſh coloured within, and of an aſtringent taſte. They have another plant, whoſe leaves reſemble thoſe of a perewinkle, and grow by pairs on ſtalks creeping on the ground. The root is ſlender, round, woody and knotty, with ſmall branched fibres at the bottom. A plant alſo grows here with three cut leaves at the extremity of the ſtalk, like the ſtrawberry, and the flower like it alſo. The root is round and thick, with ſmall fibres, and its taſte aſtringent. The rock plant is the ſame with that called Fucus, the ſtalk broad and flat, out of which ſprout many broad leaves, like twigs out of a tree; at the top of the ſtalk grow five or ſeven long yellowiſh tranſparent leaves, and cloſe to theſe other longiſh leaves hollow, and as it were blown up with wind. The root grows out of the rock, from whence it hath its name, and is found in great plenty in ſome parts of the country. In the Engliſh harbour there is a plant which reſembles ſea graſs, growing like it under water, and is about eight foot long, with yellowiſh leaves three fingers broad, and tranſparent. There are alſo plants like the horſe tail; a kind of white poppy, and a red ſort of ſorrel. It is obſerved that moſt of theſe plants are good againſt the ſcurvy, the common diſtemper of thoſe who go this or other long voyages, and feed upon ſalt meat; and indeed all manner of herbs and garden ſtuff almoſt are antiſcorbuticks.

Crowsfoot.

Scurvy graſs.

Snakeweed.

Perewinkle plant.

Strawberry plant.

Rock plant.

Sea graſs.

CHAP. VII.

Treats of the animals in and about Greenland, whether upon land or in the water.

Animals.

THERE are ſcarce any land fowls or birds to be ſeen in Greenland: thoſe travellers mention are, 1. The ſnite or ſtrandrunner; a bird about the bigneſs of a lark, and of the ſame colour, with three divided claws before, and a ſhort one behind. They live on worms and ſhrimps, and have not a fiſhy taſte. 2. The ſnowbird, of the ſize of a linnet, with a long bended ſpur, and three divided claws. Their backs and wings are gray, but from the head downwards under the belly to the tail, they are as white as ſnow. They will ſometimes light in a ſhip, and may be taken with the hand they are ſo tame. They are ſeen chiefly on the ice and ſnow, from whence they are called ſnow-birds. 3. The ice-bird, which is of the bigneſs of a ſmall pigeon, and her feathers ſhining like gold.

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The ſnite.

The ſnow-bird.

The ice-bird.

The fowls with broad feet in Greenland have ſome of them ſharp pointed bills, and others broad bills like ducks; ſome of them alſo are birds of prey, and others not. Of birds of prey there are 1. The burghermaſter which obtained its name from the largeneſs of his ſize, being almoſt as big as a ſtork. He has a crooked, thick, narrow bill, and a red circle about his eyes, a broad white tail like a fan, and his back and wings of a pale colour tipped with white. They build their neſts in the clifts of the higheſt rocks, beyond the reach of any one, but will come down in great numbers to feed on the carcaſe of a dead whale, and are eaſily ſhot. Their cry is like a raven's, and they fly like a ſtork, feeding upon leſſer birds, carrion, or the dung of the morſes. They frequently light upon the water to reſt themſelves, but never dive. 2. The ratſher or alderman, ſo called from his ſtately mien. He is ſomething leſs than the burghermaſter, and has a ſharp thin bill, three claws on each foot, and ſhort black legs; but the feathers whiter than the ſnow itſelf, as it is ſaid, and the tail long and broad. It is very fond of fiſh, and feeds ſometimes upon morſes dung. They are ſo tame that they may be knocked down with a ſtick. 3. The ſtruntjager, or dung-hunter, hath a thick black crooked bill, ſhort legs, and three claws joined by a black skin, and is of the bigneſs of a ſea-mew. 4. The kutyeghef, another kind of ſea-mew, his back and wings gray, and his belly as white as ſnow. His food is chiefly the fleſh of whales, with which the ſeamen bait their hooks, as they do for moſt other birds of prey in theſe ſeas. They ſwim upon the water as the beſt do with their heads to the windward, let it blow never ſo hard. 5. The mallemucke, the moſt common fowl in Greenland, the under part of his bill compoſed of four pieces, ſome of them are gray all over, but others only on the wings; it is of the ſize of a great mew, and flies like him; but cannot eaſily raiſe himſelf from the ground. He will ſuffer himſelf to be taken without offering to fly away, from whence he obtained the

The rat-ſher

Mallemucke

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the name of the mallemucke, or the fooliſh bird. The fleſh of theſe birds of prey are ſcarce eatable, unleſs they are hung up ſome time till the train oil in them is dried up.

Of other birds there are, 1. The pigeon-diver, ſo called from his making a noiſe like a young pigeon, having no other reſemblance to them: it is a beautiful bird, of the bigneſs of a duck, with a ſharp pointed bill about two inches long, ſome of them black, and others py'd on the back, but white underneath; they fly low like partridges, and commonly in pairs, 2. The lumb hath a bill much like the pigeon-diver, and is near the ſame ſize; its cry is like that of a raven: they have the pointed wings and ſwiftneſs of the ſwallow, and are very ſhy; they are pretty fleſhy, but dry and tough, and their fat muſt be taken away before they can be eaten. 3. The diving parrot, ſo called from his hooked bill, though it otherwiſe very little reſembles a parrot's; his legs are ſhort and red, and he hath three claws joined with a red skin. 4. The mountain duck, of the ſize of an ordinary gooſe, and much ſuch a bill: it is a beautiful fowl, with fine ſpotted feathers; and dives under water as ducks do. The fleſh of it is good if the fat be drained away, which taſtes of oil. 5. The kirmew, which hath a thin ſharp pointed bill as red as blood; its long wings and tail make it ſhew very large, but the body is not much bigger than a ſparrow's.

The four footed land animals are, bears, deer, or foxes. Some will have their bear to be an amphibious animal: he is white, and more of the ſhape of a dog than a common bear, and much larger and ſwifter; he hath long ſoft hair, the noſe and mouth only black. He ſwims from one ice mountain to another, and will dive after fiſh a conſiderable time under water: he feeds alſo on fowls and eggs, and the carcaſs of the whale when he meets with it, and will dig up a human corps if it be not buried deep and well ſecured.

The Greenland deer is of a grayiſh colour, and hath horns and cloven feet much like ours; and his fleſh is well taſted: they are found chiefly about the rehen field, or deer field, and upon the foreland of Muſhlehaven. The foxes of this country have black heads and white bodies, but in all other reſpects reſemble thoſe of the more ſouthern countries.

The ſeale is reckoned an amphibious animal: he hath five claws on each foot, joined together with a thick ſkin, like that of a water fowl; and the head reſembles a dog with cropped ears, from whence he is ſometimes called the ſea dog: the ſkin is covered with a ſhort hair and ſpotted; they ſeem lamiſh behind, but make a ſhift however to get upon the ice hills, where they love to ſleep and bask themſelves in the ſun. They are from five to eight foot in length; their fleſh black, and their fat yields better train oil than that of any other fiſh. The teſtaceous animals of Greenland are the ſtar-fiſh, the prawn, the crawfiſh, and the whale-louſe, theſe laſt ſtick ſo cloſe to the whale's skin that they are not to be removed without cutting a piece out of it.

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Our mariners who uſe theſe ſeas, alſo mention a fiſh about twenty foot long, which they denominate the unicorn fiſh; but ſome very intelligent gentlemen aſſure us that theſe pretended horns are only the teeth of a large fiſh, which grow a great way out of his mouth, pointed and turned up like a neat's horn. The ſword-fiſh hath a ſharp bone at the end of his ſnout indented like a ſaw, and is a great enemy to the whale, pricking him under the belly with his ſword, or ſaw, which forces him into ſhallow water to avoid him. Sword-fiſh.

The morſe, or ſea horſe, is about the ſize of an ox, and hath five claws on each of his feet; his skin is very thick, eſpecially about the neck, and covered with a ſhort reddiſh or gray hair, and ſometimes mouſe coloured. They have two large teeth, or tusks, in the upper-jaw a foot or two in length, and ſometimes more. Formerly they converted their fat into oil, but ſince oil has been made of the whale, that of the morſe has not been ſo much valued. Theſe animals feed both upon herbs and fiſh; they are ſeen upon the ice-ſhoals about Greenland chiefly about the month of July, and make a dreadful roaring: they ſleep upon the ice, or on the ſurface of the water; and when they are attacked by the ſea-men will endeavour to overſet the boats, or make holes in them with their teeth; but they do not ſeem to have near ſo much ſtrength or agility when they are out of the water upon the ice, where our people kill them with ſpears and clubs with a great deal of eaſe; and being ſenſible how little they are able to defend themſelves upon the ice, when they ſee the ſea-men rowing towards them they jump off the ice-hills into the ſea with a great deal of precipitation. When a morſe is ſtruck with the harpoon they let him run till he is weary and then draw in the line; he will make a great reſiſtance after he is brought to the boat ſide, but they ſoon diſpatch him with their ſpears, and take off his head, his teeth being what they moſt value him for; but theſe are not ſo much eſteemed as formerly. The morſe.

The whales in the Greenland ſeas are of ſeveral kinds and ſizes, ſome of them white and others black: of the black ſort ſome have one and ſome two holes in their heads, out of which they ſpout the water to a great height, and may be heard, it is ſaid, at a league's diſtance. Of the ſeveral kinds of whales, that called the grand bay whale is in moſt eſteem, on account of his bulk, The whale.

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bulk, and the great quantity of fat they find upon him, which yields train oil: the head of this animal makes up one third of the whole fiſh, but his eyes are ſmall in proportion, not much bigger than thoſe of an ox: inſtead of ears there appears only on each ſide his head a hole, ſo ſmall that it is ſcarce diſcernible, but within the fleſh there is a larger orifice formed like an ear, and he is obſerved to be very quick of hearing. The two holes, or pipes, on the top of his head are for receiving air as well as for diſcharging the water which he takes in at his mouth, and is forced upwards through theſe holes in very large quantities. His tongue is about eighteen feet long, encloſed in long pieces of what we call whale-bone, and theſe are covered thick with a kind of hair like horſe hair: on each ſide of the tongue are two hundred and fifty pieces of this whale-bone, beſides the ſmall whale-bone which lyes underneath the root of the tongue, which with the reſt ſome reckon amount to eight hundred pieces of whale-bone: but there is no teeth in his mouth; he is very thick from the head to the middle, but grows leſs from thence towards the tail; neither his fins nor his tail ſtand upright like other fiſh when he ſwims, but horizontally. The uſual length of the whale is from ſixty to eighty foot, but there are ſome, it is ſaid, of more than twice that length; and his form is generally compared to that of a ſhoemaker's laſt. He is ſlippery as an eel, but the fleſh being very ſoft a man may ſtand upon a dead one ſecurely to cut him in pieces. The penis of the whale is a ſtrong ſinew ſix or eight feet long, and ſometimes much more, in proportion to his bulk, and is placed on the outſide of his body, as that of a four footed animal is; and the female hath two breaſts with teats like a cow's; ſhe is ſaid to be larger than the male, and hath never more than two young ones. The bones of the whale are as hard as thoſe of a beaſt, but more porous; the lean fleſh is hard as bull beef, and very ſinewy; but the French who go the Greenland voyage, it is ſaid, will eat of it. Their fat is eight or ten inches thick upon the back or belly, and on the under lips two foot thick: the fat is intermixed with ſmall nerves, the other ſtrong ſinews terminate near the extremity of the tail, which ſerve this great fiſh for a rudder, as his fins do for oars, wherewith he ſwims with incredible ſwiftneſs, leaving a track in the ſea like a great ſhip; and this is called his wake, by which he is often followed. When the ſeamen ſee a whale ſpout, or hear him, the word is immediately given, fall, fall, whereupon every one haſtens down from the ſhip to his boat, ſix or eight men being appointed to each boat, and there are four or five boats belonging to every ſhip: when they come near the whale the harponier, who ſits in the head of the boat, ſtrikes him in the moſt convenient place, and the monſter finding himſelf wounded, runs ſwiftly towards the bottom of the deep, drawing the rope after him with ſuch a force that he would certainly carry the boat with him if they did not give him line enough, that part of the rope to which the harpoon is faſtned being ſix or ſeven fathom long, and an inch thick, is made of the moſt pliable materials, and is called the forerunner; the reſt of the line is thicker and ſtronger, made of tough hemp and tarred over: this the line-furniſher veers out as faſt as he can, having ſeveral hundred fathom of it coiled up in the boat, taking great care that it be not entangled, for the leaſt ſtop overſets them; and to prevent the wood of the boat taking fire by the violent motion of the rope rubbing againſt it, he wets it conſtantly with a mop; the other men of the boat alſo aſſiſt in letting out the line, drawing it in, and coiling it up as there is occaſion, except the man who ſteers and is buſied in obſerving which way the fiſh takes: the iron of the harpoon is ſhaped like a barbed arrow, and very broad to take the better hold; the harponier endeavours to fix it in the moſt fleſhy and tendereſt parts; for if he ſtrike him on the head, which is but thinly covered with fat above the bone, it uſually breaks out. If one line falls ſhort, thoſe in the next boat furniſh another, which is faſtened to it, and all would be to little purpoſe if the whale could live long under water; but after he hath run ſome hundred fathoms deep he is forced to come up again for air, and then he makes ſuch a terrible noiſe with his ſpouting, that ſome have reſembled it to be the firing of great guns: ſo ſoon as the whale appears on the ſurface of the water the other boats follow him, and the harponier who has the firſt opportunity throws another harpoon at him, whereupon he plunges into the deep again; but when he comes up a ſecond time they make no farther uſe of the harping iron, but ſtick him with ſmall ſpears, or pikes, which are darted at him till he is ſo wounded and tired that they can approach him with their ordinary ſpears, with which they puſh at him, endeavouring to wound him near his fins, where they find him moſt ſenſible; and inſtead of water, when his vitals are touched he ſpouts out ſtreams of blood as high as a maſt: whereupon they deſiſt, and the mighty fiſh, finding himſelf deſperately wounded, rages moſt furiouſly, beating the ſea with his tail and fins till it is all in a foam, and the noiſe of it may be heard at a great diſtance: in the mean time, while the whale is making his laſt efforts, the boats follow him at a little diſtance, ſometimes for two leagues together, till having loſt his ſtrength, he turns on one ſide, and when he is dead, upon his back; when they drag him

Of the taking the whale.

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to the ſhore if they are near it, and if at a diſtance from land they haul him to their ſhip, where they keep him till he riſes in part out of the water; for the firſt day he lyes almoſt even with the ſurface, the ſecond he riſes ſix or ſeven foot, and the third ſometimes as high as the ſides of the ſhip. There is on board every ſhip a man whoſe buſineſs it is to cut open the fiſh, who having dreſſed himſelf fit for the purpoſe, opens the belly with a large knife, which occaſions a roaring noiſe, and an intolerable ſtench: the whale cutter proceeds to ſeparate the fleſh from the bones by pieces of two or three hundred weight, which are either conveyed aſhore, or on board the ſhip, being hauled up with pulleys, and there they are cut into leſſer pieces. The tail of the animal ſerves for a chopping-block, being ſo very nervous and hard, that it exceeds any wood whatever for this purpoſe: and being thus cut in pieces, thoſe who have ſtages and conveniencies ſet up in Greenland, extract the oil there, by boiling the fat, or blubber on ſhore, which is put into hogſheads and brought home; but thoſe who want thoſe conveniencies and take a whale far from the ſhore, barrel up the pieces, not extracting the oil till they come to their reſpective countries; but this oil is ſaid to have a more diſagreeable ſcent, and is conſequently not ſo valuable as that which is drawn off immediately. Every fiſh is computed to yield from ſixty to an hundred barrels of oil, of the value of three or four pounds Sterling; but that alters as other things do, by a ſcarce or plentiful ſeaſon. Every ſhip has uſually three harponiers, who have a certain ſum for every whale they take, to induce them to be diligent, and ſometimes a ſhip takes eight or ten whales in one voyage, but at others they return perfectly empty, as ſome of ours did the year 1726.

The Engliſh driven from the whale fiſhery, &c. by the Dutch.

I ſhall add ſome uſeful digreſſions which may be acceptable to the reader, and not foreign to the ſubject I am treating of. And firſt, I ſhall obſerve how the Dutch have ſupplanted us, and driven us from the Greenland fiſhery, and many valuable branches of our commerce, or at leaſt rendered them of very little value to us. A people ſaved by our arms, and from the condition of oppreſſed ſubjects, advanced to the dignity of Sovereign States, ſtyling themſelves Lords of the ocean: and repreſenting their deliverers from Spaniſh ſervitude as ſlaves and vaſſals to their High Mightineſſes in every diſtant country they viſited; our merchants alſo were uſed accordingly, their ſhips deſtroyed, their agents and factors impriſoned, tortured and murdered, till they were compelled to relinquiſh the treaſures of India into their hands. What is become of our trade to Japan, to the Moluccoes, Banda, Java, and the other iſlands of the eaſt? Of what advantage are our African, Ruſſian, and Greenland trades at this day? Nay, what is the herring fiſhery upon our own coaſts? Do not the Dutch reap the whole advantage of it? And do they not with ſpices they have monopolized, and the fiſh they take in our own ſeas, purchaſe the merchandize of every country on the face of the globe? The trade of the world is theirs; they have more mariners than all the nations in Europe put together, and conſequently can fit out greater fleets; of which their neighbours would ſoon be ſenſible, if their ambition were equal to their paſſion for gain.

By what treacherous and cruel methods they obtained the dominion of thoſe rich iſlands in India, where they have eſtabliſhed an empire equal in power, if not in wealth, to any on that ſide the world; and much ſuperior at ſea to all of them, hath been ſhewn already. Their encroachments on our Ruſſian and Greenland trades have been likewiſe taken notice of. What right they have to all theſe mighty acquiſitions at this day will beſt appear by examining how dominion and property may be juſtly acquired, and whether any length of time, or ſubſequent acts can render that poſſeſſion legal which was firſt obtained by an injurious force.

Whether property ariſe from compact.

In the early ages of the world, ſays PUFENDORFF, all things were common, and free for any one that would uſe them. And the firſt general agreement amongſt men in relation to this matter he ſuppoſes was, that what any perſon had ſeized out of the common ſtore of things, or out of the fruits of them with deſign to apply to his private occaſions, none ſhould rob, or deprive them of. Others held that no ſuch agreement was neceſſary, but that the immediate foundation of all particular right which any man has to a thing which was before common, is the firſt poſſeſſion. If it were a crime, ſays Mr. LOCKE, to take the leaſt thing which was given by heaven in common before we had the conſent of all others who had any right, we might periſh with hunger in the midſt of plenty: and ſeeing every one is the only maſter of his perſon and actions, the labour of his body and the work of his hands entirely and ſolely belong to him, as his own proper goods. A man who feeds on acorns he has gathered under an oak, or wild apples he has gathered in a wood, makes them his own by the pains he has taken for them: it is the ſame at this day, with the ſtag we have killed, the fiſh we have taken, or the pearls we have dived for; and ſo many acres as a man can till and ſow, and he has occaſion for, properly belong to him, in a country not already planted, and he hath a right to encloſe the ſame without any man's permiſſion; but it does not follow from hence that

Or occupancy.

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that we may appropriate to our ſelves as much land, or as many goods as we pleaſe; for the ſame law of nature which hath given every one a particular right to the things he hath gotten by his labour and induſtry ſeparate from the community, hath ſet certain bounds to our right; if we take what others have occaſion for when our own neceſſities are already ſupplied, we ſeize what does not belong to us; no private man is entitled to take more than he can enjoy, to the prejudice of others, whoſe real wants are not ſatisfied.

The deſcendants from Adam derive a title to their poſſeſſions from him.

Others apprehend that it is plain from divine revelation, that there never was a time when all things were common, but that ADAM was Sovereign of the world, and all things in it, by the donation of heaven: that his children could claim no property ſo long as they continued in the family of their father, unleſs he conveyed ſomewhat to them in the manner of a peculium, or ſeparate ſtock; and that they became proprietors afterwards, by poſſeſſing that ſhare which he aſſigned them when diſmiſſed from under his tuition. And all people who gave any credit to the hiſtory of the creation, contained in the books of MOSES, muſt acknowledge the dominion of ADAM over the world, and all things in it; and that he had a power of dividing it among his deſcendants as he ſaw fit; but it is highly probable, in the infancy of the world, when men were few, and there was ſo large a field to range in, that he had little occaſion to exerciſe his juriſdiction in this particular, but left his children to plant ſuch parts of it as they were moſt inclined to, reſerving only the liberty of determining the right, where there ſhould happen any competition among them: or in other words, of exerciſing that dominion which GOD had conferred upon him over his deſcendants, whenever there ſhould be occaſion to interpoſe his authority. And as it is univerſally agreed that government is neceſſary to the well-being of all ſocieties, it is very rational to ſuppoſe that a colony conſiſting of any conſiderable numbers was never ſent abroad to any diſtance, but a Governor or Governors were ſent with them, who had the direction of the ſociety, and the power of ſharing out the lands they ſhould enter upon, and determining all diſputes among them: and if ſo, there is no reaſon for the ſuppoſition of a time when all things were common, or of the people's coming to an agreement, that what every particular man ſeized ſhould be his own; and indeed ſuch principles as theſe can proceed only from an opinion that Men at firſt ſprung out of the earth like muſhrooms, without any relation or dependance on each other.

But although it does not appear that ADAM, or NOAH, took upon them to divide the world among their deſcendants; but probably left every family and tribe to fix their ſeats wherever they ſaw convenient; it ſeems however to be generally agreed, that whatever people firſt poſſeſſed themſelves of any lands, or territories, ſhould be deemed the proprietors of them: this was, and is manifeſtly the ſenſe of all mankind; and whoever endeavours to diſturb a people in the actual and peaceable poſſeſſion of any country where it is not evident that ſome others have a prior right to it, are univerſally looked upon as robbers, and unjuſt invaders of their neighbours properties.

A private man arising on a deſert ſhore, does not become the proprietor of the whole country.

But farther in relation to the occupancy of lands, ſays PUFENDORFF, we are carefully to obſerve and diſtinguiſh whether it be made by one perſon only, or by many in conjunction: one man is then adjudged to be the occupant of land when he tills and manures it, or when he encloſes it with ſettled boundaries and limits; but then he ought to graſp at no more than is ſufficient for the ſupport of one family, however enlarged and multiplied; for ſhould one man, for inſtance, with his wife be caſt upon a deſert iſland ſufficient to maintain multitudes of people; he could not without intolerable arrogance challenge the whole iſland to himſelf in right of occupancy, and endeavour to repulſe thoſe who ſhould land on a different part of the ſhore.

His Prince's property the proprietor.

But when a number of men, ſubjects of any Prince, or ſtate, take poſſeſſion of a void country in his name, and it is parcelled out amongſt the adventurers by the authority of the Prince, or ſtate, whoſe ſubjects they are, ſuch an occupancy confers on their Sovereign a dominion over that country, and all things contained within the tract of land thus poſſeſſed: nor is it neceſſary that all things which are firſt occupied in this general way ſhould be immediately divided amongſt particular and diſtinct proprietors; but if in a country thus poſſeſſed any thing ſhould be found which is not aſcertained to a private owner, it muſt not immediately be looked upon as void and waſte; ſo that any perſon may ſeize it as his peculiar; but it is lodged in the community, prince, or ſtate, to whom the adventurers are ſubject.

What amounts to a legal poſſeſſion.

We may then be ſaid to occupy a thing, according to PUFENDORFF, when we actually take poſſeſſion of it with an intention of keeping or uſing it; but the bare ſeeing a thing, or the knowing where it is, is not judged a ſufficient title of poſſeſſion. In treating on this ſubject our author takes occaſion to introduce that famous ſtory in PLUTARCH, where the people of Andros and Chalcis joining in an expedition to Thrace, to find out new ſeats where they might fix and inhabit; and being informed that the barbarians had deſerted the city of Acanthus, they

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they ſent two ſpies to diſcover the truth. Theſe ſpies as they drew near the place, judging it to be really forſaken, the Chalcidian ſpy ran with all his might to take poſſeſſion of it in the name of his people; but the Andrian finding himſelf not ſo ſwift of foot, threw his ſpear he had in his hand at the city gate, and fixing it there, cried out he had taken poſſeſſion of the city in behalf of his countrymen; and a diſpute ariſing hereupon, the matter was referred to the Eretrians, Samians, and Parians: the two former gave judgment for the Chalcidians, and the laſt for the Andrians, which was ſo reſented by the Andrians, that they engaged themſelves by an oath never to make any intermarriages with the Eretrians, or Samians for the future. But ſays a certain commentator on this paſſage, the town ought neither to have been adjudged to the Chalcidians, nor Andrians; but as the ſpies were deputed and ſent thither by both parties, the city ought to have been equally ſhared between them. And give me leave to add, that as the Acanthians were induced to leave the city only by the terror they were under of theſe Grecian free-booters, who much better deſerved the term of barbarians, than the people they denominated ſuch, the former inhabitants had the only legal right to the place, notwithſtanding they had been frightned out of poſſeſſion of it by an armed force. I muſt confeſs it ſeems to have been the general opinion of that polite people the Greeks, as it was afterwards of the Romans, that they had a right to diſpoſſeſs any nation of their ſeats which they ſtyled barbarous: And this notion alſo, ſo far prevailed afterwards amongſt Chriſtians, that we find the Pope and Chriſtian Princes parcelling out the dominions of the Indian Sovereigns; and exerciſing an authority over their ſubjects as if they were really their vaſſals; which proceeded no doubt from that pious perſuaſion, that 'dominion is founded in grace;' and that people out of the pale of their particular church or ſect had no right to poſſeſs the good things of this world, or the next; but heaven had decreed them to be ruined here, and damned hereafter. Nor was this only the opinion of the Roman Catholicks, but we find even Proteſtant Princes and States governed by the ſame principle: and commiſſioning their ſubjects to take poſſeſſion of any countries in Pagan hands. And as to the Dutch, they make no ſcruple of ſeizing any country, and diſpoſſeſſing the inhabitants, whether Chriſtian or Pagan, if they find it worth the while, and have power enough to effect it. Our own ſectaries and fanaticks alſo in the times of uſurpation, generally adjudged all the eſtates of the profane cavaliers to be devolved of right on them; declaring that the time was come when the ſaints alone were to reign upon earth. But leaving theſe jeſuitical and fanatical principles with that contempt and deteſtation they deſerve; I return to enquire farther into what the civilians ſay as to lands, or other things left, or relinquiſhed by their former owners: and, it ſeems, they hold that a man may by occupancy obtain a right to ſuch things as have been relinquiſhed voluntarily by a former owner, as well as if he had been the original poſſeſſor. If a perſon without compulſion leaves his lands, giving ſufficient indications that he deſigns to retain them no longer: or, if having firſt loſt the poſſeſſion againſt his will, afterwards gives them over either as deſpairing to recover them, or becauſe the recovery, may not countervail his trouble; in theſe caſes they ſeem free for any one. But a Prince, or State, may actually loſe the poſſeſſion of their territories, and ſtill have a right of regaining them; for if it does not appear that the former owner left the poſſeſſion of them voluntarily, and had no intention of returning and enjoying them again, the ſecond occupant can have no title to them, but is deemed an intruder, or uſurper.

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Occupancy of lands relinquiſhed by their former proprietors.

There are ſtill ſeveral other ways of acquiring dominion over men and countries which are ſaid to be juſt; as that of conqueſt, where the war was begun upon good grounds. But how far this may be juſt, after the injured party hath had ſatisfaction offered him, or gained an equivalent for the affront or loſs he hath ſuſtained, may deſerve conſideration. It is the opinion of PUFENDORFF, that where a Prince hath forcibly dethroned another, and placed himſelf in his throne, his obligation to make reſtitution does not expire till the expelled Prince and his heirs, who had the right of ſucceeding, are all deceaſed; or till ſuch an unfortunate Prince hath quite abdicated, or relinquiſhed his claim to the kingdom. And this he is preſumed to have done in his opinion, if in a long courſe of time he hath made no effort towards recovering his crown.

Conqueſt where it creates a title.

It is another very difficult queſtion, as my author obſerves, in what manner a ſubject ought to behave himſelf towards an invader and uſurper, ſo long as the unjuſt cauſe of his poſſeſſing the throne continues, and he is ſupported only by force, there having been no ſubſequent ceſſion, or grant, from the rightful Sovereign to ſtrengthen his title? To which it is anſwered, that there can be no obligation to obedience, unleſs the perſon demanding it hath a lawful authority over me. Mere violence may indeed lay on a man ſome extrinſical neceſſity of doing this, or that; but it cannot impoſe an obligation, which is an intrinſical engagement ſo binding to the mind, as to make the neglect or omiſſion of it ſinful. And therefore where a perſon is threathed with violence from a ſtronger hand, he may be compelled to do thoſe things to which he hath no obligation, and which he hates and abhors; but if he afterwards

How a ſubject ought to behave towards an uſurper.

The notion of the Greeks and Romans that the barbarians muſt be diſpoſſeſſed of their ſeats.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame opinion.

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afterwards finds an opportunity, no man will cenſure him for breaking his way through theſe unjuſt impoſitions. But what ſeems hardeſt to reſolve is, when a perſon has driven out the lawful Prince, and ſeizing the government, ſet himſelf up for King, and compelled the ſubjects to ſwear allegiance to him; how ſhall they behave themſelves under two contrary obligations, one to the lawful Prince expelled, and the other to the preſent poſſeſſor? How can a man owe fealty to two at the ſame time, who are bent upon each other's deſtruction? for the oath taken by the ſubjects to the uſurper can never extinguiſh the rights and pretentions of the lawful Sovereign. In which caſe the opinion of GROTIUS is, that whilſt an uſurper is in poſſeſſion, the acts of ſovereignty which he exerciſeth, have a power of obliging, not by virtue of his right, (for right he hath none) but becauſe it is in the higheſt degree probable that he who hath the juſt right to the throne had rather, as things now ſtand, that the commands of him who is thus in poſſeſſion ſhould hold good, than that by the ceaſing of all laws and juſtice the commonwealth ſhould be thrown into utter confuſion. And if, ſays PUFENDORFF, the lawful Prince be reduced to ſuch ſtraights, that he is not able to afford his ſubjects due protection, nor they on the other hand able to reſiſt the uſurper without imminent ruin; it muſt be taken for granted that he hath for a while releaſed his ſubjects from their obligation towards him, till ſuch time as providence ſhall open a way to his reſtoration. And thus the fealty promiſed the uſurper ſeems ſo far only to be binding, as that it ſhall be a kind of temporary engagement, to expire as ſoon as the expelled Prince ſhall recover his dominions.

But notwithſtanding it is truly obſerved, that the oath of a ſubject to an uſurper cannot alter, or affect the right of his lawful Prince; and that ſuch an oath may, and ought to be diſpenſed with whenever the Sovereign is in a condition to recover his dominion: yet ſurely, the perſon who ſwears allegiance to one when he knows he owes it to another, cannot be altogether innocent. If it be true indeed, that when a Prince has loſt his poſſeſſion he hath loſt his right, and that a poſſeſſion and right are the ſame thing; then, indeed, every uſurper by the very act of uſurpation, becomes a lawful Prince, and conſequently the ſubject is bound in conſcience to obey, and ſwear fealty to him; but for thoſe who apprehend a Prince may be driven from his throne, and yet retain a right to his dominions and the ſubjects allegiance; how theſe can acquit themſelves of premeditated perjury, when they call heaven to atteſt their belief that the excluded Prince hath no right to their obedience; and that the wrongful poſſeſſor is their only rightful and lawful ſovereign, may require ſome ſubtilty to diſcover.

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Now according to the notions the great men above cited, have of right and wrong: what title have the Spaniards, the Portugueſe, or the Hollanders, to great part of the dominions, or plantations they have poſſeſſed themſelves of the laſt two centuries? As to the Spaniards, and other weſtern planters, I ſhall obſerve how they made themſelves maſters of the countries under their power when I come to treat of America, and here only review the methods the Portugueſe, Dutch, and the Engliſh, took to eſtabliſh themſelves in the eaſt. As to the Engliſh, I believe I may ſay that what they poſſeſs in India and the eaſtern ſeas they acquired by compact, not by force; nor do the natives at this day deſire their removal, finding themſelves treated with all imaginable juſtice and humanity where they live under their juriſdiction. It is evident, multitudes of them chooſe rather to live under the government of the Engliſh, than under the Princes of the country, ſo mild is the adminiſtration in all the Engliſh ſettlements: whereas the Protugueſe and Dutch treat the inhabitants as their ſlaves and vaſſals, properly ruling over them with a rod of iron.

If the diſcovering a paſſage and tracing out the way to a foreign country can entitle a people to monopolize the trade of it, the Portugueſe had certainly the juſteſt pretenſions of any nation to engroſs the trade of the eaſt, for their adventurers were employed from the year 1410 to the year 1497 with infinite labour and hazard, in ſearching the weſtern coaſts of Africk, in order to make their way into the Indian ſeas. And they had not only the advantage of being the firſt diſcoverers, but had the authority of the Pope's grant, at that time looked upon with no ſmall regard by Chriſtian Princes, to ſupport their claim; the holy Father thereby conſtituting the King of Portugal and his ſucceſſors Lords of all thoſe countries which ſhould be diſcovered between Cape Bajadore, on the weſtern ſide of Africk, and the Eaſt Indies; and giving them an unlimited power and authority over the natives; with a proviſo notwithſtanding, that this grant ſhould not be underſtood to affect the right of any Chriſtian Prince, who might be in the poſſeſſion of any country within thoſe limits. The King of Spain alſo procured the like grant from the Pope of the continent and iſlands of America on the diſcovery of them; and the Sovereigns of Spain and Portugal by a ſolemn treaty, afterwards came to an agreement, that the weſtern diſcoveries ſhould belong to Spain, and the eaſt to Portugal. It was not then thought neceſſary to conſult any of the reſt of the Princes of Europe in the matter. Accordingly the Portugueſe enjoyed the ſole trade to India,

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India, uninterrupted by any other European nation, for about an hundred years, ſtyling themſelves Lords of the eaſtern ſeas, and exerciſing ſovereign authority over many of the Indian Princes and their ſubjects.

At their firſt arrival in India indeed, they only pretended to eſtabliſh a trade with the natives. But being admitted to build factories, and erect forts, under pretence of ſecuring their merchandiſe, and the country being at that time divided amongſt a multitude of petty Princes, they ſoon found themſelves in a condition to give laws to the nations who had afforded them ſo hoſpitable a reception, and aſſumed the government of the people they had ſo treacherouſly invaded. The Engliſh and Dutch therefore beginning to frequent thoſe ſeas about the year 1600, the natives deſired their aſſiſtance to drive the hated Portugueſe from their coaſts, which the Engliſh were not averſe to: but when any advantage was gained over their common enemies the Portugueſe, the Engliſh only reſtored their natives to their former liberties, and left them to be governed by their own laws: while the Dutch, in every place where they expelled the Portugueſe, planted themſelves in their room, and laid a yoke upon the natives ten times heavier than that of their former maſters. Nay, they did not always wait for the natives calling them in to their aſſiſtance, but without any provocation or pretence, invaded the Indian Princes, deſtroyed their countries, and maſſacred their ſubjects without mercy; and if at any time the Engliſh interpoſed in their behalf, they fell upon them too, tho' at that time their good allies; and at length drove them out of all their valuable trade of the Moluccas, the iſlands of Banda and Ceylon, where the ſpices only grow; enſlaving many Indian nations, and tranſplanting both Princes and ſubjects to Batavia, where the Dutch are more arbitrary than the Great Turk, or any Monarch upon earth. The Engliſh, at this day, are only poſſeſſed of ſome factories and ſettlements upon the continent of India, or the iſland of Sumatra, by the conſent of the reſpective Sovereigns, and have never endeavoured to encroach on the territories of the neighbouring Princes, or tyrannize over the natives, who live within their limits.

But notwithſtanding the unjuſt and barbarous methods, by which the Dutch laid the foundations of their eaſtern empire, a long uninterrupted poſſeſſion of many years, it is ſaid, ſupplies all defects of title, and they are now to be deemed lawful and rightful Sovereigns of that part of the world. For poſſeſſion, where none can ſhew a better title, has often been admitted a good claim; and the Dutch have taken care to proſcribe and maſſacre every family, whoſe pretenſions might give them any diſturbance; ſo that there tranſcendent guilt has, in the opinion of many, given them an indiſputable title to thoſe countries, which they at firſt gained the dominion of by the moſt unjuſtifiable and deteſted means. However, while there is any memory of the cruelties exerciſed by the Hollanders on their firſt invaſion of theſe people, and they continue to govern them in a deſpotick manner, it is not to be wondered if they are ready to change their maſters, and join any foreign adventurers who come upon their coaſt; nor can it be looked upon as rebellion or high treaſon in the natives, though the Dutch denominate it ſuch, and puniſh every conſpiracy with the moſt unheard of tortures. For ſurely when a people have thus loſt their legal Governors, this can never give the invader a right to their allegiance, but they are at liberty to conſtitute what form of government they pleaſe, or put themſelves under the protection of any other Prince or State.

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The Engliſh the true proprietors of Greenland and the whale fiſhery there.

The right of the Hollander to the Greenland whale fiſhery, and that of the herring fiſhery on the coaſts of Britain, ſeems equal to that of their other foreign acquiſitions. The Dutch cannot but acknowledge that the Engliſh firſt began to fiſh for morſe and whales in Greenland, even before thoſe ſeas had been frequented by any other nation. That the Engliſh formally took poſſeſſion of the country, by erecting a croſs upon it, with the royal arms of England affixed to it, in the reign of King JAMES I. and that King thereupon claimed Greenland as part of the dominions of Britain, prohibiting all other nations to fiſh upon thoſe ſhores. What the Dutch ſay in anſwer to this is, that their countryman WILLIAM BARENTS diſcovered Greenland before us, and conſequently their title to it is prior to ours. Now it muſt be admitted that the Dutch pilot, WILLIAM BARENTS, about the year 1598, did ſail as far as Greenland, in expectation of diſcovering a paſſage to India that way, and went on ſhore there, but left it again, without pretending to take poſſeſſion of it for his maſters, the States, and indeed without thoughts of ever returning thither again. He never imagined that it could be worth their while to take poſſeſſion of a country ſo far to the north, which yielded nothing of value, and which could not in all appearance, have ſubſiſted a colony. But twelve or fifteen years afterwards, when the Engliſh had obſerved that there were more whales to be met with in thoſe ſeas than in any other, and had taken poſſeſſion of the country, and eſtabliſhed a whale fiſhery there, then indeed did the Dutch pretend to a right to fiſh for whales on that coaſt as the firſt diſcoverers, and ſet up booths and other conveniencies there for making oil of the whale blubber, which the Engliſh conſtantly oppoſed, till our miniſtry were bribed to wink at the encroachments of the Dutch. And in anſwer to

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this claim of the Hollanders, the Engliſh reply, that if the bare ſeeing or ſetting one's foot on ſhore in any country, without intimating a deſign to take poſſeſſion of it were ſufficient to give any people a right to ſuch country, then Sir HUGH WILLOUGHBY, Admiral of the Engliſh, who is preſumed to have been on the coaſt of Greenland forty years before the Dutch pilot abovementioned, (from journals found on board his ſhip) obtained a title to it for his Prince and country long before the Hollanders had ſeen it. But this ſeems unneceſſary to inſiſt upon, becauſe our civilians univerſally hold, that unleſs a man gives ſome intimation of his deſign to poſſeſs a place, or appropriate it to his own uſe, it is free for the next comer upon his leaving it. And the firſt perſon who takes poſſeſſion of it with an intent to uſe it, and does actually continue to uſe it, is the rightful proprietor of what he ſo poſſeſſes; and therefore the Engliſh being allowed by all nations firſt to have taken a formal poſſeſſion of Greenland, and firſt to have eſtabliſhed the whale fiſhery there, are conſequently the only true proprietors of that country. And here I cannot but take notice of the exceeding humility, or rather ignorance of ſome of my countrymen, and eſpecially of thoſe who admire every thing that is Dutch; according to theſe one would think that the Hollanders were the firſt diſcoverers of every thing that is valuable, and the inventors of every art and ſcience. The Engliſh, they tell us, are firſt in nothing; but they will allow them ſometimes to be pretty good imitators of their high and mighty maſters: whereas in truth there is ſcarce that ſingle ſettlement, plantation, trade, or manufacture in the world, which was firſt diſcovered, planted, or undertaken by the Dutch. On the contrary, the diſcoveries, ſettlements, and trade to the ſouth-eaſt and ſouth-weſt, are without controverſy to be aſcribed to the Portugueſe and the Spaniards, and thoſe on the north-eaſt and north-weſt to the Engliſh: in the laſt of which I may ſay, the bravery and diligence of our countrymen are inimitable: peruſe but the voyages of the captains, CHANCELLOR, BOROUGHS, FORBISHER, PETT, JACKMAN, HUDSON, DAVIS, BAFFIN, JAMES, POOL, BENNET, EDGE, WOOD, &c. and we cannot have a mean opinion of our own nation. On the contrary, what have the Dutch done, but treacherouſly ſupplanted thoſe who were the firſt adventurers; and by the baſeſt calumnies, by fraud or force, without any colour of juſtice, planted themſelves in their room? Their uncommon diligence alſo uſed in theſe exploits frequently becomes the ſubject of admiration: but why is not the induſtry of ſharpers, of highwaymen and pirates equally admired? Theſe men too watch day and night to defraud and diſpoſſeſs honeſt men of their rights; and ſleep not, as the ſacred writings obſerve, unleſs they have done ſome notable miſchief.

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In the ſame pacific reign of JAMES I. when the Dutch were ſuffered to ruin our whale fiſhery, they were encouraged by our indolence to inſult the very coaſts of Britain, and took the ſhips of ſome nations in amity with us in our very roads, in contempt of King JAMES's declarations, which they knew he would never ſecond with his arms: for the ſame reaſon alſo they claimed a right of fiſhing on our coaſts for herrings, without making any acknowledgment for the privilege: this, his ſucceſſor King CHARLES I. reſented, and compelled them to pay a tribute of thirty thouſand pounds per annum: whereupon they encouraged their friends in England to diſpute his right to that inconſiderable tax of ſhip money; by which he maintained that victorious fleet which reduced them to reaſon. And how far they contributed to the confuſions that followed I ſhall not take upon me to determine; but thus much is evident, that if the nation had not been engaged immediately afterwards in a long civil war, the Hollanders had never been ſuffered to eſtabliſh themſelves in the Britiſh ſettlements in India; or to enjoy the whale or herring fiſheries, without making a ſuitable acknowledgment: nor did we want men in the reign of King JAMES I. who carefully watched and obſerved the ſteps the Dutch were taking to monopolize the trade of the world, and ſupplant the Engliſh who had raiſed their State; but our civil broils followed ſo ſoon after, and were of that long continuance, that their repreſentations were not ſufficiently attended to: we contented our ſelves with banging them heartily now and then at ſea, and then our reſentment ſeemed to drop; or rather the Dutch found means to apply themſelves ſo effectually to thoſe at the helm, that they were ſuffered to go off with all their ill gotten acquiſitions; though the people had vowed never to be friends with them without reſtitution was made.

Sir WILLIAM MONSON's obſervations on the practices of the Dutch.

Amongſt others who obſerved the practices of the Dutch ſo early as the reign of King JAMES the firſt, and foretold their future grandeur, was Sir WILLIAM MONSON: our eyes and ſenſes make it clearly appear, ſays that gentleman, that the cunning practices of the Dutch tend to the impoveriſhing this glorious kingdom; I ſhall therefore unmask their craft, and diſcover the ſubtilty of their Engliſh friends to intrap us under the falſe colours and pretence of 'ſecurity to the ſtate:' they lay it down as a maxim, 'that the ſecurity 'of England depends on the fortunes of Holland.' A foul imputation, ſays that worthy Knight, do they caſt upon us; when we remember the noble and victorious actions of our fore-fathers, who made other nations tremble, but feared none themſelves.

CHAP. VII.

selves. But this maxim has been devised to serve the purposes of private men. Then he proceeds to discover some of the insolent and indirect practices of the Hollanders: after, says he, they had, in the reign of Queen ELIZABETH, engaged us in a war with Spain, and in pursuance thereof all traffick was forbidden with that kingdom: the Dutch, notwithstanding, continued to trade with Spain as in time of peace; and supplied our enemies with ammunition, shipping, seamen, and intelligence against us; and by this means engrossed all the trade of that kingdom to themselves. Their drift was to keep us at variance, and prolong the war, that they might enjoy the sole benefit of this commerce. This was the beginning of their rising and of our ruin; and who can help observing here, how extremely this resembled their conduct in the late war with France; does it not seem to confirm what is generally said, that the Dutch have gained more than ever they lost by their wars. And what security did we gain, says that gentleman, when, with an expence of more men and money than we have conquered kingdoms heretofore; we maintained their principality, making mechanick persons equal with princes, raised a rabble commonwealth against their Monarch, and trained up their people in the discipline of war? From a mean timorous generation we inspired them with valour, taught them the knowledge of arms, and put them in their hands: in return whereof do they not requite us with some ill turn wherever we meet them? How came we to part with Flushing and the Brill, the cautionary towns that were heretofore a bridle to their insolence? by them we could either curb or give them the rein: till the time we parted with them they durst not publickly have affronted us. By this false position, 'That England's safety must depend on 'Holland's prosperity,' were we driven into a war, and ruined our commerce: but the greatest mischief of all others was the tolerating their fishing on our coasts, by reason whereof we have resigned our weapons, which are the ships encreased by it, into their hands: had our watchmen, in their wisdoms, foreseen this and prevented it, by enjoying the fishery themselves; then had England kept the same strength at sea which Holland hath since attained to: then would not England only have been superior to them, but to all the world besides, in the strength of her shipping and the wealth of her subjects; and consequently, become the admiration and terror of our neighbours: but now are we brought to reproach and scorn by that mean nation of Holland in remote countries, even as far as the East-Indies, where they cast upon us the imputation of a petty nation, a beggarly people; styling themselves Sovereigns and Kings of this part of the world.

CHAP. VII.

The advantages of the herring fishery.

The same writer gives us the following account of the advantage the herring fishery was to the Dutch in his time, he says they vended annually at four towns within the Sound, viz. at Coningsburg, Stetin, Dantzick, and ——, between thirty and forty thousand lasts of herrings, amounting to above six hundred and twenty thousand pounds. In Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Livonia, ten thousand lasts of herrings, worth an hundred and sixty thousand pounds. In Russia fifteen hundred lasts, amounting to twenty-seven thousand pounds. At Stade, Hamburgh, Bremen, and Embden, six thousand lasts, amounting to an hundred thousand pounds. In Germany two and twenty thousand lasts of herrings, amounting to four hundred and forty thousand pounds. In the Spanish Neitherlands, eight or nine thousand lasts, amounting to an hundred and sixty thousand pounds. At Roan, five hundred lasts, worth ten thousand pounds. So that here he has reckoned up above a million and half Sterling made of herrings by the Dutch an hundred years ago; besides a vast quantity spent in their own country, to the amount of several hundred thousand pounds more: and no doubt it is now encreased to many millions: and with these and the other fish they take, and the spices of the east, they purchase the merchandize of the several countries of Europe; whatever any country yields they take in lieu of them, having seldom occasion to export any other treasure. In Holland there is a staple of all commodities, their ships continually going out and coming in, to and from every country on the face of the globe, bring them in an inestimable profit.

He proceeds to acquaint us, that on the two and twentieth or three and twentieth of June, annually, there resorts to the islands of Shetland, on the north of Scotland, (which were transferred to King JAMES III. on his marrying a daughter of Denmark) two thousand Dutch fishing vessels, and that on the twenty-fourth of the same month they put to sea, being prohibited under a severe pain to take any herrings sooner, because they are not in their full prime till then. Every one of these vessels on that day directs his course to find out the shoals of herrings; and having laden their busses they return home to Holland, leaving them on shore, to be sent immediately into the Sound, and other countries where they are vended: and being furnished again with victuals, cask, and salt, they return to sea, in quest of the shoal they left, and load again, returning to Holland as before; and this they repeat a third time each season, every vessel being computed to take an hundred lasts of herrings at

CHAP. VII.

leaſt, which being then valued at ten pounds the laſt, or eighteen ſhillings the barrel, amounts to a thouſand pounds Sterling for each buſs. And ſometimes this fleet is attended by other veſſels, called yawgers, which carry ſalt, cask, and victuals, to truck with the buſſes for their herrings, and carry them directly to the Baltick, without returning to Holland; for thoſe which come firſt to market bear the greateſt Price: but the States, it is ſaid, ſometimes make an order that no herrings ſhall be carried to a foreign market till they are firſt landed in Holland.

Here he ſets down the price of a buſs new from the ſtocks, which he computes will laſt about twenty years, with the value of her nets, tackling, ſalt, victuals, cask, ſeamen's wages, and all other charges belonging to her, with the profit gained by her four months fiſhing annually.

	l.
And 1ſt, he computes that a buſs, with her furniture and tackling will coſt ——	500
2. One hundred laſts of cask, which ſhe will want, at eighteen ſhillings the laſt, ——	90
3. Thirty weigh of ſalt, at 3 l. 10 s. the weigh, —— —— —— ——	105
4. Beer for the crew for four months, at a gallon a day, —— —— ——	16
5. Bread, after the ſame porportion, ——	12
6. Butter, cheeſe, billets, —— —	20
7. Wages for four months, —— —— —	88
Total	831

He computes alſo that every buſs will take an hundred laſts of herrings in a ſeaſon, which at a very moderate eſtimate will amount to a thouſand pound; ſo that there is gained by a buſs the very firſt year, clear of all charges, about an hundred and ſixty nine pounds; and every ſucceeding year five hundred pounds at leaſt, making allowances for wear and tare.

The herring fiſhery might be made more advantageous to the Engliſh than the Dutch.

He obſerves farther, that the Engliſh can build and rig out and victual a buſs cheaper than the Hollanders; becauſe their country affords ſcarce any of the materials. They fetch from foreign countries, their timber, planks, iron, hemp, cordage, pipe-ſtaves, bread, and malt; whereas England does or may be made to produce moſt of theſe. The hazards alſo and the difficulties of the Dutch, in this fiſhing voyage, muſt be much greater than ours, becauſe they are at a great diſtance from their ports; whereas we have harbours all along the coaſts where the ſhoals of herrings lye, and can ſend them ſooner to market into the Baltick, where moſt of them are vended, than the Dutch poſſibly can. A farther advantage, he takes notice, would be the enlarging and improving many of our manufactures, and employing conſtantly abundance of hands, and thereby clearing the country of vagrants and idle people: ſix trades particularly would be concerned in this undertaking, which are at preſent but little uſed, viz. hempſters, ſpinſters, carders, rope-makers, weavers of ſail-cloth, and net-makers; and beſides theſe, there would be fuller employment for coopers, ſmiths, ſhipwrights, caulkers, ſawyers, ſeamen, fiſhermen, basket-makers, and many other trades. Theſe fiſh alſo would be to us, as they are to the Dutch, inſtead of treaſure, we might purchaſe with them the merchandize of every other country. And what is of as great conſequence to us as any other conſideration, we ſhould never want twenty or thirty thouſand ſeamen upon our own coaſts, ready to ſerve their country; whereas the mariners employed in other voyages, are moſt part of the year at a great diſtance from home, and cannot be ſerviceable to us on any ſudden emergency. He propoſes alſo, that when the herring buſſes are not employed in fiſhing for herrings, they may fiſh for cod on the north of Scotland and Ireland, which is an advantage the Dutch cannot ſo conveniently take.

Theſe are ſome of the many great advantages which has been long obſerved might accrue to Britain, by eſtabliſhing a fiſhery on our coaſt; though we ſhould not prohibit the Dutch to fiſh in our ſeas: but ſurely it cannot be unreaſonable to demand ſome ſmall tribute, or acknowledgment, from that people, for theſe mighty advantages they gain by this privilege. It is true, the ſeas are free for all nations to paſs and repaſs about their affairs, as deſerts, foreſts, and other waſte grounds are, where the neighbouring inhabitants can ſuffer no damage, or run any hazard by permitting it. But ſurely the pearls, the oyſters, the lobſters, and other fiſh taken in our waters, may be appropriated, and foreign nations prohibited to meddle with them, as well as they may be from hunting and hawking in a deſert bordering upon us: and in fact, we ſee all nations do inſiſt upon their right to theſe things. Where is there a pearl fiſhery open to all foreigners? Or who will permit their oyſters to be carried off by ſtrangers, if they can oppoſe it? For notwithſtanding it is ſaid ſuch things cannot be appropriated, that the fiſh in the ſea are free for every body, do we not enter into treaties concerning them? And have not the French, and other nations, yielded to us the fiſhery of Newfoundland? And will any one preſume to ſay that the fiſhery of Newfoundland, which lyes ſo many hundred leagues diſtance from us, may be appropriated; but that the herring fiſhery, which lyes within two or three leagues of our coaſt, cannot? Beſides, when the Dutch ſo lately as the reign of CHARLES I. agreed to pay thirty thouſand pounds

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15 20

P. OF SWEDEN

Calmar

Oeland

Carelshaven

Udsted

Bornholm I.

55

I. Rugen

Stettin

Landsperg

Frankford on the Oder

Crossen

Glogaw

Breslaw

Oppelen

Olmutz

Leopolstat

Danube R.

Vienne

Presburg

The BALTIC SEA

PARTS of GERMANY

POMERANIA

PRUSSIA Royal

Dantzick

Marienburg

Hamerstein

Elbing

Thorn

Culm

Graudentz

Sabin

Nakel

Waldowiz

Rogoso

Inowlecz

Kruschwick

Great Poland

Gnesna

Posna

Lissa

Fraustat

Ostrorog

Ruydra

Uniejowa

Kalish

Bresni

Sirad

Pilcza

Radom

Zarnow

Schidlowiez

Ilza

Malogoza

Soliez

Holy Cross

Lit. Poland

Lancicia

Rava

Warsaw

Lublin

Cazimiers

Urzendow

Chelm

Belz

Zamosc

Zaslaw

Ostrog

Lemberg

Zamosc

Sendomir

Polaniec

Cracow

Ilkus

Slaucovia

Plesz

Zator

Oswiecim

Biala

Bielitz

Sandecz

Dunaiec

Mount Carpat

Cashaw

Unguar

Munkatz

Tisa R.

Zatmar

Burgles

Brizana

Halicz

Tyra R.

Lulow

Pulawsk

Zakrozim

Plozesko

Ciechanow

Narew R.

Nowogrod

Wischgrod

Bug R.

Drogiczyn

Mielnick

Liwiec

Memel

Memel R.

Winsburg

Sarkau

Zernowitz

Angermund

Windaw

Goldingen

Durben

Libau

Schwnda

Pilten

Bullen

Pilsyn

Mitau

Lemsal

Salitt

Lygum

Midwick

SAMAGOTIA

Rosiem

Ponitow

Kurisch Haff

Labiau

Pillau

Konnigsberg

Nimersdorf

Bauwerski

Bruns b.

Frawenberg

Heilsberg

Gerdawen

Lick

Ortelsburg

Lyck

Augustowo

Grodno

Pissa R.

Narew R.

Bug R.

Liwiec

Mielnick

Brzesk

Ostrog

Lemberg

Zamosc

Belz

Chelm

Grodeck

Jaroslaw

Nimirow

Rosto

Strzow

Premisl

Samocz

Tyra R.

Halicz

Brizana

Burgles

Zatmar

Tisa R.

Danube R.

Cashaw

Leopolstat

Waag R.

Presburg

Vienne

P. of HUNGARY

P. of TR. SILVA

Poland extends in length from the Frontiers of Silesia on ye West, to ye Frontiers of Tartary on ye S.E. about 740 miles & from ye Frontiers of Livonia to ye Boundaries of Hungary 645 miles in Breadth; the Superficial Contents of ye whole is near 288.000 Square miles which is 90.905 miles larger than France. The Metropolitan City Warsaw is situated in Long. 20. 55 m. Lat. 52. 15. 830 m. E. from Londo

15 20

30 Deg. East from London

POLAND.

Subdivided into its several Palatinates &c. Agreeable to Modern History

By H. Moll Geographer.

English Miles. 120 60

Weasma 110 miles west from Moscow

or the Country of ye Old COSSACKS

Black Forest

of Paris, & 460 S.W. of Petersburg, in Jazy

55 50 30 35

CHAP. VII.

prunds per ann. by way of tribute for this privilege, and actually paid it, though they took advantage of our civil broils to discontinue it; shall these people pretend they have as good a right to fish in our seas as the natives of Britain? We may and have winked at it a great while indeed, under a notion that the Dutch were necessary to us, and that we cannot subsist without their friendship: but do they not stand much more in need of ours? What a figure had they made, if they had not been supported by us against Spain in their infancy, and against France in the late wars? And can we suppose they would ruin their own state, in order to distress us? What then should hinder us from encouraging our own people in the fishery, and expecting an equal share of trade in all other parts of the world? I would by no means be thought to endeavour to create any misunderstanding between the two nations; I am convinced their interests ought to be inseparable from ours; but surely it does not follow that we are to resign all the advantages of our situation, and give up the valuable branches of commerce, for fear of disobliging any nation upon earth. Let our trade flourish, and riches will not fail to flow in upon us of course, on which power ever attends. And the better condition our friends find us in, they will be the more enclined to caress us, and do us justice. We must never expect to gain the esteem or friendship of our neighbours, by tamely yielding up our undoubted rights.

CHAP. VII.

THE PRESENT STATE OF POLAND.

CHAP. I.

Describes the situation, extent, and boundaries of this kingdom; and treats of the air, seas, lakes, rivers, and mountains.

CHAP. I.

The name.

POLAND is said to have obtained its modern name from the Sclavonian word pole, which signifies any thing that is plain and even, as the face of this country generally is. Others derive it from polachi, by which is understood the posterity of LECHUS, who is held to be the founder of their monarchy. In the time of the Romans it was known by the name of Sarmatia Europæa, and afterwards by that of Sclavonia, from the Sclavi, who either expelled or mingled themselves with the Sarmatæ.

Extent and boundaries.

If we take modern Poland in its utmost extent, it is bounded by the Baltick, Livonia, and Russia towards the north; by Russia and the Lesser Tartary towards the east; by Bessarabia, Moldavia, Transilvania, and Hungary towards the south; and by Pomerania, Brandenburg, Silesia, and Moravia towards the west. And extends from 46 degrees 30 minutes to 56 degrees 30 minutes north latitude. Though I must confess, geographers differ a degree at least, both in the northern and southern boundaries of it. However, it is generally held, that it extends ten degrees, or six hundred miles, from north to south, and is in length near seven hundred miles from east to west; the most westerly part of Poland lying sixteen degrees of longitude to the eastward of London.

CHAP. I.

The air.

The air of this country is in general temperate and healthful, but excessive cold towards the north; and, as it lyes almost in the middle of a large continent, at a distance from the sea in most parts, the weather is more serene and settled,

CHAP. I.

tled, both in winter and ſummer, than in thoſe countries which border on the ocean. The only ſea which waſhes any part of Poland is the Baltick, which lyes to the northward of it; but it is well watered, however, by lakes and rivers. Their lakes lye chiefly in the Greater Poland, Cujavia, and the territory of Lublin. And both lakes and rivers abound with fiſh. Their principal rivers are, 1. The Weiſel, or Viſtula, which riſes in the Crapach, or Carpathian mountains, which divide Hungary from Poland. Its courſe is partly to the eaſtward; but generally it runs from ſouth to north, watering many great cities, particularly Cracow, Sendomir, Lublin, Warſaw, Thorn, Marienburgh, and Dantzick; after which it diſcharges itſelf into the Baltick ſea. 2. The Warta, or Varta, which riſes in the Leſſer Poland, and running towards the north weſt paſſes by Kaliſch, Poſnan, and ſeveral other great towns, after which it falls into the Oder. 3. The Nieper, or Boriſthenes, which riſes in the province of Moſco, and runs for the moſt part to the ſouthward, dividing the dominions of Muſcovy from thoſe of Poland, in ſeveral places, and falls at length into the Black ſea, near Oczakow: but this I have already mentioned in treating of Muſcovy. 4. The Nieſter, or Tyra, which riſes in Red Ruſſia, and running to the ſouth-eaſt through High Podolia, or the Palatinate of Caminec, paſſes on to Bender in Turkey, and falls into the Black ſea about ſixty miles to the northward of the mouth of the Danube. 5. The Dwina, which divides Livonia from Courland; but this I have enumerated among the Muſcovite rivers, as it hath its riſe in that country, and runs for the moſt part through it, and falls into the Baltick near Riga. 6. The Bog, Bohurſt, which riſes from a lake in Podolia, and bending its courſe to the ſouth-eaſt, unites its waters with the Nieper, a little before that river falls into the Black ſea. Near the mouth of theſe two united rivers ſtands the fortreſs of Kaſikermen, which the late Czar of Muſcovy took from the Turks, and by that means opened a communication with the Black ſea; but was obliged to reſtore this place, as well as Aſoph, to the Grand Seignior, upon the defeat he met with on the banks of the Pruth. 7. The Bug, which riſes in Red Ruſſia, and taking its courſe to the north-weſt, falls into the Weſel, or Viſtula, below Warſaw. 8. Niemen, or Ruſſe, riſes in the palatinate of Novogrodeck, and taking its courſe to the north-weſt, paſſes by Grodno, and at length falls into the Baltick.

Seas, lakes, and rivers.

Viſtula.

Varta.

Nieper.

Nieſter.

Dwina.

Bog.

Bug.

Niemen.

Mountains.

There are no conſiderable mountains in this country, as hath been obſerved already, except thoſe which divide it from Hungary, being a ridge of craggy hills about three hundred miles in length, called the Carpathian, or Crapach, mountains, from whence ſeveral conſiderable rivers ariſe, which fall into the Euxine and Baltick ſeas.

CHAP. II.

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Treats of the provinces and chief towns in Poland.

Grand ſtanding of Poland.

POLAND is uſually divided into eight great portions by our geographers, viz. 1. Proper Poland. 2. The great dukedom of Lithuania. 3. Pruſſia. 4. Samogitia and Courland. 5. Warſovia or Maſſovia, Polachia, and Poleſia. 6. Red, or Little Ruſſia. 7. Podolia. And, 8. Volhinia and the Ukrain.

Provinces of Great Poland.

Poland Proper is divided into the Greater and Leſſer Poland; and firſt of the Greater Poland, in which I comprehend Cujavia, is bounded by Pomerania and Pruſſia towards the north; by Warſovia, or Maſſovia, towards the eaſt; by the Upper, or Leſſer, Poland, towards the ſouth; and by Sileſia, and the marquiſate of Brandenburgh, towards the weſt. In which is contained ſeven palatinates, or governments, viz. The palatinate of Poſnania. 2. Kaliſh. 3. Siradia. 4. Rava. 5. Lanſchet. 6. Breſty. And, 7. Inowlocz.

Palatinate of Poſnania.

Poſnan city.

In the palatinate of Poſnania, the moſt weſtern part of Poland, the chief towns are, 1. Poſnan, or Poſen, a Biſhop's ſee, ſituate on the river Varta, about two hundred Engliſh miles north of Cracow, and an hundred and fifty weſt of Warſaw. It ſtands in a plain, ſurrounded by little hills, and is defended by a double wall and ditch. The town is ſmall, but beautiful, being built for the moſt part of free ſtone. The principal publick buildings are the caſtle, which ſtands upon an eminence between the rivers Varta and Proſna, the cathedral church, and Biſhop's palace, which ſtand in the ſuburbs, and two colleges, one of which belongs to the jeſuits. The city is governed by a Starotta, choſen annually out of the ſchipins, or aldermen; who during his office enjoys the title of General of Great Poland. 2. Gneſna, or Gnieſen, ſituate in the marſhes, between twenty and thirty miles to the eaſtward of Poſnan; an Archbiſhop's ſee, and gives a title to the primate of Poland. It was antiently the metropolis of the whole kingdom, being founded by LECHUS, their firſt Monarch, and ſaid to be ſo named from an eagle's neſt he found on the ſpot of ground where the city ſtands. It is now the reſidence of the Archbiſhop and Primate of Poland, and enjoys very large privileges. In the cathedral is ſaid to be laid up an ineſtimable treaſure offered by the votaries of St. ADELBERT, whoſe tomb ſtands in the middle of the church. It was plated over with ſilver by King SIGISMUND III. The gates opening to this church are all of Corinthian braſs finely

Gneſna city.

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finely wrought; firſt taken from the monaſtery of Corſuna in Taurica Cherſoneſus, removed afterwards to Kiow, and brought from thence hither by BOLESLAUS II.

The palatinate of Kaliſh.

In the palatinate of Kaliſh, which lyes to the ſouth eaſt of Poſnania, the chief towns are, 1. Kaliſh, ſituate on the river Proſna, about forty miles to the ſouthward of Poſnan. It is defended only by a ſingle brick wall, and ſome low towers: there are ſome religious houſes in it, and a magnificent college of jeſuits, and the ruins of an old caſtle. 2. Kolo, ſituate near the Warta, about thirty miles to the eaſtward of Poſnan: a town built with timber, and ſurrounded by a mud wall.

The palatinate of Siradia.

The palatinate of Siradia, which lyes along the river Varta, is the moſt ſoutherly part of Great Poland: the chief town is Siradia, ſituate on the Varta, about fourſcore miles to the ſouthward of Poſnan, defended by a ſtrong wall and caſtle.

The palatinate of Rava and Lowitz.

In the palatinate of Rava, ſituate to the eaſtward of Sarudia; the chief towns are, 1. Rava, ſituate in a plain on the river Rava, about fifty miles ſouth weſt of Warſaw. It is built for the moſt part of wood, and defended by a caſtle, where priſoners of ſtate are uſually kept. 2. Lowitz, ſituate about twenty miles from Rava, where the Primate of Poland hath a noble palace. The church alſo is a beautiful ſtructure; beſides which, there are ſeveral conſiderable abbies and monaſteries about this city.

In the palatinate of Lanchet, or Lancicia, the chief town is Lancicia, ſituate on the river Bſura, about fifty miles north weſt of Rava. It ſtands on a plain, and is defended by a caſtle built upon a rock.

The palatinate of Breſty, Cujavia, Inowlocz, and Dobrin.

In the palatinate of Breſty, part of the territory of Cujavia, the chief town is Uladiſlaw, ſituate about ſixty miles to the eaſtward of Gneſna. It is the ſeat of the Biſhop of Cujavia, and hath a cathedral built after the Gothick manner.

In the palatinate of Inowlocz, in the territory of Cujavia, the chief town is Cruſwick, ſituate near the lake of Goplo: it is eſteemed the moſt antient city of Poland, next to Gneſna.

The Leſſer, or Upper Poland, is bounded by Great Poland and Warſovia on the north, by Red Ruſſia towards the eaſt, by Hungary on the ſouth, and part of Germany on the weſt. In this province are contained three palatinates, viz. 1. The palatinate of Cracow, being the ſouth weſt part of the province. 2. The palatinate of Sendomir, being the middle part. And, 3. The palatinate of Lublin, the north eaſt part of it.

The palatinate of Cracow and Severia.

In the palatinate of Cracow, the chief towns are, 1. Cracow, the metropolis of the kingdom, ſituate in fifty degrees north latitude, in a ſpacious plain near the Viſtula; forty miles eaſt of the frontiers of Sileſia, and fifty north of the confines of Hungary. It is the largeſt and beſt built town in Poland, the houſes being of free ſtone, the ſtreets broad, and the publick buildings magnificent. It is divided into four quarters, 1. Cracow, properly ſo called, which is ſurrounded by a very high wall, and defended by a noble caſtle founded on a rock on the banks of the Viſtula. Here ſtands the King's palace on a hill, affording a moſt delightful proſpect over the neighbouring country; and here is the famous cathedral of St. STANISLAUS, whoſe tomb brought immenſe riches to that church: here the Kings of Poland are uſually crowned, and here they are interred. 12. The quarter of Caſimir lyes on the farther ſide the river, and is joined to the reſt of the town by a timber bridge. The other two quarters of Shadomia and Cleparia, lye on the banks of the Viſtula, between Cracow and the aboveſaid bridge. Beſides the cathedral, there are fifty pariſh churches in the town and caſtle, the moſt celebrated is that dedicated to the Virgin MARY. In this city alſo is a univerſity begun by CASIMIR the Great, and finiſhed about the year 1401, and contains eleven colleges: there are alſo fourteen Grammar ſchools, in which univerſity learning is taught; all which colleges and ſchools are under the government of a rector, and very few are advanced either in the church or ſtate who have not received their education here: in the monaſteries of this place, of which there are ſeveral, both philoſophy and divinity are taught. This city is ſuppoſed to have taken its name from CRACUS, or GRACCHUS, one of the firſt Dukes of Poland, deſcended from the family of the GRACCHI in Rome, if we may credit the Poliſh hiſtorians. It was made an Archbiſhop's ſee at the firſt planting of Chriſtianity here, but upon ſome difference with the Pope, it was removed to Gneſna; however, this city is ſtill the ſee of a Biſhop, ſuffragan to the Archbiſhop of Gneſna; here the ſupreme court of judicature is held, and in the caſtle the crown and regalia are kept. 2. Oſvieczin, the capital of a dutchy of the ſame name, ſeven Poliſh miles from Cracow. This city is built with timber, as moſt of the reſt are, and hath a wooden caſtle. 3. Zator, capital alſo of a dutchy of the ſame name, built of wood, and ſtands in a plain near the river Viſtula, about five Poliſh miles from Cracow. 4. Severia, capital of a large dutchy, to which it communicates its name; and is defended by a ſtrong caſtle, ſituate in the middle of a lake. 5. Czentochova, near which is a monaſtery famous for having a picture of the Bleſſed Virgin, ſaid to be drawn by St. LUKE, which occaſions the reſort of a multitude of pilgrims with the richeſt offerings. Here the traveller is ſhewn vaſt quantities of gold and ſilver plate ornaments, for the altars, and habits enriched with pearls and precious ſtones, the gifts of the Poliſh nobility.

Oſvieczin.

Zator.

Severia.

Czentochova.

And

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And the Monks pretend that many miracles have been wrought here: they are poſſeſſed of a large territory about their monaſtery, and have a garriſon of three hundred ſoldiers in it: our author thinks it may be compared to Loretto both for its wealth and the ſuperſtition of its votaries. There are beſides theſe already mentioned, ſeveral other cities, great towns, caſtles, palaces, and religious houſes of no ordinary ſtructure in this palatinate.

2. The palatinate of Sendomir, and city.

The ſecond palatinate in the Leſſer Poland, is Sendomir; whereof the chief city alſo is called Sendomir; being pleaſantly ſituated on the ſide of a little hill, on the banks of the Viſtula; and much frequented on account of the courts of juſtice, which are held here for this palatinate. It lyes thirty two Poliſh miles ſouth of Warſaw, and twenty eight of the ſame miles to the eaſtward of Cracow; and is defended by a ſtrong wall and a caſtle, beſides other regular works. 2. Zawichoſt, a wooden city on the river Viſtula; defended by a caſtle with a double wall.

Zawichoſt.

3. The palatinate and city of Lublin.

The third palatinate of Little Poland, is Lublin; the chief city whereof is of the ſame name, ſituate on a river about fifty Engliſh miles to the northward of Sendomir. It is a ſmall well built town, defended by a caſtle; much frequented by Turkiſh, Muſcovite, Armenian and German merchants, eſpecially at the four great marts which are annually held here; and the Jews inhabit the ſuburbs, where they have a ſynagogue. There are alſo two great courts of juſtice annually held here for all Poland, which occaſions a great concourſe of the gentry to this city. The other towns of this palatinate not having any thing particular to diſtinguiſh them, I refer the reader to the map I have directed to be drawn of Poland for their ſituation.

The province of Lithuania.

The third province of Poland I ſhall deſcribe, is the great dutchy of Lithuania; but this may rather be called an independent ſtate in alliance with Poland, than a province of it; being governed by its own laws and officers, united under one Sovereign, or head of the two nations, and having one repreſentative body of the whole. This province, called Litwa by the natives, and Litweski by the Poles; is bounded by Samogitia, Livonia, and part of Ruſſia towards the north, by another part of Ruſſia on the eaſt, by Volhinia and Poleſia on the ſouth, by Pruſſia and Polachia towards the weſt; and being of a form almoſt round, is computed to be about two hundred and fifty Engliſh miles over either way. It is uſually divided into eight palatinates, viz. 1. The palatinate of Wilna. 2. Braſlaw. 3. Polocsko. 4. Witepsk. 5. Troki. 6. Minski. 7. Meiſlaw. And, 8. Novogrodeck.

1. The palatinate of Wilna.

In the palatinate of Wilna, which adjoins to Samogitia, the chief towns are, 1. Wilna, or Vilenski, ſituate at the confluence of the rivers Wilia and Wilna, in the latitude of fifty four degrees thirty minutes, about two hundred miles to the north eaſt of Warſaw. It is a large populous trading city, the capital of all Lithuania, and a Biſhop's ſee. The publick buildings, among which is the palace of the antient Dukes, and the caſtle, are magnificent: the cathedral, and many of the churches and monaſteries, as well as the colleges belonging to the univerſity, are built of ſtone; but the private houſes are of wood, and make but a mean appearance. The river Wilia is large and navigable, on which they tranſport their merchandize to Dantzick. The univerſity was founded about the year 1579, in which there are ſix profeſſors of divinity, five of philoſophy, four of law, and ſeven of human learning. The cathedral ſtands within the caſtle, wherein was interred the body of St. CASIMIR, having a large ſilver tomb of great value over it. In this city is held the grand tribunal for Lithuania. The Muſcovites made themſelves maſters of Vilna in the year 1655, but were immediately obliged to reſtore it to the Poles, who have had the poſſeſſion of it ever ſince. 2. Wilkomirz, ſituate on the river Swiera, about five and thirty miles north weſt of Wilna, to which belongs a very large diſtrict, wherein are ſeveral conſiderable towns, belonging to the crown, the Biſhops and nobility.

The palatinate of Braſlaw lyes north eaſt of Wilna, on the confines of Courland: the chief town whereof is Braſlaw, built of wood, and ſituate on the ſide of a large lake, being defended by a caſtle built upon a rock.

The palatinate of Polocsko lyes to the eaſtward of Braſlaw, and adjoins to Muſcovy: the chief town whereof is Polocz, ſituate on the river Dwina; being about an hundred miles eaſt of Braſlaw. This place was in the poſſeſſion of the Muſcovites in the year 1579, when it was recovered from them by STEPHEN BATORI King of Poland: it hath been alſo taken and retaken ſince that time, but is now in the poſſeſſion of the Poles.

To the eaſtward of Vilna lyes the palatinate of Witepsk: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Witepsko, ſituate on the Dwina, about fifty miles eaſt of Polocsko. This is a frontier town towards Ruſſia, and hath uſually a good garriſon in it. 2. Mohilow, a large town, whither the Muſcovites bring their furs and other merchandize to trade with the Poles.

To the weſtward of Wilna lyes the palatinate of Troki: the chief town whereof is Troki, ſituate on a point of land that ſhoots out into a lake, and ſurrounded by inacceſſible marſhes, about twenty miles weſt of the city of Vilna. 2. Grodno, ſituate to the ſouthward of Troki on the river Niemen, over which there is a fine bridge, eſteemed the beſt in Poland. Here the Jeſuits have

have a college; and it is a town of trade, but it is meanly built of wood.

The palatinate of Minski lyes to the south east of Wilna: the chief town of the same name, situate in a marsh, about fourscore miles from Wilna; and defended by a double wall and two castles.

The palatinate of Minski.

To the eastward of Minski lyes the palatinate of Mciſlaw; being bounded by the Nieper, or Boristhenes, which separates it from Muscovy towards the east: the chief town whereof is Mciſlaw, a timber built city, situate on the river Sosa, about an hundred and fifty miles east of Minski: here is usually a pretty good garrison, the town being a frontier against Russia.

The palatinate of Mciſlaw.

In the south west part of Lithuania lyes the palatinate of Novogrodeck, having Troki on the north, and Minski towards the east: the chief town whereof is Novogrodeck, a large timber built city, situate on the river Niemen, sixty miles south of Vilna. In this city and Minski the diet of Lithuania is alternately held.

The palatinate of Novogrodeck.

Prussia extends from the fifty third to the fifty fifth degree of north latitude; being bounded by the Baltick sea on the north; by Lithuania and Samogitia on the east; by Proper Poland and Warsovia towards the south; and by Pomerania towards the west. It is in length about two hundred miles, and in breadth upwards of an hundred in the western part, but not so much towards the east. It is divided into Regal and Ducal Prussia; Regal Prussia takes up the western part, and is subject to Poland, and Ducal Prussia the eastern part, and is subject to the Elector of Brandenburgh; whose father some few years since took upon himself the title of King of Prussia, from the eastern part of this country under his dominion; and was recognized as King by the rest of the powers of Europe.

The province of Prussia.

Regal Prussia is divided into three palatinates, (viz.) 1. The palatinate of Pomerelia, 2. Culm. 3. Marienburgh.

Regal Prussia.

The palatinate of Pomerelia is situate on the west side of the river Wesel, or Vistula: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Dantzick, Dantiscum, or Gedanum, called by the Poles Dansk: one of the principal hans towns; situate near the mouth of the river Wesel, or Vistula, in the latitude of fifty three degrees odd minutes, an hundred and forty miles north west of Warsaw, and thirty two west of Elbing. It was but a village in the year 1295, when King PRIMISLAUS made great additions to it, and cast it into the form of a city; and in 1343 it was walled round by the Knights of the Teutonick order, (of whom I shall give some account before I leave Prussia). Two rivulets pass through the town, supplying it with water, and turning abundance of mills. It consists of three parts; the first called Voorstat, the second Alstat, and the third Rechstat, looked upon by some as different cities. These are all encompassed with a wall, and fortifications of a great extent; but it is commanded by two neighbouring hills. The houses are well built of stone, or bricks, six or seven stories high; and the granaries, wherein vast quantities of corn are reposited to be exported to Holland and other countries of Europe, are still higher, to which the shipping may lye close and take in their loading. Their publick buildings, which are very magnificent, are the great church of St. MARY's, the town house, the arsenal, the place of St. DOMINICK, the exchange, and jesuits college. This city hath undergone many revolutions, the Danes, the Poles, and the Knights of the Teutonick order, were successively masters of it. In 1454, JOHN CASIMIR, King of Poland, gained the possession of it, and granted many privileges to the citizens; who notwithstanding, in defense of the Ausburg confession, took the part of MAXIMILIAN of Austria against the Poles: whereupon they were besieged by STEPHEN King of Poland; but by the mediation of neutral Princes, were restored to their religion and liberties. The city is under the protection of Poland at this day; but governed by their own magistrates, who determine all criminal causes finally, and all civil causes, not exceeding a thousand livres, and levy taxes on the inhabitants: one half of the customs only, and the profits of some mills, belonging to the crown. The inhabitants are computed to be above two hundred thousand souls, most part of them Germans; and their jurisdiction extends forty miles round the city. They send two representatives to the diet of Poland; and are permitted to coin their own money, with the effigies of the King on one side, and the arms of the city on the reverse. They maintain a garrison at their own expence; but have no men of war, though there be abundance of merchant ships of considerable burthen belonging to this port. They trade to all the countries in Europe; but never to the East or West Indies. The established religion here is the Lutheran; but Papists, Anabaptists and Calvinists are tolerated amongst them. CLUVERIUS the geographer was born in this city.

The palatinate of Pomerelia. Dantzick city.

But to be a little more particular as to the government of Dantzick: their magistracy consists of thirty senators, or elders, among whom are several merchants, as well as gentlemen, and men of the long robe; but none of the clergy, or those of any other persuasion but the Lutheran, are admitted into this body, except four Calvinists. The senators continue for life: the first four of them are styled burgomasters, out of whom a President is annually chosen; next to these are thirteen consuls, who choose the said burgomasters out of their body as often as there is a vacancy; and

The government of Dantzick

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and elect all other officers of the city, among whom are twelve ſcabbins, or judges, who determine all cauſes; but there lyes an appeal from them to the thirteen conſuls and four burgomaſters, and from thence to the court of Poland. The thirtieth ſenator is their ſyndic, or orator, who alſo receives and compliments foreign miniſters. The King nominates annually a burgrave, or burgomaſter, out of the conſuls, to repreſent his perſon in the ſenate; and all ſentences of death muſt be ſigned by him in the King's name, before they can proceed to execution. To repreſent the grievances of the people and maintain their privileges, there are elected one hundred burgeſſes, who are authorized to inſpect the conduct of the ſenate: theſe hundred alſo have a power of appointing the clergy to ſucceed to any vacant benefices, or cures, in conjunction with the ſenate; for within the juriſdiction of this city there are no Biſhops: nor have the college of the clergy here any other power than to examine thoſe who are intended to be elected prieſts by the ſenate and council of an hundred, and to ordain the perſons approved of by them. Every candidate for a vacant cure, or orders, firſt applies himſelf to the college of the clergy to be examined, after which he hath a certificate given him by them of his abilities and liberty to preach; and if the vacant pariſh or congregation deſire him for their paſtor, they preſent him to the ſenate and council of an hundred, who determine their choice by a majority of voices, and if he be approved, he is ſent back to the college of the clergy to be ordained, which is performed by the impoſition of hands, prayers, and other ſignificant ceremonies.

This city, though under the protection of Poland, has been frequently obliged to apply itſelf to other powers to defend it againſt the inſults of potent neighbours, and particularly againſt the Swedes, who knowing it to be a wealthy city, either find, or make ſome pretence to extort ſums of money from them; particularly in the year 1706, the Engliſh, the Dutch, and the King of Pruſſia entered into an alliance for their protection, when the King of Sweden threatned them with a viſit on his ſucceſs againſt King AUGUSTUS, if they refuſed to acknowledge STANISLAUS for their King.

To the north eaſt of Dantzick ſtands the abbey of Oliva, famous for the peace concluded there in the year 1660, between the King of Sweden on the one part, and the Emperor, the King of Poland, and the Elector of Brandenburgh on the other.

Oliva.

The palatinate of Culm.

On the eaſtern ſide of the Viſtula, between that river and the province of Great Poland, lyes the palatinate of Culm, whereof the chief town is Culm, ſituate on a hill, near the banks of the Viſtula, about fifty miles ſouth of Dantzick. It was once a famous city, and a Biſhop's ſee; but having ſuffered much by the ravages of war, the biſhoprick was removed to Culmſee, a ſmall town, about 12 miles to the ſouth eaſt of it. 2. Thorn, or Torunum, is ſituate on the Viſtula, twenty miles ſouth of Culm. This city is ſaid to be the beſt built of any in Royal Pruſſia, the houſes being more magnificent, and the ſtreets broader than at Dantzick, and the town houſe only to be exceeded by that of Amſterdam. Here is alſo a ſmall univerſity, but nothing has rendered this town more famous than the late conteſts between the Papiſts and Proteſtants, in which moſt of the Proteſtant powers interpoſed in favour of their brethren, but left them unaccountably at laſt to the mercy of their enemies. In the library here are preſerved two of CICERO's epiſtles on tables of wax: and in this town was born that famous aſtronomer and mathematician NICOLAUS COPERNICUS, in the year 1473, who died there anno 1543. It has been frequently taken and retaken by the Poles and Swedes. The laſt time the Swedes made themſelves maſters of it was in 1703; but the Poles took poſſeſſion of it again on the King of Sweden's misfortune at Pultowa, the fortifications having been firſt demoliſhed by that Prince.

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Thorn.

The palatinate of Marienburgh is bounded by the Baltick on the north; by ducal Pruſſia on the eaſt; the palatinate of Culm on the ſouth; and the river Viſtula on the weſt, the chief town whereof is Marienburgh, ſituate on the Nogat, a branch of the Viſtula, twenty five miles ſouth eaſt of Dantzick, and about twenty ſouth weſt of Elbing. It was antiently the chief city of the Teutonick knights, founded by the croſs bearer of that order, and is ſaid to have taken its name from a miraculous image of the Virgin MARY. It is now but a mean town built of wood, and does not abound in wealth. 2. Elbing, ſituate on a ſmall river of the ſame name, which riſes from the lake Dranſen, and here diſcharges itſelf into the Friſch-Haff, a bay of the Baltick ſea; is about thirty miles to the eaſtward of Dantzick, with which it has a communication by the ſaid bay, or Friſch-Haff, and the river Viſtula. The ſituation of Elbing is exceeding pleaſant; it is very populous, and a town of good trade, and is divided into the old and new town. It was antiently a free imperial city, after which the Knights of the Teutonick order gained the dominion of it. When Dantzick and Thorn ſubmitted to Poland it followed their example, it hath been more than once taken by the Swedes, and retaken by the Poles. And in the year 1698, the Elector of Brandenburgh's forces took poſſeſſion of it, on account of a ſum of money due to that Elector from the republick of Poland, and kept it till the year 1700, when the Poles agreed to

The palatinate of Marienburgh.

Elbing.

to pay the money, and mortgaged the crown jewels to the Elector, as a ſecurity for it: whereupon the Brandenburghers reſtored the city to the Poles.

In this part of Poliſh Pruſſia is the territory of Warmia, by ſome called the fourth palatinate. The gentry here are exempt from the regal juriſdiction, and governed by their Biſhop, who is a Prince of the empire; his reſidence being at Heilſburgh, ſituate on the river Aller, thirty miles ſouth of Koningsburgh. 2. Frawenburgh, ſituate on the ſaid bay, called the Friſch-Haff, eleven miles north eaſt of Elbing. 3. Braunsburgh, ſituate between Marienburgh and Coningsburgh, near the Friſch-Haff, twenty five miles eaſt of Elbing.

Ducal, or Brandenburgh Pruſſia, from whence the preſent King of Pruſſia takes his title, is bounded by the Baltick ſea and Samogitia towards the north: by the province of Lithuania on the eaſt: by Warſovia, or Maſſovia towards the ſouth: and by regal, or Poliſh Pruſſia towards the weſt: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Koningsburgh, the capital of the province, ſituate at the mouth of the river Pregel, where it diſcharges itſelf into the Friſch-Haff bay, about fourſcore miles to the eaſtward of Dantzick. It is a large, well built, populous city, and a place of good trade, for here the bay called the Friſch-Haff opens to the Baltick ſea, and forms a commodious port for this city, which conſiſts of three parts. That which is called Old Koningsburg was built by the Teutonick order, and hath the ducal palace ſtanding in it. The ſecond is built upon an iſland, and bears the name of Kniphoff. Here the cathedral of the Biſhop of Smaland ſtands; and here is an univerſity, founded by Duke Albert. The third quarter of the town is called Lebenicht, and was built by BERTHOLD of Auſtria, and added to the two former. This city hath been ſubject to the Brandenburghers about two hundred years. 2. Memel, is ſituate on a freſh water bay, called the Curiſch-Haff, upwards of fourſcore miles to the northward of Koningsburgh, and hath a convenient harbour, the ſaid bay having a communication with the Baltick near this city. It is defended by a caſtle, and the ſituation is naturally ſtrong, being ſurrounded by lakes and marſhes. 3. Pilaw, a town ſituate at the entrance of the bay called the Friſch-Haff, a good harbour, about thirty miles weſt of Koningsburgh. And, 4. The town of Heligpeil, which ſtands oppoſite to it.

We have no tolerable account of the Pruſſian nation till the tenth century, only it is ſaid that they remained Pagans long after their neighbours the Poles were converted to Chriſtianity, and this ſeems to have been thought a ſufficient ground at that time of day for the Poles to make war upon them, and dragoon them into better principles. And they were at length conquered by BOLESLAUS CHROBRY, King of Poland, about the year 997, and became tributary to that kingdom. But about the year 1300, being weary of the Poliſh yoke, they put themſelves under the protection of the Knights of the Teutonick order; and it was agreed between them, that if their arms proved ſucceſsful, the Knights ſhould enjoy one half of the Pruſſian territory. But the Knights, in about the compaſs of fifty years time, found means to extirpate all the natives, the antient Pruſſians, and plant the country with Germans.

Original of the Teutonick order.

Of the original and eſtabliſhment of theſe Teutonick Knights we meet with the following account.

In the time of the cruſadoes, when an adventure in the Holy Land, or a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem was thought to procure a ſure title to the joys of paradiſe, there dwelt a noble German at Jeruſalem, who hoſpitably entertained all the pilgrims of his own nation, and obtained leave of the Patriarch to erect a chapel for them, which he dedicated to the bleſſed Virgin MARY, (from whence the members of this ſociety were ſtyled equites Mariani). Other Germans afterwards contributed to the maintaining and augmenting this religious foundation; and in the year 1190 they elected their firſt great maſter HENRY WALPOT; and were eſtabliſhed the following year by the bull of Pope CELESTINE III. under the title of Teutonick, or German Knights of the hoſpital of St. MARY the virgin. Their ſtatutes were framed after the model of the Knights of St. JOHN of Jeruſalem, and it was required that the Knights ſhould be noble Germans, and vow the defenſe of the Chriſtian religion and the Holy Land. They were alſo to be clothed in white, and wear a black croſs in their ſtandards and colours, and live according to St. AUSTIN's rule. But as this was a military as well as a religious order, their prieſts were frequently ſeen armed cap-a-pee at their prayers, as well as at the head of their troops, like the ſaints of the laſt age, they prayed and fought alternately as occaſion required. Many more noble Germans joining them after the confirmation of their order by the Pope, and making large contributions, another hoſpital was erected for them in the city of Acon, or Ptolemais, in Syria: but after Jeruſalem and the Holy Land were taken by the Saracens, HERMANUS, then great maſter, with his Knights, removed into Germany, of whom, it is ſaid, the Emperor FREDERICK XI. and Pope HONORIUS III. in the year 1229, beſtowed the province of Pruſſia, being then a Pagan country, which according to the opinion of thoſe days, might be made the property of the firſt Chriſtian Prince who ſhould conquer it with the approbation of the Pope. (But by

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the way, this is not consistent with the former account of the Prussians calling in the Teutonick Knights to deliver them from the oppression of the Poles). However, it is agreed on all hands, that the Teutonick Knights actually expelled the native Russians, and introduced their countrymen the Germans in their room; and that they built the city of Marienburg, or MARY's town, about the year 1340, making that the capital of their conquests, and the residence of their great master, carrying their arms into Livonia, Lithuania, and several neighbouring countries, some of which they reduced under their power, notwithstanding they were Christians before, and consequently out of the Pope's grant to the Teutonick Knights. The Poles were their most formidable enemies, and compelled them at length to become subject to their republick. And ALBERT, the Marquis of Brandenburgh, the 34th great master, refusing to do homage to the King of Poland, was reduced to the last extremity by the Polish troops. Whereupon he agreed to hold his territories as a vassal of Poland, on condition of being made hereditary Duke of Prussia; and was accordingly created the first hereditary Duke of that part of the country which is now called Ducal Prussia. In the year 1663, the Elector of Brandenburgh then Duke of Prussia, procured himself to be acknowledged independent Sovereign of Prussia by the Poles, upon condition that upon failure of issue of the Elector, Ducal Prussia should return to the obedience of Poland, and become a fief of that crown. And the last Elector procured himself to be acknowledged King of Prussia in the year 1701, as hath been intimated already, while Regal Prussia still remains under the dominion of the Poles.

4. Samogitia.

I proceed now in the description of the rest of Poland, of which the province of Samogitia and Courland comes next in my way: and first of Samogitia, which is bounded by Courland on the north; by Lithuania on the east and south; and by Ducal Prussia and the Baltick on the west. Here are no palatinates, but the chief starost is a senator, which no other starost of the kingdom is.

Rosienie.

The chief towns of Samogitia are, 1. Rosienie, a small city, situate upon the river Dubissa, about fourscore miles north east of Koningsburgh.

Midnick.

2. Midnick, or Vormatia, the seat of the Bishop of Samogitia, situate on the river Wernita, about thirty five miles north west of Rosienie.

Courland.

The territory of Courland is bounded by the river Dwina, which separates it from Livonia on the north; by Lithuania towards the east: by Samogitia on the south; and by the Baltick sea on the west. It is in length about an hundred and fifty miles, but in breadth not more than thirty, one part with another. This country was once subject to the Knights of the Teutonick order, afterwards to the Poles, and though at present it is under the dominion of its own Duke, he pays homage to Poland. It is usually divided into two parts, viz. Courland Proper, the western part; and Semigalia, the eastern part. The chief towns of Courland Proper are, 1. Goldingen, situate on the river Wetaw, about thirty miles from the Baltick. 2. Vinda, or Windaw, situate at the mouth of the river Wetan near the Baltick. In Semigalia, the chief town is Mittaw, the capital of the whole dutchy, and the residence of the Duke of Courland, situate on the river Mussa, about thirty five miles south of Riga. It is defended by a magnificent castle, but the town itself is meanly built.

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Goldingen.

Vinda.

Mittaw.

5. Warsovia.

Warsovia, or Massovia, is bounded by Prussia on the north; Polachia on the east; the Lesser Poland on the south; and by Great Poland on the west; the chief city whereof is Warsaw, esteemed by some the metropolis of the kingdom, on account of its being the residence of the court, and the place where the grand diet assembles; but Cracow also claims the honour of being the capital of Poland, as hath been observed already. Warsaw is situate on the Vistula, in fifty three degrees odd minutes north latitude, an hundred and fifty miles north of Cracow; and is divided into four parts, viz. The Old and New town, and the two suburbs of Cracow and Prag. The publick buildings are a square palace, built by SIGISMUND III. where the King usually resides: opposite to it, on the other side the river stands another palace, in the middle of pleasant groves and gardens, built by ULADISLAUS VII. where the diet of Poland used to sit; and there is still a third palace, built by King CASIMIR; and about a league from this city is a fourth, built by the late King JOHN SOBIESKI. The other publick buildings, which travellers take notice of for their magnificence, are the church of St. JOHN Baptist, the arsenal, and the castle. This city was almost consumed to ashes by a fire, which happened in the year 1708, and lasted nine days. It is in the neighbouring plains that the nobility meet and reside in tents at the election of a new King.

Warsaw city.

Czersko.

2. Czersko, situate on the Vistula, thirty miles south of Warsaw; considerable only for being the residence of the Palatine.

Polachia.

Polachia is a small territory, situate between Massovia and Lithuania: the chief town whereof is Bielsk, situate on the river Biale, an hundred miles to the eastward of Warsaw; defended by a strong castle.

Bielsk.

Polesia.

Polesia is bounded by Lithuania, and Polachia on the north: by Volhinia on the east: by Red Russia towards the south: and by the Lesser Poland on the west: being about two hundred miles in length, and sixty in breadth: the chief town whereof is Breste, or Bressici, situate on the river Bug, an hundred miles to the eastward of Warsaw; and is defended by a castle built on a rock.

Breste.

Red

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6. The province of Red Ruſſia, three palatinates.

Red Ruſſia, or Little Ruſſia, as it is ſometimes called to diſtinguiſh it from Muſcovy, or Great Ruſſia; is bounded by Poleſia on the north; Volhinia and Podolia on the eaſt; the Carpathian mountains, which divide it from Tranſilvania and Hungary, on the ſouth; and by the Leſſer Poland on the weſt; being near two hundred miles in length, and one in breadth; and was antiently much larger, comprehending all Volhinia and Podolia. This province is divided into three palatinates, viz. 1. The palatinate of Chelm. 2. Belz. And 3. Lemberg.

Palatinate of Chelm.

The palatinate of Chelm takes up the northern part of this province, the chief town whereof is Chelm, an hundred miles and upwards ſouth eaſt of Warſaw. It was formerly a Biſhop's ſee, but having been almoſt deſtroyed by the Tartars, the Biſhop's ſeat was removed to Kraniſtow, about twenty miles to the ſouthward of it.

The palatinate of Belz.

To the ſouthward of Chelm lyes the palatinate of Belz, the chief town whereof is Belz, ſituate in a moraſs, about fifty miles to the ſouthward of Chelm.

The palatinate of Lemberg.

Lemberg is the moſt ſouthern of the three palatinates, the chief city whereof is Lemberg, or Leopol; the capital of all Red Ruſſia, and the ſee of an archbiſhop: it is ſituate on the river Peltew, which falls into the Bug, and is diſtant about an hundred and fifty miles to the eaſtward of Cracow.

7. The province of Podolia.

The province of Podolia is bounded by Volhinia on the north; by Oczakow Tartary towards the eaſt; by the river Nieſter on the ſouth; and by the province of Red Ruſſia towards the weſt, and is uſually divided into the Upper and Lower: in the Upper, which is the weſtern part, the chief town is Caminiec, a Biſhop's ſee, the capital of Podolia, and a palatinate, ſituate on the river Smotrizic, a little above the place where it falls into the Nieſter, and ſtands about an hundred miles ſouth-eaſt of Lemberg, and not more than twelve from the confines of Moldavia. It is a well built populous city, ſurrounded by rocks, and fortified by art, being defended alſo by a caſtle. The Turks made themſelves maſters of it in the year 1672. and held it till the peace of Carlowitz, in the year 1699. when it was reſtored to the Poles; during which ſpace of time the Tartars had an opportunity of ravaging Poland, and carried multitudes of the natives into captivity; but ſince the ſurrendring up this frontier town the Poles have been in tolerable ſecurity on that ſide. In the Lower, or eaſtern part of Podolia, the chief town is Braclaw, the capital of a palatinate; ſituate on the river Bug, ninety miles to the eaſtward of Caminiec. This town, as well as the reſt of the eaſtern Podolia, having been ſo often plundered by the Tartars, is not in a very flouriſhing condition, though few places would be more fruitful if the lands were cultivated.

Caminiec.

Braclaw.

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8 The Province of Volhinia and the Ukrain.

Volhinia is divided into Higher and Lower; the Higher Volhinia is bounded by Poleſia on the north; by the Lower Volhinia, or the Ukrain, towards the the eaſt; by Podolia on the ſouth; and by Red Ruſſia on the weſt. The chief town whereof is Luſuc, or Lucko, the capital of all Volhinia, and of the palatinate, to which it gives its name. It is ſituate on the river Ster, an hundred and thirty miles to the northward of Caminiec. The city is large, and the ſee of a Biſhop: ſubject to the Archbiſhop of Gneſna: the inhabitants are many of them Jews, Armenians, and other eaſtern merchants.

Luſuc.

Ukrain.

The Lower Volhinia, or the Ukrain, ſometimes called the palatinate of Kiow, is near three hundred miles in length, and an hundred in breadth, divided into two parts by the river Nieper, or Boriſthenes. All the eaſtern part, with the city of Kiow, and great part of the country which lyes to the weſtward of that river, is now under the dominion of the Muſcovites. This is the country of the Coſſacks, of whom I have given ſome account in the deſcription of Ruſſia, and I ſhall enlarge upon their cuſtoms and manners before I conclude the deſcription of Poland. The Poliſh Ukrain was in the hands of the Turks from the year 1677. to the year 1699. but was then yielded up to the Poles again in purſuance of the treaty of Carlowitz.

The Coſſacks country.

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Treats of the genius and temper of the poles; their perſons and habits, buildings, furniture, gardens, diet, exerciſes, diverſions, carriages, and way of travelling.

Genius and temper of the Poles.

THE Poles, a late writer obſerves, exceed all the nations of Europe in vivacity of ſpirit, ſtrength of body, and long life: that they are generally open hearted and honeſt, more apt to be deceived than to deceive, and not ſo eaſily provoked as appeaſed; courteous and hoſpitable to ſtrangers, and will frequently invite them to reſide at their houſes. They apply themſelves early to letters; but having acquired a perfect knowledge of their own and the Latin tongue, they think this ſufficient. There is no place where the vulgar ſpeak Latin more fluently, even the women, it is ſaid, learn it in their nunneries. The nobility and gentry have generally a genius for arms, and ſeem fond of travelling: they endeavour alſo to qualify themſelves for employments in church and ſtate; leaving trade and huſbandry entirely to the common people. They are ſo cnured to hardſhip, that they look even

upon

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upon the Germans as an effeminate kind of people; and their armies have been known to lye abroad in the ſnow all winter; and did they not want diſcipline, it is ſaid, would be invincible: they are fond of nothing ſo much as the making a grand figure, and entertain a multitude of ſervants, horſes, and arms for that purpoſe.

Their perſons.

As to their perſons, they are rather tall than ſhort, and inclinable to fat. Their complexions fair, and their hair uſually a pale yellow: their conſtitutions are good, and their looks healthful. They cut the hair of their heads ſhort, and ſhave their beards, leaving only a large whisker on each lip: their mien is ſtately, and their countenances grave. They carry a pole ax and a ſabre, or cutlace by their ſides, which they never put off but when they go to bed: the ſabre hangs by a leathern ſtrap, with their handkerchief, knife and ſheath, and a ſmall ſtone ſet in ſilver to whet the knife on.

Habits.

They wear a veſt, which reaches down to the middle of the leg, and a kind of gown over it, lined with furs, and girded with a ſaſh; the ſleeves of it cloſe to their arms, as a waiſtcoat. They wear a fur cap on their heads, but no neckcloth; under their veſts they wear a ſhirt made almoſt like a woman's ſhift, without collar, or wriſtbands. Their breeches are wide, and make but one piece with their ſtockings: inſtead of ſhoes they always wear Turkey leather boots both abroad and at home, with thin ſoles, and deep iron heels bent like an half moon. When they appear on horſeback, as they love frequently to do, they wear over all a ſhort cloak, which is commonly covered with furs both without and within. The people of the beſt quality wear ſables, and others the skins of tygers, leopards, &c. The peaſants uſually wear a ſheepskin with the wool on winter, and in ſummer a thick coarſe cloth, and make them buskins and ſhoes of the bark of trees. As to linen they wear none at all. The habit of the Poliſh women comes very near that of the men's; except that of late years people of quality ſeem to affect the French and German mode.

Both men and women, ſays my author, are extravagant to a very great degree. Some of them will have forty ſuits of clothes as rich as poſſible, and they will have their ſervants almoſt as well dreſſed as themſelves, whereby they ſometimes ſpend their eſtates, and are reduced to the extremeſt want. Nor is this prodigality confined to their habits, but it is ſeen in their buildings, furniture, &c.

Houſes.

The Poliſh houſes conſiſt chiefly of ground rooms, for they ſeldom live above ſtairs; neither are their buildings united, but the dwelling houſe is over-againſt the gate, the kitchens and offices on one ſide a round or ſquare court, and the ſtables on the other, and are generally of wood. Thoſe who affect to follow the Italians indeed, build much higher with brick or ſtone. The rooms are uſually hung with tapeſtry, and the reſt of the furniture proportionably rich, except where they are liable to the incurſions of the Tartars, and there they have as little furniture as poſſible. The Poliſh gentry have ſeldom any gardens or orchards to their houſes, though the ſoil be extremely proper for them. But there are bagnios in every houſe, and ſtoves, the women having theirs ſeparate from thoſe of the men's. There are alſo baths in every town, for the uſe of the common people, who bathe every day, the uſe of which is looked upon to be one reaſon of their conſtant health. The houſes of the peaſants are no better than huts, built with poles in a round form, and open on the top to let out the ſmoke; they are covered with boards or thatch; and as they conſiſt frequently of but one room, the people and their cattle ſleep together.

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Furniture.

Magnificence of the Poles.

To the character already given of the Poles, our author adds, that their prime gentry have all their horſe and foot guards, which keep guard night and day at the gates of their houſes, and in their anti-chambers; and that they go before their maſters coaches in the ſtreets; but they never make ſuch a figure as when they appear at the general diet, or aſſembly of the ſtates, where they will have four or five hundred, and ſome a thouſand guards to attend them, for they eſteem themſelves not only equal, but ſuperior to any of the German Princes, eſpecially ſuch of them as are ſenators; and indeed they want little to diſtinguiſh them from Sovereigns in their reſpective diſtricts, except the privilege of coining money. When they ſit down to dinner or ſupper, they have their trumpets and muſick playing, and a great number of gentlemen to wait on them at table; ſome to carve, others to ſerve their wine, place the diſhes, &c. all ſerving with the moſt profound reſpect; for tho' all the gentlemen of Poland are ſaid to be equal, as having votes in the diet, yet wealth will ever create a diſtinction, and the inferior gentry here find themſelves under a neceſſity often of ſerving the rich, who can maintain them. Indeed the patron they ſerve is uſually very civil to them, and permits the eldeſt to eat with him at table with his cap off, and every one of them hath his peaſant boy to wait on him, which the maſter of the family maintains. However, if any of theſe gentlemen ſervants neglect their duty, they are whipped naked, without much reſpect to their quality; nor is this reckoned any diſgrace to them: but if a gentleman ſhould apply himſelf to trade or huſbandry, he would be deemed infamous.

Food.

Their ordinary food in Poland is beef or veal, mutton is not in any eſteem; veniſon, wild-fowl, and

and river-fish they have in plenty, but no sea-fish. They eat but little bread, though there is great plenty of corn, preferring roots to it, which they dress different ways. Soop and broth is not much admired; nor do they roast their meat too much. In their sauces they use a great deal of saffron and spices, and season their dishes high. They are immoderate lovers of pig and bacon, and pease is a great dish with the better sort. They are as fond of mushrooms as the Muscovites, and pickle their cabbage and preserve it all the year round. At an entertainment the Poles lay neither knives, forks nor spoons, but every person brings them with him; and they are no sooner set down to table, but all the gates are shut up, and not opened till the company go away, and the plate is taken account of; for their footmen are exceeding light fingered, which is the reason they lay neither knives, forks, nor spoons. Every person of quality has his hall in his house set apart for entertainments, and here is a place railed in with balasters, loaded with a great quantity of plate, and over it a gallery for the musick, consisting of an organ, violins, &c. Those who are invited bring their servants with them, and it is said to be no uncommon thing to see a gentleman give his servant part of his meat, which he eats as he stands behind him, and to let him drink out of the same cup with him. And though there is usually great plenty of provision served up, there is very little returned to the family, but the gentlemen's servants seize what is left, and they have a napkin on purpose to carry off the sweet meats for their Ladies. After the cloth is taken away, the gentlemen usually sit and drink a great while, and take tobacco after the women are retired; for the Ladies are not here excluded from their feasts, nor kept from the sight of gentlemen, as in the east. Bumpers are pretty much in fashion here, as well as in Russia, nor will they easily excuse any person from pledging them.

Entertainments.

Their usual drink is beer, which in Prussia they make only of malt, but in other parts of Poland of ground wheat. In Lithuania and many provinces of Poland also, they have mead and metheglin, and at Warsaw they frequently mix the juice of cherries, blackberries, &c. with their honey, upon which it receives different names. But besides beer and mead, the product of the country, there are great quantities of wine imported from Hungary, France, Spain, Italy, and Germany. That of Hungary, it is said, exceeds the Spanish in strength, and is brought over the Carpathian mountains in large casks, drawn upon carriages by oxen, which makes it very dear, the best being sold for twenty shillings the Polish pot, which is three quarts. The Italian wines also come over land, but are not so much drank. The French and Rhenish wines come by the way of the Baltick to Dantzick, and are weaker than the other. The strong waters and spirits are drawn from wheat, barley, oats, cyder, &c. These are drank chiefly by the common people, tho' sometimes by the gentry in winter, rectified with anniseeds, cinnamon, or other spices.

The confirmed health of this people, says a late writer, probably proceeds from their diet, which is generally fresh meat roasted, they scarce ever eat any salted. Their drink also contributes to it, being spirituous and strong, and their using themselves and their children hardily is another great advantage to them. They will sleep upon the ground without a bed in frost and snow, and carry about their young infants naked in their arms in the severest weather. Their exercises also contribute much to improve their constitutions, which are hunting and feats of horsemanship, on which they value themselves much. Leaping, vaulting, and jumping are also much used here, and dancing a favourite diversion. Their health and vigour is also thought to be augmented by their great freedom and privileges. But I don't find that the peasants, who enjoy but little of these blessings, are more unhealthful than their Lords: and no doubt but musick and conversation, which they are extremely fond of, has a good effect upon them. Morose and melancholy tempers prey upon the unhappy owners of them.

Exercises.

The usual way of travelling is on horseback, a Polish gentleman will scarce walk a stone's throw in a town, without his horse and equipage; but as it is a campain country, a calash and a pair of horses is very much used on a journey. The peasants have light wooden waggons, tilted with a kind of basket-work, and their wheels all of a piece without spokes. There are very few inns upon their roads, but boarded booths at proper distances, without furniture, where the traveller is at liberty to lodge. There is indeed usually built at the end of the booth a little room and a fire-place, where any person may lye if he pleases; but the fleas and bugs, and the noisome smells which must be born there, make any other part of the building preferable to it. The gospodar, or keeper of the booth, is obliged to find straw for the guests, and will, for their money, furnish them with some ordinary provisions: but travellers usually carry their provisions with them, as well as the quilts they lye on, and are content to lodge in the same part of the booth with their cattle. When the traveller comes to any great town, he takes an opportunity to replenish his stores, which is done at a very easy rate, provisions being extremely cheap; and though there be not those accommodations upon the road, as we meet with in some other countries, so neither is there that extortion of inn-keepers, so much complained

Travelling.

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complained of nearer home. Beſides, as gentlemen are uſually attended here with great numbers of ſervants upon the road, they may have their meat and drink got ready more to their ſatisfaction than we can have in the common inns. And as to foreigners, it is ſaid, the Poles are ſo extremely hoſpitable, and proviſions ſo reaſonable, that upon applying to the Duour, or Lord of any village, he will forthwith order the traveller to be ſupplied gratis. As there are a pretty many waters to croſs, and their bridges kept but in ill repair, it is neceſſary to be very careful in paſſing them: and to paſs over the ice in winter, a ſledge muſt be procured to put the calaſh or coach in. The cold in the northern part of this country is almoſt as ſevere as in Muſcovy, for which reaſon people uſually provide themſelves with caſes lined with fur, to put their feet in when they ride in a coach or chaiſe, and the horſemen line their boots, and ſeldom travel without a cordial dram. Their noſes alſo are ſaid to be ſometimes in danger of being frozen, againſt which they uſe the ſame remedy as in Ruſſia, of rubbing them with ſnow.

CHAP. IV.

Treats of the nature of the ſoil and husbandry, and of their plants, animals and minerals; and of their trade of export and import.

Nature of the ſoil and husbandry.

POLAND, as has been obſerved already, being a flat level country for the moſt part, and well watered with lakes and rivers, the ſoil is exceeding fertile, and affords more corn than any kingdom in Europe, particularly of rye and wheat, with which the Hollanders load ſeveral hundred veſſels every year, to tranſport to their own, or other countries. If there happen to be a ſcarcity in any other part of Europe, they ſeldom fail of being ſupplied from thence. The river Weſel, or Viſtula running quite croſs the kingdom from ſouth to north, it is carried down that ſtream in barges to Dantzick, where they have large granaries by the water ſide, from whence it is taken on board foreign ſhipping as they arrive. The moſt common way of manuring their ground is by burning it; and as they have vaſt plains which lye uncultivated, and over-run with long graſs in many places, this is done without any great labour. When the heart of one piece of land is worn out, they take the ſame method with another, being under no neceſſity of ploughing the ſame continually. Their ploughs in ſhape are very little different from ours; but it is obſerved in ſome provinces, particularly in Samogitia, that they are made all of wood, without any iron work about them; and when one of their Governors obliged them to fortify their ploughs with iron, as other people do, there happening to be an unſeaſonable time and a bad crop after it, they could never be perſuaded to ſtrengthen them with iron again; but choſe to let their land lye fallow, rather than be put out of their old way. As the Iriſh, it is ſaid, once did, when they were prohibited to draw by their horſes tails, and ordered to make uſe of collars.

CHAP. IV.

There are alſo noble meadows and paſture grounds in Poland, where great numbers of black cattle are fatted, and ſent to market into Germany; and they have a very good breed of horſes. Deer, hares, wolves, foxes, bears, elks, wild aſſes, and wild oxen, are found in their foreſts; and in the Ukrain near the Nieper, are wild ſheep and horſes. Animals.

Fruit, herbs, roots, and other garden ſtuff they have great plenty of; but their vines will not make wine, though the grapes are tolerably well taſted in a dry year. Lithuania is the moſt woody part of the Poliſh dominions; one foreſt particularly travellers mention here, which is an hundred miles in length, inhabited by a people more rude and unpoliſhed than in any other part of Poland. It is commonly reported and believed, that children have frequently been brought up by bears in their woods. One of theſe a late writer aſſures us he ſaw in a Poliſh convent, who ſeemed to be about ten years of age, of a hideous aſpect, and at firſt deſtitute of reaſon and ſpeech. He went upon all four, and reſembled a man only in his ſtructure. The Fathers however had given him Chriſtian baptiſm, which very little altered the ſavageneſs of his temper. He was ſtill reſtleſs and uneaſy, and even endeavouring to get away from them: but at length being taught to ſtand upright by ſetting him againſt a wall, and accuſtoming him to eat at table, he became tolerably tame, and began to expreſs his mind by ſuch words as he learned amongſt them, but with a hoarſe inhuman voice, and could give but little better account of his former life in the woods, than others do of their actions in a cradle. Another of theſe children thus educated by bears, the Dutch Ambaſſador to England gave our author the following account of, in a letter he wrote him in the year 1698. I ſaw a boy (ſays the Ambaſſador) in the year 1661, who had been brought up by bears, and taken a little before in hunting. I firſt ſaw him playing under a penthouſe before a nunnery gate; he ſeemed to be about twelve or thirteen years of age, and pleaſed, I ſuppoſe, with my habit, leaped towards me: firſt he catched one of my ſilver buttons in his hand with a great deal of eagerneſs, which he held to his noſe and ſmelled to; then he leaped of a ſudden into a corner, making a ſtrange howling noiſe. I went afterwards into a houſe, where he was brought to me, and ſhewed a large piece of bread, whereupon he immediately leaped upon Plants.

CHAP. IV.

upon a bench, and walked on all four, then he raiſed himſelf upright with a great ſpring, and took the bread in his two hands, putting it to his noſe; he leaped off the bench afterwards upon the ground, making the ſame howling noiſe as before, having not been yet taught to ſpeak. There were ſeveral ſcars on his face, which were thought to be the ſcratches of the bear which foſtered him. I have been informed, ſays the ſame writer, that when the Tartars make their incurſions into Poland, and over-run the country with an incredible ſwiftneſs, carrying the natives into ſlavery, the parents frequently, endeavouring to make their eſcapes, are forced to leave their children expoſed in the woods, where they are found and carried off by bears, of which there are great numbers here. HARTKNOCK, a Poliſh hiſtorian, alſo relates that in the reign of King CASIMIR, anno 1669, two boys were found among the bears in the woods near Grodno, one of which as ſoon as he ſaw the bears aſſaulted made his eſcape into a neighbouring moraſs, and the other was taken and brought to Warſaw, where he was afterwards chriſtened by the name of JOSEPH, appearing to be about twelve or thirteen years of age; but his manners were altogether brutal, for he fed upon raw fleſh, wild honey, crab apples, and ſuch things as bears uſually do, and went like them upon all four. It was with a great deal of difficulty they taught him to go upright, and he could but juſt expreſs his mind in a horrid voice. The King made a preſent of him to his Vice Chamberlain POSNAN, who employed him in his kitchen to fetch wood and water; but they could never entirely reclaim him from his native wildneſs, for he would often make an eſcape into the woods among the bears, and return again. I muſt confeſs I gave but little credit to theſe relations at firſt, but the late inſtance we have had of the wild boy brought to England, who was taken in the woods of Germany, inclines me to think ſomething of this kind may have happened, though not one tenth part of the ſtories related of this nature may deſerve credit in every circumſtance.

Freſh water fiſh, and fowl wild and tame, are very plentiful in Poland, and it is ſaid their partridges and ſome other animals turn white in winter in the north of Lithuania, as they do in Muſcovy. Their forelts are full of bees, which yield great quantities of honey and wax; and Pruſſia is famous for the amber they take on their coaſts.

As to their minerals, I find there are mines of ſilver, lead, iron and copper in ſeveral parts of Poland, marble of all colours, nitre, vitriol and pit-coal; but what they make their greateſt advantages of are their ſalt mines; one of which, a gentleman who viſited them informs us, is three hundred paces deep, and at the bottom there are a thouſand intricate windings, and many alleys and ſtreets like a town, which would take up a week's time to viſit. Sometimes there are ſuch ſtorms of wind in theſe ſubterraneous caverns, that it is not eaſy to ſtand againſt them, and generally the place is ſo cold that it is not to be endured. This one mine has yielded annually the value of four hundred thouſand livres in ſalt. There are four kinds of ſalt in it; the firſt is extreme hard like cryſtal; the ſecond ſort is not ſo hard, but clearer; the third is ſtill ſofter and brittle, but of a pure white; and theſe three taſte ſalt enough; but the fourth is ſomething freſher, there are ſome places in theſe mines where the labourers cannot work or carry a candle, for fear of ſetting fire to the vapour, which is nitrous, and very ſuſceptible of flame. The ſpaces and alleys in the ſalt mines, ſays another traveller, are formed by rows of large pillars cut out of the ſalt, to prevent the earth from falling in, and which, by the reflection of the light, afford a very agreeable proſpect, ſeeming to be ſo many rows of ſparkling cryſtal. The gentlemen of Poland have the ſole right to all mines, whether of metals or ſalt, found in their lands, except thoſe of white ſalt, of which the King hath an eighth ſhare, and the Queen and the officers of the crown ſome farther ſmall demands.

The merchandizes exported and imported may be gathered in part from the foregoing particulars; but I ſhall here enumerate them together: and firſt, their exports conſiſt of wheat, rye, barley, oats, pulſe, and generally of all kinds of grain; oxen, ſheep, horſes, hogs, hemp, flax, linen, hops, hides, tallow, leather, furs brought out of Muſcovy and dreſſed here, Poliſh furs, honey, wax, amber, pot-aſhes, pitch, maſts, planks, ſalt, beer, vitriol, nitre, lead, iron, copper, glaſs, pit-coal, earthen-ware and wool, the laſt of which there is great plenty of here, and tolerably good. Exports from Poland.

Their imports conſiſt in cloth, ſilks, tapeſtries, rich furs, jewels gold and ſilver, wrought and unwrought, wines, ſpices, ſalt-fiſh, fruit and tin. Imports.

But notwithſtanding their exports are ſo large and valuable, their imports far exceed them, and the balance of trade is vaſtly againſt them, for which ſeveral reaſons are aſſigned, among which theſe are the principal; and firſt, none of the gentry or men of fortunes, except in Pruſſia, apply themſelves to trade or merchandiſe; on the contrary, they ſpend their whole revenues in rich habits, furniture, ſplendid equipages, and a profuſe way of living. 2. They want the advantage of the ſea for foreign traffick, having only Dantzick and another port or two in all this large country. 3. The Tartars lying between them and Turkey, renders all traffick on that ſide very hazardous and precarious. 4. Neither the Muſcovites, Hungarians, or Germans, who lye contiguous Trade.

CHAP. V.

Manufactures.

tiguous to Poland, have any great ſtock of wealth or rich commodities to traffick with them, and what the Poles receive from other countries in Europe is either wines, ſilks, ſpices, or ſuch commodities as ſerve chiefly to ſupply their vanity or luxury, and bring no ſolid advantage to the kingdom. As to manufactures, except thoſe of linen, leather, hard-ware and earthen-ware, I do not find they have any, and theſe are far from being improved as they might be, the better ſort of people looking upon every thing that relates to trade or mechanick employments as beneath their care, and the lower claſs of people being vaſſals to the reſt, having neither time nor ſtocks to make any conſiderable improvements.

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Contains an abſtract of the antient and modern hiſtory of Poland, the ſucceſſion of their Princes, conſtitution of the government, the prerogatives of the crown, and privileges of the people.

THE Vandals or Veneti, the antient inhabitants of Sarmatia Europæa or Poland, having left their ſeats to poſſeſs themſelves of thoſe more deſirable countries of Italy, France, and Spain, were ſucceeded, it is generally held, by their neighbours the Tartars and Ruſſians. LECHUS, a Tartarian Prince, in particular, poſſeſſed himſelf of thoſe provinces, now called the Greater or Leſſer Poland, and part of Pruſſia; whoſe dominions, according to CLUVERIUS, extended about three hundred miles in length, and two hundred in breadth, to which hath ſince been added the provinces of Lithuania, Red Ruſſia, Podolia, Volhinia, Poleſia, Maſſovia, and Samogitia.

Lechus anno 550. the firſt Sovereign,

LECHUS, the firſt Sovereign of Poland, like other Princes his neighbours, took upon him no other title than that of Duke, with which his ſucceſſors were contented for many generations. He is ſaid to have begun his reign about the year 550. Before his time the inhabitants of this part of the world led an unſettled life, travelling from one country to another in waggons, a ſort of moving tenements, which ſerved them as well for lodgings as for carriage. Others of them lived in tents, which were almoſt as eaſily removed.

taught them to build and live in towns.

It was this Prince who firſt taught them to build, and laid the foundation of the moſt antient towns in Poland, of which the city of Gneſna is ſaid to claim the precedence, and was ſo named by LECHUS, from the Sclavonian word ginaſdo, which ſignifies a neſt, becauſe in felling down a tree, an eagle's neſt was found upon it, which was looked upon as a happy omen: and from hence it was, according to Poliſh tradition, that the arms of that kingdom came to be a ſpread eagle. The ſecond city he built was that of Poſnan, or Poſen; but Gneſna remained the capital. In memory of this LECHUS, ſays my author, the Poles ſtill in their poems ſtyle their country Lechia, and the Turks call a native of this country Lech. The Poliſh hiſtorians give no manner of account of the ſucceſſors of Duke LECHUS for an hundred and fifty years, only preſume that his children and deſcendants ſucceeded him for that ſpace of time, and then that the family of LECHUS being extinct, the country was afterwards governed by twelve Palatines, or Vaivodes, who were Sovereigns in their reſpective diſtricts, and independent on each other. Here my author makes a notable remark, viz. 'that 'the Poles were ſo fond of their liberties, that 'they would not put the government into one 'man's hands.' As if their liberties could not be endangered by twelve Princes as well as by one. Or as if theſe Palatines, if they were independent on each other, could not every one of them in their reſpective governments oppreſs their ſubjects as effectually as if the whole country had been governed by one: but it is obſervable when we talk of tyranny and arbitrary power, it is generally taken for granted, that a republick cannot be guilty of tyranny or oppreſſion; whereas it may not be difficult to ſhew that the ſubjects in a republick are uſually more effectually and irretrievably enſlaved, than thoſe who live under a monarchy; particularly here in Poland, it is admitted on all hands, that nine parts in ten of the people are greater ſlaves than the inhabitants of Turkey.

12 Palatines govern Poland.

But to draw inferences, and argue from occurrences which are ſaid to have happened above a thouſand years ago, in a country where the natives were but lately acquainted with letters, and foreigners have but a ſlight knowledge of their hiſtory, where we can have little to depend on but the traditions of ignorant or deſigning men, is ſurely the height of folly. To proceed, the Vaivodes, or Palatines, as it is ſaid, diſagreeing among themſelves, the people choſe one CRACUS for their Sovereign. So ſoon were they weary of their beloved Ariſtocracy, according to the ſame author, that it does not ſeem to have continued above two years at moſt; but how CRACUS came to be their Sovereign, whether by compact, by force, or choice, ſeems to me very uncertain. Nay, it ſtill remains a doubt of what country he was, whether a native or a foreigner. However, it is generally agreed that he began his reign about the year 700, that he built the city of Cracow, upon the Viſtula, calling it after his own name, and made it the capital of his dominions.

Cracus anno 7..

CRACUS, according to tradition, left three children, viz. CRACUS, LECHUS, and VENDA

CHAP. V.

a daughter. LECHUS murdered his brother CRACUS, and uſurped his dominions; but the treachery being diſcovered, he was expelled, and VENDA obtained the government, of whom many romantick tales are related. Upon her death, the family of CRACUS being extinct, Poland was again governed by twelve Vaivodes, or Palatines; who not agreeing about the extent of their power or dominions, LESCUS I. a goldſmith, was elected their Sovereign, upon whoſe death the grandees agreed upon a horſe-race, and that the perſon who won the race ſhould be their Sovereign: whereupon one LESCUS cauſing iron ſpikes to be laid in the way to lame the horſes of the other competitors, came firſt to the pillar; but the fraud being detected, he was cut in pieces, and another LESCUS, a poor peaſant, who run on foot with them only to ſee the race, and came ſecond to the goal, was pitched upon for their Duke. To LESCUS II. ſucceeded his ſon LESCUS III. after whom POPIEL, the ſon of LESCUS III. and after him POPIEL II. his ſon; after whoſe death the Poles elected PIASTUS, a wheelwright, in whoſe family the government continued ſeveral hundred years. I ſhall give only the names of his ſucceſſors, and the dates of their reſpective reigns, except I find any thing in them that may deſerve the reader's notice.

LECHUS II. VENDA anno 750.

LESCUS I. 7..

LESCUS II. 7..

LESCUS III. 8..

POPIEL I. 8..

POPIEL II. 8..

PIASTUS, 8..

SEMOVITUS, or ZIEMOVITUS, ſon of PIASTUS, began his reign anno 861.

SEMOVITUS 861.

LESCUS IV. 8..

LESCUS IV. his ſon, anno 892.

ZIEMOVISTUS 913.

ZIEMOVISTUS, his ſon, anno 913.

MIECISLAUS, his ſon, anno 964.

MIECISLAUS, 964.

It is reported of this Prince by the writers of the Roman communion, that he had ſeven wives, by none of whom he had any children, whereupon ſome of the Popiſh Miſſionaries acquainted him that he could never have any iſſue till he turned Chriſtian (for the Poles were Pagans at this time;) whereupon MIECISLAUS put away all his Pagan wives, and married DAMBRAWCA, the daughter of BOLESLAUS, Duke of Bohemia, and agreed with her father at the time of the marriage to become a Chriſtian. Whereupon Pope JOHN XIII. deputed Cardinal EGIDIUS, with a great number of Miſſionaries, to preach the Goſpel in this kingdom, who found the Duke ſo well diſpoſed, that he agreed to the founding the two Arch-biſhopricks of Gneſna and Cracow, with ſeveral other Biſhopricks. But the Duke deſiring in conſideration of the zeal he had ſhewn for the Chriſtian religion, that he might change the ſtyle of Duke for that of King, the Pope thought fit notwithſtanding to refuſe him this favour. He was ſucceeded by his ſon BOLESLAUS CHROBRY, anno 999, who by the conſent of the Pope was dignified with the title of King by the Emperor OTHO III. who alſo remitted his pretenſions as Emperor of the Romans to the Kingdom of Poland. This BOLESLAUS made Bohemia, Moravia, and Pruſſia tributary to Poland, and inſtituted twelve Senators to aſſiſt him in the government. Both the tombs of BOLESLAUS, and his father MIECISLAUS are ſtill to be ſeen in the cathedral church of Poſnan. To BOLESLAUS CHROBRY ſucceeded

The Poles converted to Chriſtianity.

BOLESLAUS CHROBRY, 999, the firſt King.

MIECISLAUS II. anno 1025; to whom ſucceeded

MIECISLAUS II. 1025.

CASIMIR I. his ſon, anno 1034. This Prince ſucceeding very young to the crown, was ſent by his mother the Queen Regent, to Paris, to improve his ſtudies, where he became a Benedictine Monk. The Poles hereupon falling into great diſtraction for want of a head, petitioned the Pope to diſpenſe with his Majeſty's vow, that he might return to his throne; which they at length obtained, on condition that for every head, except thoſe of the nobility and clergy, they ſhould contribute a farthing annually to maintain a lamp burning in St. PETER's church in Rome; and for ever after cauſe their heads to be ſhaved like Monks, as is practiſed at this day, ſays my author. CASIMIR conquered the dukedom of Maſſovia, of which Warſaw is the capital city, and left behind him three ſons and a daughter, (viz.) BOLESLAUS, ULADISLAUS, MIECISLAUS and SUENTOCHNA: being ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon

CASIMIR I. 1034.

BOLESLAUS II. anno 1059. This Prince married VICISLAVA, the daughter and heireſs of the Duke of Red Ruſſia, whereby that province was added to the dominions of Poland. He is reflected on pretty much by the Romiſh clergy for his vicious courſe of life: they relate alſo that the Biſhop of Cracow, STANISLAUS, refuſing him the communion, the King cleft his skull with his ſabre before the altar; whereupon the Pope excommunicated him and all his ſubjects, and the King was at length obliged to fly into Hungary with his ſon; being ſucceeded in the throne by

BOLESLAUS II. 1059.

ULADISLAUS HERMANUS, his brother, anno 1082: who was ſucceeded by

ULADISLAUS, 1082.

BOLESLAUS III. his ſon, anno 1103. eſteemed one of the braveſt and moſt ſucceſsful Princes the Poles ever had. He defeated the forces of the Emperor HENRY V. and, it is ſaid, was victorious in ſix and forty other battles which he fought. He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon

BOLESLAUS III. 1103.

ULADISLAUS, ſirnamed the Driveler, anno 1140. but his father having granted ſeveral large provinces to his younger children, whom ULADISLAUS endeavoured to deprive of their rights, he was depoſed by his brother

ULADISLAUS II. 1140.

BOLESLAUS IV. who aſcended the throne anno 1146. But the Emperor eſpouſing the intereſt of ULADISLAUS, after ſeveral warm diſputes, it was agreed that ULADISLAUS ſhould enjoy Sileſia,

BOLESLAUS IV. 1146.

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which then belonged to the kingdom of Poland, and that BOLESLAUS ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of the reſt of the kingdom: after whoſe death his brother

MIECI-SLAUS III. 1174.

MIECISLAUS III. ſucceeded to the throne, anno 1174, but was depoſed by his brother

CASIMIR II. 1178.

CASIMIR II. who aſcended the throne, anno 1178. He made an entire conqueſt of Pruſſia, and made Dantzick a royal city, which was before a poor fiſher town: and was ſucceeded by his ſon

LESCUS V. 1195.

LESCUS V. ſirnamed the White, anno 1195. He was driven out of the kingdom by his uncle MIECISLAUS III. who re-aſcended the throne, and died in poſſeſſion of it. After whom

ULADISLA-US III. 1203.

ULADISLAUS LACONOGUS was placed upon the throne, anno 1203: but he reſigned the crown again to LESCUS V. In his reign it was that the Tartars firſt made their incurſions into Poland; and the Knights of the Teutonick order were firſt introduced into Pruſſia: he was ſucceeded by his ſon

BOLESLA-US V. 1228.

BOLESLAUS V. ſirnamed the Chaſte, anno 1228. In his reign Poland was miſerably ravaged by the Tartars and Lithuanians, who were yet Pagans. This Prince having made a vow of chaſtity, and leaving no children behind him, was ſucceeded by his uncle

LESCUS VI. 1279.

LESCUS VI. ſirnamed the Black, anno 1279, who leaving no iſſue, was ſucceeded by

HENRY, 1290.

HENRY Duke of Breſlaw, of the family of PIASTUS, anno 1290, who appointed

PRIMISLA-US, 1296.

PRIMISLAUS Duke of Great Poland his ſucceſſor, anno 1296. This Prince being murdered

ULADISLA-US III. WINCISLA-US, 1300.

ULADISLAUS LOCTICUS, brother to LESCUS the Black, aſcended the throne, who was depoſed by WINCISLAUS King of Bohemia, anno 1300, whom the Poles invited to take the government upon him; after his death ULADISLAUS was reſtored to his dominions.

CASIMIR III. 1333.

CASIMIR the Great ſucceeded his father ULADISLAUS LOCTICUS, anno 1333. The provinces of Red Ruſſia and Maſſovia were not till this reign enjoyed peaceably, and annexed to the crown of Poland; though they had ſeveral times been conquered by the Poles before. This King is ſaid to have inſtituted their civil government, appointing judges and magiſtrates, and introduced the laws of the Teutonick order into Poland, called the laws of Magdeburg. CASIMIR being the laſt ſurviving male of the family of PIASTUS, appointed his ſiſter's ſon

LEWIS, 1370. Limitations put upon the crown.

LEWIS King of Hungary to ſucceed him, anno 1370. In this reign it was, according to the Poliſh hiſtory, that they began to reſtrain their Prince, and inſiſt upon ſome limitations of his authority; for hitherto their Kings had been veſted with an almoſt abſolute power. After the death of LEWIS, he was ſucceeded by his daughter

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HEDWIGIS, anno 1382. This Princeſs married JAGELLO, or ULADISLAUS V. great Duke of Lithuania, anno 1386, who was till this time a Pagan, but agreed, in conſideration of this match, to embrace the Chriſtian religion with all his people; to unite Lithuania with Poland; and, in caſe of failure of male iſſue, that it ſhould for ever after be annexed to the Poliſh dominions: as we find it is at this day. JAGELLO was ſucceeded by his ſon

HEDWIGIS an. JAGELLO, 1385.

ULADISLAUS VI. anno 1435, who afterwards alſo accepted of the Kingdom of Hungary, and was for a time very ſucceſsful in his wars againſt AMURATH the Turkiſh Emperor: but afterwards breaking a ſolemn truce he had made with the infidels, was defeated by them, and killed in the field of battle; and having no children, was ſucceeded by his brother

ULADISLA-US VI. 1435.

CASIMIR IV. great Duke of Lithuania, anno 1446. In whoſe reign the Pruſſians endeavoured to free themſelves from the yoke of the Teutonick order, and transferred their allegiance to CASIMIR; but after ſome battles fought between the Poles and the Teutonick Knights, they came to a treaty, wherein it was agreed that Pomerania, the territories of Culm and Michalow, with the cities of Marienburg, Stuma, and Elbing, ſhould be reſtored to Poland; that the Knights ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of the reſt; and that the great Maſter ſhould be a ſenator of Poland, and take an oath of fealty to that crown. In the reign of this Prince it was that the repreſentatives of the provinces were firſt permitted to ſit in the diet, or aſſembly of the ſtates. The ſupreme power was before lodged in the King and ſenators only. It was this King alſo that firſt encouraged the learning Latin, and the ſpeaking it ſo generally in Poland. He was ſucceeded by his ſon

CASIMIR IV. 1446. Repreſentatives of the provinces admitted into the diet.

JOHN ALBERT, anno 1493, who leaving no iſſue, was ſucceeded by his brother

JOHN ALBERT.

ALEXANDER great Duke of Lithuania, anno 1501. Upon whoſe death his brother

ALEXAN-DER, 1501.

SIGISMUND aſcended the throne, anno 1507. In this reign MARTIN LUTHER's doctrine began to ſpread itſelf in Pruſſia, and other parts of Poland, particularly in the city of Dantzick, which the King of Poland found himſelf under a neceſſity of indulging them in, for fear of a revolt, though he was at firſt very ſevere upon that city, on account of their changing their religion. He was engaged in war with the Knights of the Teutonick order: but their differences being at length referred to the mediation of the Emperor CHARLES V. and LEWIS King of Hungary, it was determined that SIGISMUND ſhould relinquiſh to their great Maſter, the Marquis

SIGISMUND 1507. Reformation introduced into Poland.

Eaſtern Pruſſia granted to the Marquis of Brandenburg.

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quis of Brandenburg, all the eaſtern part of Pruſſia, being the better half of that province; and that the Marquis of Brandenburg, as Duke of Pruſſia, and his heirs, ſhould ſwear fealty to the crown of Poland, and maintain an hundred horſe in the ſervice of that Prince every year. SIGISMUND was ſucceeded by his only ſon

SIGISMUND II. 1548.

SIGISMUND II. anno 1548. In the reign of this Prince the Muſcovites coming down with a great army, and invading Livonia, the great Maſter of the Livonian Knights, and the Archbiſhop of Riga, implored the protection of Poland, which was granted them, on condition that they would ſubmit themſelves intirely to the King, and ſwear fealty to him; and that the great Maſter GOTHOTRED KETLER ſhould reſign his maſterſhip to his Majeſty: GOTHOTRED was thereupon, by the King, made Duke of Courland and Semigalia, then a part of Livonia; and his poſterity have enjoyed thoſe provinces ever ſince, but as vaſſals to Poland. Other parts of Livonia put themſelves under the protection of ERIC King of Sweden, which occaſioned almoſt perpetual wars between the Swedes, Muſcovites, and Poles, till the Swedes were in the laſt war entirely expelled Livonia, as well as the Poles, who have at preſent relinquiſhed their right to every part of Livonia, except Courland and Semigalia: but of this more hereafter. SIGISMUND leaving only two daughters, the diet of Poland offered the crown to

Livonia put itſelf under the protection of Poland and Sweden.

HENRY of Valois, 1574.

HENRY of Valois, Duke of Anjou, anno 1574, who had not been many months in Poland before he received advice of the death of the King his brother; whereupon he returned privately into France; and the Poles having no hopes of his reaſſuming the government, they elected for their King

STEPHEN BATORI, 1577.

STEPHEN BATORI, Prince of Tranſilvania, anno 1577, who being oppoſed by the Emperor MAXIMILIAN, to ſtrengthen his title married the Princeſs ANN, daughter to SIGISMUND I. and ſiſter of SIGISMUND II. Before this King's reign, it is ſaid, there were no ſupreme courts of juſtice for civil cauſes; but the King and council were till then the laſt reſort: BATORI therefore erected two tribunals, one at Petricovia, and the other at Lublin, where all civil cauſes were to be finally determined without appeal, unleſs where the ſtate was concerned: and in ſuch caſes the deciſion was left to the King and the diet. After the death of BATORI

SIGISMUND III. 1587.

SIGISMUND III. the ſon of JOHN King of Sweden, was elected King of Poland, on condition of his renouncing the Proteſtant religion, anno 1587. And was ſucceeded by his ſon

ULADISLAUS VI. 1632.

ULADISLAUS VI. anno 1632, who had great ſucceſs againſt the Muſcovites, taking the capital city of Moſcow. And upon a peace obliged them to relinquiſh their pretenſions to the two large dukedoms of Smolensko and Zernikow. He was alſo very ſucceſsful againſt the Turks; and the Coſſacks were humbled by him: but the making that people his enemies proved at length a great diſadvantage to Poland. ULADISLAUS leaving no iſſue, his brother

JOHN CASIMIR, 1648.

JOHN CASIMIR, who had entered himſelf of a religious order, and was made a Cardinal by Pope INNOCENT XI. was elected King, anno 1648. In this reign the Coſſacks being oppreſſed by the Poles, both in their religious and civil rights, put themſelves under the protection of the Turks and Muſcovites; and for many years united their forces with the one or the other in ravaging Poland. In the year 1655, CHARLES GUSTAVUS King of Sweden made an entire conqueſt of Poland, except Dantzick; and obliged CASIMIR to fly for refuge into Sileſia; but within ſix months time the Swede loſt all that he had gained, and CASIMIR was reſtored. He raiſed afterwards an army of thirty thouſand Germans, with a deſign, as it is ſaid, to render himſelf arbitrary; but the Crown General defeated them, and put an end to the project: whereupon, after twenty years reign, he voluntarily abdicated the crown, and retired into France; where he was made Abbot of the abbey of St. Germans. After whom was elected

MICHAEL, 1670.

MICHAEL CORUBUTH WISNOWEISKI, anno 1670, of the family of the great Dukes of Lithuania: in whoſe reign the Turks over-run Podolia, and made a conqueſt of Caminiec, the capital city; and laying ſiege to Leopol, the Poles agreed to pay an annual tribute to the Grand Seignior, on condition the Turks would raiſe the ſiege, which was complied with. The Poliſh General SOBIESKI indeed afterwards obtained a ſignal victory over the Turks; but the Poles, after their uſual manner, retiring abruptly out of the field, Caminiec, and great part of Podolia, remained in the hands of the Turks many years after. King MICHAEL dying ſome few days before the victory, the Poles in their next choice, conſidering the merits of their General, elected for their King

JOHN SOBIESKI, 1674.

JOHN SOBIESKI, anno 1674. He made two campaigns, and gained ſeveral conſiderable advantages over the Turks, before he was crowned. He was a younger ſon of JAMES SOBIESKI, Caſtellan of Cracow, and had raiſed himſelf by his merit to the poſt of Crown General: but the moſt glorious action of his life was his raiſing the ſiege of Vienna, when it was upon the point of being taken by the Turks, in the year 1683.

JOHN SOBIESKI dying on the 17th of June, 1696, there appeared ſeveral competitors for the throne, among which the chief were Prince JAMES SOBIESKI, eldeſt ſon of the late King; the

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the Prince of Conti; Don LIVIO DE ODESCHALCI, nephew to Pope INNOCENT XI. Prince LEWIS of Baden; the Duke of Newburgh; the Duke of Lorrain, and Prince ALEXANDER SOBIESKI. But a Prince who was ſcarce thought of, and whoſe religion ſeemed to be an unſurmountable obſtacle, carried the prize at laſt, viz. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS Elector of Saxony, who till then appeared to be a profeſſed Lutheran, and it is conſtantly one of the articles ſworn to in the pacta conventa, on the King's acceſſion, that he ſhall be of the religion of the Church of Rome. This Prince, during the conteſts of the ſeveral competitors, did not ſeem to look that way: nor was ſuch a deſign ſo much as talked of in his court at Dreſden, till the intereſt was formed, and he was pretty well aſſured of carrying his point; then indeed his troops were on a ſudden ordered to march to the confines of Poland, through Sileſia: and on the day of election there appeared a very conſiderable party for him; but not ſo numerous as that of the Prince of Conti's. The Primate being apprehenſive that the other competitors, finding themſelves too weak ſingly, would join with the Elector of Saxony, proceeded without delay to proclaim the Prince of Conti King, on the 20th of June, 1697, and haſtening to Warſaw in the evening, cauſed Te Deum to be ſung in St. John's church, in the dark, for his acceſſion. This the palatines and deputies, in the intereſt of the other competitors, proteſted againſt as illegal: becauſe by the laws of Poland, they inſiſted, that no election is valid without the univerſal conſent of the diet. And all who oppoſed the Prince of Conti and the French intereſt joining together, there appeared two hundred and thirty ſtandards for the Elector, whereas there were but ſeventy-two for the Prince of Conti. The Biſhop of Cujavia, therefore, having cauſed an inſtrument to be read, teſtifying that the Elector of Saxony had for ſome time before made profeſſion of the Roman Catholick religion, cauſed him to be proclaimed King; after which the palatines and nobility attended him to the great church in Warſaw, where they cauſed Te Deum to be ſung, with abundance of illuminations and ſolemn muſick; the hoſt being expoſed at the ſame time, and the great guns fired, by order of the Grand Marſhal. This was done in the ſame place, and within two hours after Te Deum had been ſung for the election of the Prince of Conti.

The Prince of Conti and the Elector of Saxony, both elected in one day, anno 1697.

The next day the ſenators returned into the field, and ſent for the Primate, who refuſed to come: whereupon they cauſed the pacta conventa to be drawn up and ſigned by Mr. FLEMMING, the Elector's miniſter, in his maſter's name. By this inſtrument the King obliges himſelf to maintain their antient rights and liberties; to continue in the communion of the Church of Rome, and perform ſuch other articles as he hath agreed to on his acceſſion: particularly the preſent King agreed to recover Caminiec and Podolia from the Turk at his own charges.

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The Prince of Conti's party, however, continued to act in his name, as thoſe who eſpouſed the Elector's party did in his: ſo that for a time Poland might be ſaid to have two Kings at once. The Elector took poſſeſſion of Cracow, and put a ſtrong garriſon into it; and the Prince of Conti was convoyed to Dantzick, by five French men of war: and the Primate ſummoned a diet to meet the 26th of Auguſt, near Warſaw, to confirm the election which the republick ſhould agree to be moſt conformable to law, at which moſt of Conti's friends appeared, as is evident from their behaviour; for ſome who were in the Saxon intereſt demanding what was the deſign of ſummoning this diet, above ſix thouſand gentlemen drew their ſabres upon them, and drove them out of the field, mortally wounding ſome of them. And the palatines, caſtellans, and deputies there aſſembled, confirmed the election of the Prince of Conti, reſolving to make it good with the hazard of their lives; and accordingly entered into a rocoche, or general aſſociation, againſt the Elector of Saxony, and thoſe who adhered to him.

One party the kingdom acknowledge the Prince Conti, the other King Augustus.

The Elector's party took very little notice of this partial diet, which had been ſummoned by the Primate, or of the confederacy which had been entered into; but appointed the coronation of King AUGUSTUS to be performed at Cracow, on the 15th of September following: and it was ſolemnized accordingly with the utmoſt magnificence. This had a mighty influence on the Elector's affairs, and brought over great part of the army, many of the grandees, and the city of Dantzick to his intereſt. Whereupon the Prince of Conti having waited in the road of Dantzick till the beginning of November, 1697, and finding no conſiderable body of Poles advance that way to countenance him, he ſet ſail again for France, deſpairing of ſucceſs: and many particular diets declared in favour of King AUGUSTUS. But the Saxon troops which the King had introduced into Poland, and which indeed had hitherto given him the advantage of his competitor, began to create a great diſguſt in the Poliſh grandees, who apprehended their liberty to be in danger from them; inſomuch that the confederacy, or aſſociation, already mentioned to be formed againſt the King, began to gather ſtrength. In the midſt of theſe confuſions the Pope diſpatched a Nuncio into Poland, to offer his mediation to the contending parties, which had that good effect, that the Primate, with the whole rocoche, or confederacy, made their ſubmiſſion

The Prince of Conti

mission to his Majesty, and recognized him for their King in the month of May, 1698, on the following conditions,

I. That the King shall use his utmost endeavours to bring over the Queen to the Catholick religion; and that he shall evince by uncontestable proofs, such as the Primate and the Pope's Nuncio deem proper, that he hath effectually embraced the Catholick religion himself.

II. That he shall dismiss all the Lutheran ministers in his army.

III. That the liberty of suffrages and elections shall be restored; and he shall not demand the great sums which the crown hath cost him.

IV. That he shall pay all the arrears due to the army of the crown.

V. That he shall employ his own troops in the siege of Caminiec, and the recovery of Podolia, which shall afterwards be re-united and incorporated in the crown.

VI. That he shall send back his Saxon troops afterwards out of the kingdom, and make satisfaction for the damages done by them.

VII. That he shall revoke the concessions of crown lands, and the revenues for the future shall be employed towards the subsistence of his houshold.

VIII. That he shall revoke all the protestations made against the Primate and the confederacy.

IX. That he shall confer no employments, benefices, or preferments, upon any but native Polanders, who shall profess the Roman Catholick religion.

X. That the river Pisca shall be made navigable at the King's charge.

XI. That after the expedition to Caminiec is over, a general diet of pacification shall be called, and in the mean time his Majesty shall issue circular letters, to give notice of this agreement to all the palatinates of the kingdom.

XII. That the tribunals shall remain suspended till the King be again confirmed in the possession of the crown.

All things being thus happily pacified, and the King universally recognized, in the latter end of the summer, 1698, the King marched an army of Poles and Saxons towards Leopol, for the recovery of the city of Caminiec, and the territory of Podolia: but the season being too far advanced, nothing of consequence was undertaken. The following year, 1699, the city of Caminiec and province of Podolia were restored to the Poles, by the Turks, by the treaty of Carlowitz; whereupon the Poles insisted strenuously on the King's sending back his Saxon forces: and his Majesty seeming to make some difficulty in complying with this demand, they came to a resolution, that the nobility should mount on horseback, to drive them out of the kingdom. The Cardinal Primate also declared, that he would not come to the diet till the kingdom was purged of armed heresy, as he called it. And the King, at length, found himself under a necessity of issuing his orders to those troops to begin their march; but delayed their departure, however, till the following year, when he employed them against the Swedish dominions in Livonia, under pretence of their belonging formerly to the crown of Poland. Of the grounds of this war a late ingenious writer gives us a very rational account: he observes, in the first place, that ever since the time of the great GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, who began his reign anno 1611, the crown of Sweden had in several wars much enlarged its dominions on every side; particularly, on the side of Poland, they had possessed themselves of Riga, and the whole province of Livonia, the richest and most flourishing part of the Polish dominions. On the side of Muscovy they had made themselves masters of Narva, Ingria, &c. and from Denmark they had gained Schonen, Bleking, and Halland, and dispossessed them of the northern shores of the Baltick, of all which losses the several nations abovementioned still retained a very quick sense, and only waited an opportunity of recovering the dismembered countries, though they had, by solemn treaties, formally relinquished their right to them. And the King of Sweden, CHARLES XII. being at this time a minor, they looked upon it as a very proper opportunity to endeavour the recovery of their respective territories. These three powers therefore, the Poles, the Danes, and Muscovites, entered into a confederacy, and agreed to attack the Swede at one and the same time.

The King of Poland invades Livonia.

The Poles, Danes, and Muscovites, in a confederacy against Sweden.

Of the war between the Swede and the Dane, which the English and Dutch fleets compelled the Dane to put an end to, almost as soon as it was begun, the reader hath already had an account of, in treating of Sweden and Denmark. I proceed now to give a brief relation of the war between the King of Poland and Sweden, which his Polish Majesty, it is said, entered into, more upon the account of keeping a body of his Saxon troops in Poland, for which he could otherwise have had no pretence, than to recover any part of the Polish territories, which had been conquered by the Swede in former reigns, though this was made the specious pretence, in order to draw the republick of Poland into the present war and induce them to acquiesce in his Majesty's keeping an army of Saxons about him: but, however that be, certain it is, that much about the same time the Danes attacked the Duke of Holstein and the Swedes, his Polish Majesty sent an army of sixteen thousand men, commanded by General FLEMMING, to invade Livonia, and lay siege to the city of Riga, issuing

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ing a declaration or manifeſto, wherein he pretended to have intelligence that the Swedes were upon the point of invading Poland, and therefore he found it neceſſary to march an army into their country to prevent his kingdom being made the ſeat of war, and promiſing protection to ſuch of the inhabitants of Livonia as ſhould join his forces, and endeavour to free themſelves from the oppreſſions of the Swedes. That he would reſtore thoſe lands to the nobility, which had been ſeized and taken from them by that Prince. That he would alſo enlarge the privileges of their cities and ſea ports, eſpecially that of Riga, which he would make independent, and equal to Dantzick. But neither this declaration, nor a detachment of 1500 horſe, which were ſent under the command of General PATKUL, a native of Livonia, to encourage the nobility to revolt, had any effect upon them. General FLEMING therefore moved towards Riga, and inveſted that town, having firſt ſtormed and took the Dunamunder Schaus, and another ſmall fort which defended the mouth of the river going up to Riga; the Governor of Riga being ſummoned to ſurrender, declared he would defend the town to the laſt extremity; and the Swedes marching to the relief of it, FLEMING was obliged to riſe from before the place, being diſappointed of the reinforcements promiſed him. But the King of Poland, looking upon his reputation to be at ſtake, aſſembled an army of two and twenty thouſand men, and on the ſeventh of Auguſt 1700, inveſted Riga a ſecond time, ſeeming determined to take the town at any expence, or at leaſt to lay it in aſhes by a bombardment: but his allies, the Engliſh and Dutch, interpoſed at this critical juncture, and prevailed on him to deſiſt from the enterprize, on account of the great quantities of merchandize they had in the place.

In the mean time the Czar of Muſcovy had declared war againſt Sweden, and entring Livonia with an army of an hundred and twenty thouſand men, and a train of four hundred pieces of cannon, inveſted Narva in the beginning of October 1700. Some few days after the King of Sweden landed at Revel, and reſolved to relieve the place at all hazards. The Czar hereupon went poſt to Pleſkow, to bring up another part of his army, leaving the Duke DE CROY, a German General, to command the ſiege. But the King of Sweden marched with ſuch expedition, that he did not give the Ruſſians time to unite their forces. On the day he attacked them, which was the 10th of November 1700, he began his march by break of day, and within an hour came within ſight of the enemy's camp, which he found intrenched on every ſide with lines of circumvallation. The weather was clear and ſerene at this time, but there fell on a ſudden a thick fog accompanied with ſnow, by the favour of which the Swedes advanced within fifty paces of the Muſcovites, without being perceived, when the miſt cleared up, and the weather became fair as before. The Muſcovites appeared in the utmoſt ſurprize to find the enemy ſo near them; and the King of Sweden, having played upon their lines about an hour with his artillery, entered their camp ſword in hand at the head of his infantry, the cavalry following them. The Muſcovites at firſt made a good reſiſtance, but gave way at length, running in crowds to the river Narva, which divided their camp, in hopes to gain the bridge laid over that river, but it breaking down with them, great numbers were drowned in it; the reſt intrenched themſelves behind their waggons, where they pretended to defend themſelves, but ſoon threw down their arms, and begged for quarter, which was given them with liberty to return to their own country, their numbers being too great to be made priſoners. This victory was very glorious to the King of Sweden, who being then but ſeventeen years of age, forced the Ruſſians in their intrenchments, who were computed to be an hundred thouſand ſtrong; whereas the Swedes were not above twenty thouſand. Immediately after the battle the young hero made a triumphant entry into Narva, where he found the congratulations of his beſieged ſubjects ſuitable to the greatneſs of their deliverance; and thus ended the firſt campaign of the Saxons and Muſcovites. The Saxons ſat down before Riga, but were pleaſed to riſe from before it without making one attack upon the place, at the inſtance of the Dutch and their allies. The Ruſſians carried on the ſiege of Narva ſix weeks with great fury and little ſkill, after their manner, till the King of Sweden, with a fifth part of their number forced their lines, and drove them from before the town with incredible loſs and ſlaughter; and as for the Danes, they had been compelled to clap up a peace with Sweden by the Engliſh and Dutch fleets, as hath been intimated already; ſo that the Swede had only the Poles and their Saxon allies, and the Ruſſians to deal with the next campaign; againſt which all parties made their utmoſt efforts. The King of Poland and the Czar, the better to concert their meaſures, had an interview in February upon the confines of Livonia, which laſted about a fortnight. They ſeemed to ſpend their time chiefly in drinking and entertainments; but here it was the plan of the future war was laid, and the reſolution taken of diſciplining the Ruſſian forces after the German manner, which in the end, notwithſtanding the King of Sweden's frequent victories, turned the ſcale, and was the occaſion of the loſs of all the Swediſh dominions in Livonia, &c. They found the Ruſſian troops little inferior to their own in the latter part of

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this war, and their numbers were always formidable. But to return from this digreſſion. The kingdom of Poland was at this time in great confuſion, many of the nobility declared themſelves averſe to the Livonian war, which they obſerved was engaged in chiefly for a pretence to retain the Saxon forces, and demanded the calling of a general diet, which gave his Poliſh Majeſty great uneaſineſs. As to Lithuania, which was divided into two great factions, the one commanded by the General SAPHIEA, and the other by OGINSKI, the ſtandard-bearer of that dutchy, there had been ſeveral pitched battles fought between them, and the country was in a manner ruined.

The next ſpring the Swedes in Livonia prepared to invade the Poliſh dominions, whereupon King AUGUSTUS directed the Duke of Courland, who commanded his army, to aſſemble his forces on the banks of the Dwina, which divides Poland from Livonia, and diſpute the paſſage of that river with them; for his Poliſh Majeſty was ſo embarraſſed with the diet that he could not command his army in perſon. About the latter end of June 1701, the King of Sweden decamped from Dorpt and marched towards the Dwina, and obſerving the Saxons to be advantageouſly poſted on the oppoſite ſhore, and that there was no paſſing the river in their ſight, ſent ſome detachments higher up the ſtream, who got over in boats unperceived, and having fortified themſelves, gave the reſt of the troops an opportunity of following them. Nor did the Saxons yet advance towards the Swedes, but poſted themſelves on an advantageous piece of ground, flanked with a moraſs on one ſide, and a wood on the other, in which poſture the Swedes attacked them in fair front, and receiving their fire, fell upon them with an irreſiſtible fury, ſo that their foot upon the right were obliged to retire into the wood. Their main body fought well, but three or four battalions of them were entirely cut to pieces. The horſe, after having made two or three bold ſtands, left the field, and the Swedes made themſelves maſters of all their cannon and baggage, but were not, it ſeems, in a condition to purſue them far. The Duke of Courland, who commanded the Saxons, according to the account of the Swedes, did all that could be expected from a gallant experienced officer, remounting three times after his horſes had been ſhot under him; but charging the King of Sweden's guards the third time, was knocked off his horſe by a foot ſoldier with the but-end of his musket, and his body could never be found. It was to this General's death that the Swedes in a great meaſure aſcribed their victory, for the Saxon foot upon the left never charged for want of orders, and the other Generals thought of nothing elſe but making their retreat after this misfortune, which they did in good order to Birſen, in Lithuania, without being purſued; for the King of Sweden marched another way, advancing to Mittau, the capital city of Courland, where the Saxons had their chief magazine. Here he ſeized a vaſt quantity of arms and ammunition, with proviſions ſufficient to ſerve his army for three months. And as the Duke had appeared at the head of an army againſt him, he treated Courland as an enemy's country, obliging the inhabitants to pay him ſixty thouſand crowns in money, thirty thouſand tons of beer, a thouſand barrels of brandy and ſpirits, and ten thouſand laſts of wheat, beſides great quantities of ſalted fleſh and other proviſions. And ſo diſheartened were the Saxons and Muſcovites on this defeat, that the troops of both nations retired out of Poland, and marched to their reſpective countries.

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The King of Sweden, having now no enemy in the field to oppoſe him, took in what places he ſaw fit, and effectually ſecured the frontiers of Livonia from being invaded again on that ſide. He made himſelf maſter alſo of the fort called the Dwina Munder Schaus, at the mouth of the river Dwina, which the Saxons had taken from him in the beginning of the war, and where lay that fine train of artillery the King had brought with him from Dreſden, conſiſting of ninety pieces of braſs cannon for battery, and ſixteen large mortars; which the King of Poland endeavour'd to ſave by making a preſent of them to the republick of Poland before the fort was taken: but the King of Sweden had little regard to the donation, though the Primate and the nobility inſiſted very ſtrenuouſly on their title to them, as not being at war with Sweden, though their King, as Sovereign of Saxony, was. This it ſeems was the firſt occaſion of that correſpondence between the King of Sweden and the Primate, which ended in the dethroning of King AUGUSTUS.

In the mean time the Primate and nobility of Poland, as well as thoſe of the dutchy of Lithuania, pretended to be highly diſguſted with the King of Sweden, on account of his having garriſoned ſome towns belonging to the republick on their frontiers. They repreſented that they were a diſtinct body from their King, and in full peace with Sweden; neither had they conſented to the invaſion of the Swediſh territories by the Saxons, and therefore intreated he would withdraw his forces out of their country. To which his Swediſh Majeſty anſwered, that he deſired nothing more than the maintaining the antient league and friendſhip with the republick; and was ſo far from intending any hoſtilities againſt them, that he was infinitely concerned at the oppreſſions they ſuffered from the Saxons, in breach of the pacta conventa; offering them the aſſiſtance of his forces to free them from a foreign yoke, and in ſhort, to depoſe their King; which both Poles and Lithuanians ſeemed at firſt to be highly exaſperated at; but the war in Lithuania between the families

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of SAPHIEA and OGINSKI, ſoon gave his Swediſh Majeſty a handle to introduce his forces into that country; for the nobility of Lithuania joining moſt of them with OGINSKI againſt Prince SAPHIEA, by whom they looked upon themſelves to be oppreſſed, after many battles fought between them with various fortune, OGINSKI gave the SAPHIEA's an entire defeat, and murdered ſeveral of that noble family in cold blood. Whereupon SAPHIEA, having no hopes of re-eſtabliſhing his affairs by any other means, called in the Swedes to his aſſiſtance: while OGINSKI and his party on the other hand put themſelves under the protection of King AUGUSTUS.

His Swediſh Majeſty detached at firſt only a thouſand dragoons into Lithuania, with orders to defend Prince SAPHIEA's lands againſt OGINSKI, and his adherents; but OGINSKI falling upon them, the King of Sweden marched in perſon, with a conſiderable body of his troops into Lithuania, and joining battle with OGINSKI, gave him a conſiderable defeat; after which, he quartered his forces over the whole dutchy of Lithuania, declaring he would not withdraw his army out of the country till the Poles had depoſed King AUGUSTUS, and elected another Prince; and wrote to the ſame purpoſe both to the Primate and nobility of that kingdom. To which the Primate anſwered, that it could never enter into the hearts of the Poles to depoſe their King; that it was a thing never heard of in that nation, who were remarkable for their fidelity and loyalty to their Princes. He acquainted him alſo, that the Saxons were now marched out of Poland, and his Swediſh Majeſty having no enemy in their country, they hoped he would quit their territories; and by that means reſtore peace to their republick. But the King of Sweden gave them to underſtand, that as King AUGUSTUS had without any pretence, perfidiouſly broken the peace of Oliva, and invaded his dominions, he would purſue him wherever he was to be found; and if the republick would ſupport him, they muſt fight for him: he ſhould liſten to an accommodation on no other terms but the dethroning of King AUGUSTUS. He ſuggeſted alſo, that the republick had no great reaſon to expect many favours from him, having indolently, at leaſt, ſat ſtill and ſuffered his dominions to be invaded, and his ſubjects plundered without taking effectual meaſures to prevent it, as they might have done; and ſoon after drew his army together in order to march to Warſaw, leaving only a detachment of eight thouſand horſe and foot in Lithuania to protect Prince SAPHIEA. In this march, his Swediſh Majeſty meeting with no oppoſition, arrived at Warſaw, the 26th of May, 1702, with an army of twelve thouſand foot, and ſix thouſand horſe. King AUGUSTUS, and the nobility who adhered to him, being fled to Cracow, and the reſt of them, much the greater number, gone to their reſpective countries. King AUGUSTUS, finding there was no relying upon the Poles, ordered his Saxon army to march into that kingdom to his aſſiſtance again. The Czar of Muſcovy alſo ſent twenty four thouſand men to his aſſiſtance; but of theſe he made little uſe, unleſs of twelve regiments, which he modelled after the German manner, and two thouſand Coſſack horſe; but what proved of moſt ſervice to his Poliſh Majeſty, was a ſum of ſix hundred thouſand crowns the Czar ſent him, with which he brought over the army of the crown to join him.

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His Swediſh Majeſty having taken poſſeſſion of the city and caſtle of Warſaw, which ſurrendred on a ſummons, he diſarmed the burghers, and placed a garriſon there of four thouſand men; obliging the city and diſtrict about it to raiſe him thirty thouſand rix dollars immediately, for the ſubſiſtence of his troops; and here he reſolved to quarter his army ſome time at the expence of the country, and ſee what meaſures the Poles would take. In the mean time the Cardinal endeavoured to mediate matters between the two Kings; but his Swediſh Majeſty ſtill inſiſting on dethroning the King of Poland, the treaty came to nothing: and the King of Sweden at the head of twelve thouſand men marched towards Cracow to find out his enemy. The army of King AUGUSTUS at this time, according to the Swediſh accounts, conſiſted of eighteen thouſand Saxons, and ſix thouſand Poles and Coſſacks: the Muſcovite troops above-mentioned were not yet joined him. On the 19th of July, 1702, the two armies came to an engagement. The Saxons had ſo poſted themſelves that they could be attacked only in front: the Poliſh horſe had the right wing, conſiſting of ſix thouſand; and the Saxon horſe, conſiſting of five thouſand, had the left: King AUGUSTUS, to do them honour and encourage them, led the Poles; and Count FLEMMING the Saxon cavalry. The foot, who were all Saxons, and conſiſted of thirteen thouſand men, were in the center, and led by General STEINAN. The Swedes drew up in order of battle before their tents about ſix in the morning; having their cavalry on the two wings, with a ſmall body of musketeers in an interval of each wing, being out numbered by the enemies horſe; the foot were drawn up in one line, with only a body of reſerve: the Swedes extending their front as much as poſſible to make it equal to that of the enemies. His Swediſh Majeſty commanded the right, and the Duke of Holſtein the left; and the foot in the center were led by the Generals RHEINSCHILD and WELLING.

The battle of Cracow.

The Duke of Holſtein, who began the attack upon the left, was cut off by a cannon ball at the firſt

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first discharge, with between two and three hundred men. The Swedes however marched on through a terrible fire till they came to the sword's point; and though the Poles advanced very bravely at first, and charged after their manner with a great cry, they were soon put in confusion. The King of Sweden, upon hearing the Duke of Holstein was killed, galloped immediately to the left wing to supply his room; and observing the disorder of the Poles, commanded his men to advance firing, which prevented their rallying; so that they fled on all sides, bearing down part of the Saxon infantry. The King of Poland, finding them irrecoverably broken, left them, and advanced at the head of his left wing of Saxon horse to the charge, and pressed the Swedes so hard, that some squadrons were put into disorder: but the King of Sweden, having routed the Poles upon the left, came seasonably to their relief with another body of horse, and restored the battle on that side. The Saxon foot also, having been disordered by the flight of the Polish horse, were forced to retire: whereupon King AUGUSTUS seeing things desperate, ordered his cavalry to sound a retreat, drawing off the squadrons himself, and making a stand at a distance to rally those which came off in any order; by which conduct he not only saved his horse, but gave General STEINAN time to draw off the main body of his infantry on the left, and retreat with them. And indeed the Saxons behaved themselves so well in this battle, that the Swedes had not much stomach to pursue them: while the Polish horse never rallied, or shewed their faces again after they once turned their backs, though their loss was inconsiderable: the greatest slaughter fell upon the right of the Saxon foot, who were disordered by their horse, and charged by the Swedes in front and flank, many of whom were cut in pieces, and one entire regiment beat a parley, and yielded on quarter granted them. About five in the afternoon the Swedes broke into the Polish camp; which occasioned a horrid cry, there being an incredible number of women and children with the baggage; to whom, says the officer who gives this relation, we did little harm, only stripped them of all they had. They took also their tents, baggage and military chest, in which was two hundred thousand rix dollars, forty two pieces of cannon, and thirty six colours, but no standards; the Polish horse, as has been observed, all running away, which was the loss of the battle.

The next day the King of Sweden took possession of the city of Cracow, which pretending to dispute his entry on his first appearing before it, gave him a colour to demand the sum of sixty thousand crowns of the inhabitants, which they were obliged to pay down: and however it happened, the same night the castle of Cracow, the most magnificent structure in that part of the world, was burnt to the ground, tho' the Swedes disclaim the having any hand in it, and ascribe it purely to accident.

But while the King of Sweden was pursuing his revenge upon King AUGUSTUS, his affairs went very ill in Lithuania and Livonia. He had left in Lithuania but eight thousand men, as hath been observed already, and OGINSKI's party having been joined by WISNOWISKI, with a great body of Poles, besides a detachment from the Muscovite army, over-powered General STEINBOCK, the Swedish General, and having defeated him in several engagements, drove the Swedes quite out of the country, whereupon OGINSKI and his confederates fell upon the house of SAPHIEA, and entirely ruined them and their adherents.

In Livonia also the Swedes had left but twelve thousand men to defend that large province against the numerous armies of the Muscovites, who invading this country again, the Swedish General SLIPPENBAC bravely opposed them with a body of eight thousand men: so sanguine were the Swedes, and such a contempt had they of the Poles and Muscovites, that they made no scruple of engaging them when they were ten to one; and to this is generally ascribed the loss of that fine province of Livonia; for it cannot be supposed that the King of Sweden would deliberately have abandoned the richest part of his dominions to the ravages of the Muscovites, only to gratify his revenge on King AUGUSTUS; but he really thought ten thousand Swedes a match for an hundred thousand Muscovites, as he had found them to be at the beginning of the war; and did not duly reflect that all people are capable of improving in military discipline by their being in constant action, as it appeared in this case: for notwithstanding General SLIPPENBACK had posted himself very advantageously on the frontiers to receive the Russians, yet being surrounded by them, he lost most of his infantry, and with difficulty broke through with a body of horse, and made his retreat to Pernan. Upon this defeat, the Russians immediately destroyed all the open country with fire and sword, exercising the most barbarous and unheard of cruelties on the miserable inhabitants, if we may credit the Swedish relations, and afterwards driving them chained together to the remotest parts of the Russian dominions, sold them to the Turks. But the latter part of this relation I perceive is not true; for tho' the natives were transplanted to the countries about Casan and Astracan, those who survived of them were brought back into Livonia some years after, I presume, at the intercession of the Czarina, who was a Livonian by birth, and could not but interest her self in the misfortunes of her countrymen.

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But to proceed, the Swedes, ſays a late writer, though paſſionately devoted to their Monarch, could not but lament his conduct in this particular, when they ſaw him puſhing on the fate of Poland, and diſtreſſing King AUGUSTUS, whom he purſued almoſt to the gates of Caminiec in Podolia, while his poor ſubjects in Livonia were given as ſheep to the ſlaughter, ſuffering all that a barbarous enraged enemy could inflict upon them, and their braveſt troops ſacrificed to the Ruſſians, by being obliged to fight at ſuch odds, as muſt of neceſſity be their ruin. Had his Swediſh Majeſty, ſay they, given General STEINBOCK, or SLIPPENBACK, but thirty thouſand men together, the ſame who in ſeparate bodies were cut in pieces in the manner above related, not the greateſt army the Czar brought into the field could have penetrated the borders of Livonia; but while they engaged with ſuch unequal numbers, there was no room for valour to ſhew itſelf with any probability of Succeſs.

The Swedes being now no longer able to keep the field in Livonia after the enemy had deſtroyed the open towns and villages, as above related, they took the city of Dorpt by ſurprize; and Narva, which had held out ſo bravely two years before, by ſtorm; the garriſon being put to the ſword, and the town given to the plunder of the ſoldiers: Schaus Sterny, after a good defenſe, was obliged to ſurrender; Riga itſelf depopulated by the plague, and the works by accident blown up, was yielded to the Czar upon articles; and the whole province ſoon after fell into his hands. This was the hard fate of Livonia, while her King was every where elſe victorious, purſuing the game he had in chaſe with that eagerneſs, as not to be diverted from it by any conſiderations whatever; no, not by the miſeries of his moſt faithful ſoldiers and ſubjects, who in all their diſtreſſes continued obſtinately loyal, and never gave up any place while there was a poſſibility of keeping it.

King Augustus depoſed.

In the mean time the King of Sweden had prevailed upon the nobility of Great Poland and the Primate to join with him in depoſing King AUGUSTUS, and ſummoned a diet to meet at Warſaw for that purpoſe, while his Swediſh Majeſty marched into the Poliſh Pruſſia, and beſieged the city of Thorn. The diet was opened on the fourteenth of January 170¼, to whom the King ſent his commiſſioners with a letter, propoſing to their choice Prince JAMES SOBIESKI, the eldeſt ſon of the late King; declaring he would aſſiſt him with all his power, and purſue his oppoſers till he had reduced and broken them, and reſtored peace to the republick of Poland and its new King. Whereupon King AUGUSTUS was on the fourteenth of February 170¼, voted to be depoſed for having violated the laws and privileges of the nation, which he had ſworn to maintain: that the throne was vacant, and the ſubjects abſolved from their allegiance. King AUGUSTUS at this time was gone to Cracow to be preſent at an aſſembly of the ſenators of his party, which were far the greateſt number, (not a third part of the palatinates of the kingdom joining with the King of Sweden) and underſtanding that the houſe of SOBIESKI were at the bottom of the confederacy againſt him, and Prince JAMES the perſon ſet up for his rival, he employed ſome active inſtruments to watch his motions, who ſurprized him as he was going to put himſelf at the head of his party, carrying him and his brother Prince CONSTANTINE priſoners into Saxony, which very near broke the meaſures of the confederacy. But nothing could divert the King of Sweden from his purpoſe. Since Prince JAMES was thus unluckily carried out of the kingdom, he propoſed the advancing his brother Prince ALEXANDER to the throne; but the young Prince declined it, probably being deterred by Prince JAMES's fate. The perſon pitched upon next it was thought proper to conceal at preſent, that it might not be in the power of the vigilant Saxons to defeat their deſign. But the Poles many of them began to ſtagger in their reſolutions: the meaſures ſeemed ſo deſperate, that ſeveral of the nobility left the aſſembly at Warſaw, and proteſted againſt their proceedings, particularly the Palatines of Caliſh and Caminiec, and the Biſhop of Culm. The Pope's Nuncio alſo went away, after having charged them on pain of the higheſt church cenſures to do nothing to the prejudice of their lawful Sovereign King AUGUSTUS.

The King of Sweden, obſerving the diet at Warſaw to be very unſteady and dilatory in their proceedings, which gave his Poliſh Majeſty an opportunity of ſtrengthening himſelf by the addition of ſeveral palatinates and the forces of the crown, which daily went over to him, preſſed the Primate and diet to come to a ſpeedy concluſion: promiſing to protect them againſt all powers which ſhould oppoſe their meaſures: and when they began to ſtart new difficulties, he gave them to underſtand he would not be kept in ſuſpenſe any longer: whereupon the Primate alſo left the diet, and was followed by ſome conſiderable members of it; but the Palatines and deputies in the intereſt of Sweden proceeded however to an election without them; and choſe STANISLAUS LESINSKI, Palatin of Poſnania, or Poſen, and proclaimed him King of Poland on the twelfth of July, 1704. He was a young gentleman of no great fortune, or family; nor conſiderable on account of his alliances, or intereſt. But the King of Sweden obſerving him to be of a ſprightly genius, and fit to act the part he deſigned for him, reſolved he ſhould be the

STANISLAUS elected King.

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the man, and the Poles in his intereſt did not think fit to oppoſe it. But it was a ſurprize to all the world; his name not having been mentioned ſcarce till the time of the election. The Primate and grandees, who had withdrawn themſelves from the confederacy, refuſing to acknowledge the new King, the Swedes let them know that if they remained of that mind, their lands ſhould be deſtroyed with fire and ſword. Whereupon the Cardinal, and many of the nobility who had withdrawn themſelves, came in a few days and congratulated their new Sovereign on his acceſſion to the throne. And according to my author, no private gentleman was ever advanced to a crown who better became it, or behaved with more modeſty and agreeable deportment.

While the Swedes and confederated Poles were taken up in electing and proclaiming STANISLAUS, King AUGUSTUS was aſſembling his troops in order to diſpute his title. He had with him in the neighbourhood of Sendomir an army of fourteen thouſand Saxons, and ten thouſand Poles; and twelve thouſand of the beſt troops in the Czar of Muſcovy's army were ready to join him. A body of Saxons alſo were ordered to enter Great Poland, and plunder the lands of the confederates, who took the beautiful caſtle of Poſen, the ſeat of King STANISLAUS, and levelled it with the ground, compelling the ſubjects of the confederacy to raiſe fifteen hundred thouſand crowns by way of atonement for their diſloyalty.

King Augustus carries Warſaw.

The King of Poland with the body of his army afterwards marched ſouthwards towards Podolia, on whom the King of Sweden very diligently attended: but having drawn the Swedes a good diſtance from Warſaw, King AUGUSTUS returned on a ſudden with a detachment of four thouſand men, and ſurprized that city with great numbers of the confederated nobility in it; making Count HORN and the Swediſh garriſon priſoners of war. The new Queen, and the Cardinal Primate made their eſcape but a few hours before the city was inveſted; and King AUGUSTUS obliged the inhabitants to raiſe him fifty thouſand rix dollars to ſave them from being plundered. He ravaged the eſtates of his enemies alſo in the neighbouring country, particularly the Cardinal Primate's, by which means he raiſed vaſt ſums of money. In the mean time the King of Sweden continued his march into Red Ruſſia, and took the city of Lemburg obliging the inhabitants to pay him four hundred thouſand rix dollars. Thus were the miſerable natives fleeced of all they had, either by the Swedes or Saxons, under pretence of diſaffection to the one or the other. The diſmal repreſentations and complaints of the confederates ſoon obliged the King of Sweden to return from his ſouthern expedition to their aſſiſtance, whereupon King AUGUSTUS with his horſe retired to Cracow, ordering his foot, conſiſting of fourteen thouſand men, to make their retreat into Saxony, which they did under the conduct of General SCHYLEMBERG, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the King of Sweden, who came up with them and attacked them ſeveral times in perſon, with all the horſe of his army. This was eſteemed one of the fineſt retreats which had been made in this age, conſidering the enemy the Saxons had to deal with, and the length of the way they were to march over a campain country, without horſe, and without chevaux de frize, or pikes.

King AUGUSTUS receiving intelligence that the King of Sweden deſigned to invade his Saxon dominions, went thither in perſon, and levied more forces in order to oppoſe him, but ſpent ſo much time in Saxony, that many of his Poliſh friends forſook him, and went over to King STANISLAUS, which ſome of them paid dearly for not long after; for about this time (anno 1705) there aroſe a hero who eſpouſed the party of King AUGUSTUS, and ſurprized and haraſſed thoſe who oppoſed the Saxon intereſt without ceaſing. His name was SMEGIELSKI a Poliſh gentleman of great courage and vivacity; not bred to arms, yet conſtantly victorious. His firſt enterprize was againſt the nobility of Sendomir, who had declared for King STANISLAUS, and were aſſembled at Optatow in a provincial diet. Theſe gentlemen having finiſhed their reſolves on the eleventh of June, 1705, SMEGIELSKI entered the town next morning by break of day, with a body of Coſſacks and his own tenants and ſervants, amounting to fifteen hundred men, among whom there were not an hundred regular forces in all. Here he ſeized the caſtellan of Sendomir, and ſeventy five others of the nobility of that palatinate, and carried them away priſoners as far as Leopold; and in his way fell upon ſix hundred Swedes and Walachians who were poſted in a neighbouring caſtle to defend the aſſembly of Sendomir, and ſetting fire to the outworks, burnt them every man, except forty Swediſh officers, or thereabouts, to whom quarter was granted. Within ten days after he ſurprized three thouſand Walachians and three hundred horſe of Prince SAPHIEA's, in the town of Belenjon on the frontiers of Lithuania, and either killed or took the whole body priſoners. From hence he marched all night and entered Warſaw, obliging the magiſtrates to proclaim the univerſalia, as it is called, whereby the nobility were ſummoned to mount on horſeback, for the preſervation of King AUGUSTUS; after which he paſſed the Viſtula, and continued encamped in the neighbourhood of Warſaw a conſiderable time; ſo that the diet which King STANISLAUS had ſummoned to meet at Warſaw, durſt not appear there for fear of another

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ther visit, till the King of Sweden marched part of his army thither for their protection. In this assembly of the confederates it was resolved, that King STANISLAUS should be crowned on the fourth of October following; and the solemnity was accordingly performed on that day, notwithstanding a brief came from Rome, prohibiting the bishops of Poland to assist at his coronation.

But while the partizans of STANISLAUS were preparing for his coronation, SMEGIELSKI on a sudden appeared in Polish Prussia with a body of seven thousand men, and invested Marienburgh on the 20th of September, 1705; and the second day of October took the town by storm, putting all the Swedes in garrison to the sword, except three hundred men, who threw down their arms and begged for quarter. He afterwards gave the plunder of the town to his men, who entirely ruined the place, being one of the most beautiful cities in that part of Poland. The King of Sweden hereupon sent out several detachments to intercept SMEGIELSKI in his retreat, but could get no intelligence of his motions 'till the 11th of December, when he heard he had surprized the city of Cracow, making the whole garrison, which consisted of near two thousand Swedes and Poles, prisoners of war, and obliged the inhabitants to pay him sixty thousand rix dollars, to redeem their houses from plunder.

The Primate dies.

The Cardinal Primate, who had retired in disgust to Dantzick, died about this time. He had by his treacherous unsteady conduct drawn upon himself the universal contempt of mankind. King AUGUSTUS had reason to hate him, and STANISLAUS could have no affection for him. The King of Sweden made him his tool, at the same time he slighted him. The Pope censured him, and he was abandoned by the Bishops: but his relations had reason to rejoice in the vast estate he heaped up; for he left to Mr. TOWIANSKI alone, who had married his niece, five hundred thousand crowns, besides his lands.

The Czar enters Poland with a great army.

While the Poles, with their respective confederates the Swedes and Saxons, were haraſſing each other, the Czar of Muscovy advanced into Courland, and having taken the capital city of Mittau, and the castle of Banske, became master of the whole province. After which he marched with an army of fifty thousand men towards Grodno in Lithuania, where King AUGUSTUS joined him with his Saxon troops. Hither the King of Sweden advanced to attack them, but found them so advantageously posted that he did not think it practicable, and therefore marched on to Wilna; whereupon King AUGUSTUS detached three thousand horse to Warsaw, and surprized that city again, making them pay severely for the disaffection they had shewn to his cause. In the mean time General SCHYLEMBERG was marching from Saxony with fourteen thousand Saxons and seven thousand Muscovites to join King AUGUSTUS, but was fallen upon by the Swedish General RHEINSCHILD soon after he had passed the Oder, and entirely defeated, which gave the King of Sweden a favourable opportunity of invading Saxony, whereby he proposed to cut off all future supplies from his enemies: his Swedish Majesty therefore immediately advanced that way, publishing a manifesto, wherein he declared, that he was obliged to enter the electorate of Saxony with his army, in order to put an end to the present war which had been unjustly begun and carried on against him by the forces raised in that country. That he might without injustice retaliate the devastations committed in the Swedish dominions by their Elector, King AUGUSTUS; but he should in some measure lay aside his resentment, and all persons who should continue in their habitations, and not remove their effects, but pay a share of the contributions necessary to be raised for the subsistence of his troops, should be received into his protection, and remain secure in their persons and possessions. On the contrary, all who should pretend to stand on their defense, forsake their families, or bury their treasure and effects, he declared should be treated as enemies without mercy.

The King of Sweden's manifesto.

In the beginning of September, 1706, the King of Sweden entered Saxony at the head of his army, keeping a pretty exact discipline, but raised heavy contributions on the defenseless inhabitants. He seized also the Elector's revenues. And King AUGUSTUS being sensible he had no forces in the electorate which could make any tolerable opposition, sent orders to his subjects to furnish the Swedes with whatever they demanded, and commanded the Governor of Leipsick to surrender that city into their hands; so that the Swedes were in an instant masters of the whole country except Dresden, in which Count FURSTEMBERG commanded with a garrison of five thousand men, and a numerous artillery. Application was hereupon made to the King of Sweden by the Ministers of Prussia, Holland and Hanover, for the removal of his troops, and it was suggested to be such a breach of the peace of the Empire, as must necessarily bring all the members of that great body to unite in its defense. But the King of Sweden was determined to keep his footing at all hazards till he had obtained his ends of King AUGUSTUS; and the states of Saxony finding him actually in possession of their country, came to an agreement with his Swedish Majesty to pay the contributions demanded on the 28th of September 1706. whereupon a truce or cessation of arms was granted them for ten weeks.

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In the mean time King AUGUSTUS gained ground in Poland, and propoſed not only the driving the King of Sweden's forces out of that country, but to have followed him into Saxony, and reſcued his ſubjects from the oppreſſion they lay under; being joined therefore by the Ruſſian General, Prince MENZIKOFF, he marched directly into Great Poland at the head of an army conſiſting of eight thouſand Saxons, ſix thouſand Poles and Coſſacks, and eighteen thouſand Muſcovites. Here they found the Swediſh General MARDEFIELD had aſſembled his troops, conſiſting of eight thouſand Swedes, and fourteen thouſand Poles of King STANISLAUS's party, ready to give him battle.

They came to an engagement on the 28th of October, about three in the afternoon; and after an obſtinate diſpute, which laſted till night, King AUGUSTUS gained a complete victory, taking all the Swediſh cannon, ſeven thouſand waggons, all their tents, colours and ſtandards, together with General MARDEFIELD himſelf, two hundred and thirty officers, and three thouſand private men, beſides ten thouſand men killed and wounded in the battle. The city of Kaliſh alſo ſurrendered the next day, with the Swediſh garriſon, conſiſting of nine hundred men; and could King AUGUSTUS have marched immediately into Saxony, he had now a fair opportunity of reſtoring his affairs: but in the moment he had obtained this great ſucceſs, a courier met him with the articles agreed on between his commiſſioners and the King of Sweden for the evacuation of Saxony, and his own reſignation of the crown of Poland; which, how mortifying ſoever, King AUGUSTUS found himſelf under a neceſſity of ratifying the next month. The moſt material articles of this treaty were, That King AUGUSTUS ſhould renounce the crown of Poland under his hand and ſeal, acknowledge King STANISLAUS, reſtore the archives of that kingdom, and the regalia, which he had brought from thence to Saxony. That he ſhould renounce his alliances with the Czar, and never aſſiſt him for the future. That the Poliſh priſoners, and particularly Prince JAMES and Prince CONSTANTINE SOBIESKI ſhould be releaſed, as well as the Swediſh priſoners. That all Swediſh deſerters and traytors, particularly the General Count PATKUL, ſhould be delivered up to his Swediſh Majeſty. That all the Ruſſian ſoldiers in Saxony, and all trophies of war, colours, ſtandards, &c. ſhould be delivered up to the King of Sweden, whoſe forces were to quit the Saxon territories ſo ſoon as theſe articles were fully executed on the part of King AUGUSTUS. And as a farther mortification, this miſerable Prince was obliged in a letter to congratulate his rival King STANISLAUS on his acceſſion to the throne: a copy of which letter lyes before me, dated the 8th of April, 1707.

The Poles and Ruſſians oppoſe King STANISLAUS.

But notwithſtanding King AUGUSTUS had thus ſolemnly abdicated the crown of Poland, the affairs of King STANISLAUS were not at all advanced by it, but rather went backwards. The new Primate, a moſt inveterate enemy to King STANISLAUS, endeavoured to obtain the protection of the Muſcovites againſt the Swedes: He ſummoned a great council of the nobility at Cracow, and afterwards at Lublin, and prevailed on them to accept of the Ruſſian ſuccours. Whereupon the Czar brought two great armies into Poland, making a dreadful havock among thoſe who were in the confederacy againſt King AUGUSTUS. The Czar alſo drew over the crown army to declare againſt the election of King STANISLAUS; and to enter into a league offenſive and defenſive for their mutual protection: nor would the Poles entertain any thoughts of a new election, but ſtill held a ſecret correſpondence with King AUGUSTUS, who they were ſenſible only ſubmitted to the force put upon him becauſe he could no otherwiſe deliver himſelf from the Swedes; and would, whenever an opportunity ſhould offer, attempt the recovery of his throne.

The Czar in the mean time continued to plunder and ravage the adherents of King STANISLAUS, carrying off all the noble libraries, pictures and furniture, with which the houſes of the nobility were adorned; and ſent them into Ruſſia, together with the ſtatues, orange trees, &c. he found in their gardens, rendring the country a perfect deſert.

The King of Sweden remaining with his army in Saxony all the winter 1706. and till the latter end of the year following anno 1707. was applied to both by the French and the confederatees, who were now engaged in a bloody war, each of them endeavouring to draw him over to their party, or at leaſt to perſuade him to ſtand neuter: for as he lay in the heart of the Empire with a victorious army of veteran troops, much was apprehended from him; and indeed, had he not formed that chimerical project of marching into Muſcovy and dethroning the Czar, he might have rendered Sweden one of the moſt formidable powers of Europe: as it was, the Emperor durſt oppoſe him in nothing, but ſubmitted to whatever his Swediſh Majeſty was pleaſed to demand in that ſituation.

The King of Sweden courted by the French and the confederates.

Two or three occaſions the King of Sweden had, or made, of quarrelling with the Emperor while he was in Saxony, of which one was this, being determined to augment his army while he lay in the Empire to fifty thouſand men and upwards: he cauſed levies to be made in all the provinces adjoining, and particularly in Sileſia, of which the commanding officer for the Emperor having intelligence,

He mortifies the Emperor.

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intelligence, ſent to the Swediſh officer who liſted them at Breſlaw, and demanded by what authority he raiſed men in that city: who thereupon produced his Swediſh Majeſty's commiſſion. The Imperial officer anſwered, the King of Sweden was not King of Sileſia, and took twenty men from the Swede by force which he liſted there, and confined the officer. This the King of Sweden reſented, alledging, that complaint ought to have been firſt made to him, before they had impriſoned his officer. Another occaſion of the miſunderſtanding, was ſome reflections Count ZOBOR had made on the King of Sweden's conduct in the preſence of his Ambaſſador the Baron STRALENHEIM at Vienna; for which the King of Sweden would accept of no leſs ſatisfaction than the ſending Count ZOBOR priſoner to Alt Ranſtat, to be put into the hands of his Swediſh Majeſty. A third ground of complaint was the ſuffering four regiments of Muſcovites to eſcape out of Saxony through the Emperor's territories, which were to have been delivered up to the King of Sweden by the late treaty with King AUGUSTUS. The King of Sweden alſo demanded that the Proteſtants of Sileſia, who had been very much abuſed by the Imperialiſts, might be reſtored to their juſt rights, in purſuance of the treaty of Munſter.

Relieves the Sileſian Proteſtants.

Theſe were articles very grievous and perplexing to the Emperor; but he was ſo far from being in a condition to deny what the Swede inſiſted on, that he was obliged to his allies for preſerving him on the imperial throne. And when the Imperialiſts, eſpecially the Sileſian clergy made ſome delay in reſtoring to the Lutherans of that country, the churches, ſchools, and other properties and privileges they had deprived them of, the King of Sweden ordered ſeveral regiments of horſe to be quartered on the Catholicks of that country; of whom he alſo demanded the ſum of fourſcore thouſand crowns, partly upon account of their obſtinacy in not reſtoring the Proteſtants to their rights, and partly to revenge the affront on his lieutenant who had been impriſoned for raiſing recruits in Breſlaw.

As to the Muſcovite troops, the Emperor was obliged to declare, that their eſcape was without his knowledge or privity; and that he had ſent out ſeveral parties after them, but could not overtake them. Which facts were abſolutely falſe. Such mean things are the greateſt Princes on earth ſometimes induced to do to preſerve their quiet; but what was ſtill meaner, was the delivering up one of his own Miniſters, Count ZOBOR, for uſing ſome freedom of ſpeech in a private converſation with the Swediſh Ambaſſador. This Count was ſent to Alt Ranſtat, and delivered to the King of Sweden, to be uſed according to his diſcretion. And now any one muſt imagine the affairs of the Emperor were not in a much better ſtate than thoſe of the King of Poland, who was alſo obliged to ſacrifice Count PATKUL and all his friends to the reſentment of his Swediſh Majeſty.

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The King of Swe re-enter Poland w his army again.

Count Pa KUL bro upon it wheel.

The Muſcovites had ſo entirely deſtroyed the country, that the King of Sweden was obliged to lye ſtill in Poland all the following year for want of proviſions to ſubſiſt his troops in their march, and to furniſh his army from Sileſia and other parts of Germany. King STANISLAUS in the mean time, with the Poliſh forces in his intereſt, and a detachment of Swedes, marched towards Cracow, in hopes to bring over the crown General to his party, but found it impracticable. The Primate and the crown General on the contrary, held a general diet at Lublin, where the nobility came to a reſolution to ſerve on horſeback in perſon; and bound themſelves, it is ſaid, by an oath to oppoſe King STANISLAUS and the Swedes to the laſt drop of blood. And the Czar, to encourage their zeal, ſent them a great ſum of money, which gave life to their deſigns. STANISLAUS finding

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finding things in this condition, and that the crown army was actualy joined by twelve thousand Muscovites, made a kind of precipitate retreat to the King of Sweden, apprehending himself in some danger of being surrounded and cut in pieces.

The King of Sweden marches towards the Russian territories.

The King of Sweden was now with his army in Lithuania and the northern part of Poland; expecting that the Muscovites would have made the greatest efforts on the side of Livonia; but finding the Poles and Muscovites in the south grow very numerous, or rather having some assurance of being joined by the Cossack General MAZEPPA, he determined to march with his army towards the Ukrain, leaving the road to Moscow, which it was believed he had before resolved to take. The Swedes therefore facing to the right, followed the course of the Polish frontiers, marching directly to the river Nieper, or Boristhenes: and it was thought strange by many that the Russians neither now, nor in all the time the Swedish army lay in Poland, ever appeared in a considerable body, and offered them battle. But the Muscovites, it seems, were now another kind of soldiers than at the beginning of the war. They had learned not to fight but when there was some probability of advantage; and their General hovering at a distance, seemed to design the harassing and fatiguing the Swedes, rather than coming to an engagement; and in this did them more mischief than by fighting, obliging them frequently to alter their march, and turn this way, or that way, as they appeared on this or that side of them. The Swedes came however to an engage-
1708. ment once this year with twelve thousand Russian dragoons, on the passing the little river Wahitz; where after an hour's dispute, the Russians were defeated: but it was observed that they fought after a different manner than formerly; and that their officers when the line was broken carried off their men in better order, and managed their retreat with less confusion than usual; from whence the Swedish officers begun to apprehend they should have a more difficult task of it if ever they came to a general engagement with them than they found at the battle of Narva, and so it soon after proved.

After this defeat of the Russian General, the Swedes found themselves masters of the country as far as the Boristhenes: the Czar ordering all his troops to pass that river, and break down the bridges after them. But the King of Sweden, turning again a little towards the north, marched to Mohilow on the same river, which opened her gates at the first summons. Here the King of Sweden seemed again to be in suspence whether he should march directly to Moscow, or follow the enemy in the course they took. He remained at Mohilow several weeks, his army possessing all the country on the Polish side of the Nieper for sixty miles, the town of Mohilow being in the centre: he waited the longer at this place, in expectation of a body of his forces, commanded by General LEWENHAUPT, who was ordered to join him with all imaginable speed; but LEWENHAUPT had such a vast quantity of ammunition and provisions to get together for the intended expedition into Muscovy, that he could not come up so soon as was expected; and the King weary with waiting, or perhaps being apprehensive of losing the opportunity of joining the Cossacks, begun his march without him, leaving LEWENHAUPT orders to follow. This General had with him fourteen thousand men, six thousand waggons with ammunition and provision, and a fine train of artillery: and in these circumstances the King of Sweden did not at all fear his being attacked by any detachment from the Muscovite army.

The Swedes therefore, according to the last resolution which had been taken, left the road of Moscow by Smolensko, and marched down the river Nieper into Ukrania, and at Czernikow, MAZEPPA, the Cossack General, joined the Swedes with ten thousand men, who were expected to have been many more: but MAZEPPA was obliged to send six thousand of his forces to garrison the town of Baturin, the place of his residence, which the Muscovite General MENZIKOFF took notwithstanding by storm, putting the whole garrison to the sword; which so discouraged the rest of the Cossacks, that they refused to obey MAZEPPA's orders; and by the Czar's influence, chose another General; so that they were of little other use to the Swedes besides the furnishing them with ammunition and provision, which old MAZEPPA did in great plenty from that fruitful country, the Polish Ukrain. But while the King of Sweden lay at Czernikow, he received the fatal news that General LEWENHAUPT was entirely defeated by the Muscovites in the following manner,

The Swedish General LEWENHAUPT defeated by the Russians.

LEWENHAUPT, having received his master's orders to follow him as fast as he could, was advanced almost as far as Mohilow on the Nieper, when his parties brought him intelligence that Prince MENZIKOFF, or the Czar himself, was marching towards him with a body of thirty thousand men, which he did not seem much terrified at; and though he was advised to intrench, and had a night's time for it, resolved to meet the enemy without any such advantages. About three in the afternoon the next day, the Russians appeared in order of battle, and were received by the Swedish foot with all the firmness imaginable, not stirring from their post, but pouring in their shot in a very terrible manner; but being surrounded by the Muscovites, who were more than

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intelligence, ſent to the Swediſh officer who liſted them at Breſlaw, and demanded by what authority he raiſed men in that city: who thereupon produced his Swediſh Majeſty's commiſſion. The Imperial officer anſwered, the King of Sweden was not King of Sileſia, and took twenty men from the Swede by force which he liſted there, and confined the officer. This the King of Sweden reſented, alledging, that complaint ought to have been firſt made to him, before they had impriſoned his officer. Another occaſion of the miſunderſtanding, was ſome reflections Count ZOBOR had made on the King of Sweden's conduct in the preſence of his Ambaſſador the Baron STRALENHEIM at Vienna; for which the King of Sweden would accept of no leſs ſatisfaction than the ſending Count ZOBOR priſoner to Alt Ranſtat, to be put into the hands of his Swediſh Majeſty. A third ground of complaint was the ſuffering four regiments of Muſcovites to eſcape out of Saxony through the Emperor's territories, which were to have been delivered up to the King of Sweden by the late treaty with King AUGUSTUS. The King of Sweden alſo demanded that the Proteſtants of Sileſia, who had been very much abuſed by the Imperialiſts, might be reſtored to their juſt rights, in purſuance of the treaty of Munſter.

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The King of Sweden was now with his army in Lithuania and the northern part of Poland; expecting that the Muſcovites would have made the greateſt efforts on the ſide of Livonia; but finding the Poles and Muſcovites in the ſouth grow very numerous, or rather having ſome aſſurance of being joined by the Coſſack General MAZEPPA, he determined to march with his army towards the Ukrain, leaving the road to Moſcow, which it was believed he had before reſolved to take. The Swedes therefore facing to the right, followed the courſe of the Poliſh frontiers, marching directly to the river Nieper, or Boriſthenes: and it was thought ſtrange by many that the Ruſſians neither now, nor in all the time the Swediſh army lay in Poland, ever appeared in a conſiderable body, and offered them battle. But the Muſcovites, it ſeems, were now another kind of ſoldiers than at the beginning of the war. They had learned not to fight but when there was ſome probability of advantage; and their General hovering at a diſtance, ſeemed to deſign the haraſſing and fatiguing the Swedes, rather than coming to an engagement; and in this did them more miſchief than by fighting, obliging them frequently to alter their march, and turn this way, or that way, as they appeared on this or that ſide of them. The Swedes came however to an engage-
08. ment once this year with twelve thouſand Ruſſian dragoons, on the paſſing the little river Wahitz; where after an hour's diſpute, the Ruſſians were defeated: but it was obſerved that they fought after a different manner than formerly; and that their officers when the line was broken carried off their men in better order, and managed their retreat with leſs confuſion than uſual; from whence the Swediſh officers begun to apprehend they ſhould have a more difficult task of it if ever they came to a general engagement with them than they found at the battle of Narva, and ſo it ſoon after proved.

After this defeat of the Ruſſian General, the Swedes found themſelves maſters of the country as far as the Boriſthenes: the Czar ordering all his troops to paſs that river, and break down the bridges after them. But the King of Sweden, turning again a little towards the north, marched to Mohilow on the ſame river, which opened her gates at the firſt ſummons. Here the King of Sweden ſeemed again to be in ſuſpence whether he ſhould march directly to Moſcow, or follow the enemy in the courſe they took. He remained at Mohilow ſeveral weeks, his army poſſeſſing all the country on the Poliſh ſide of the Nieper for ſixty miles, the town of Mohilow being in the centre: he waited the longer at this place, in expectation of a body of his forces, commanded by General LEWENHAUPT, who was ordered to join him with all imaginable ſpeed; but LEWENHAUPT had ſuch a vaſt quantity of ammunition and proviſions to get together for the intended expedition into Muſcovy, that he could not come up ſo ſoon as was expected; and the King weary with waiting, or perhaps being apprehenſive of loſing the opportunity of joining the Coſſacks, begun his march without him, leaving LEWENHAUPT orders to follow. This General had with him fourteen thouſand men, ſix thouſand waggons with ammunition and proviſion, and a fine train of artillery: and in theſe circumſtances the King of Sweden did not at all fear his being attacked by any detachment from the Muſcovite army.

The Swedes therefore, according to the laſt reſolution which had been taken, left the road of Moſcow by Smolensko, and marched down the river Nieper into Ukrania, and at Czernikow, MAZEPPA, the Coſſack General, joined the Swedes with ten thouſand men, who were expected to have been many more: but MAZEPPA was obliged to ſend ſix thouſand of his forces to garriſon the town of Baturin, the place of his reſidence, which the Muſcovite General MENZIKOFF took notwithſtanding by ſtorm, putting the whole garriſon to the ſword; which ſo diſcouraged the reſt of the Coſſacks, that they refuſed to obey MAZEPPA's orders; and by the Czar's influence, choſe another General; ſo that they were of little other uſe to the Swedes beſides the furniſhing them with ammunition and proviſion, which old MAZEPPA did in great plenty from that fruitful country, the Poliſh Ukrain. But while the King of Sweden lay at Czernikow, he received the fatal news that General LEWENHAUPT was entirely defeated by the Muſcovites in the following manner,

The Swediſh General LEWENHAUPT defeated by the Ruſſians.

LEWENHAUPT, having received his maſter's orders to follow him as faſt as he could, was advanced almoſt as far as Mohilow on the Nieper, when his parties brought him intelligence that Prince MENZIKOFF, or the Czar himſelf, was marching towards him with a body of thirty thouſand men, which he did not ſeem much terrified at; and though he was adviſed to intrench, and had a night's time for it, reſolved to meet the enemy without any ſuch advantages. About three in the afternoon the next day, the Ruſſians appeared in order of battle, and were received by the Swediſh foot with all the firmneſs imaginable, not ſtirring from their poſt, but pouring in their ſhot in a very terrible manner; but being ſurrounded by the Muſcovites, who were more than

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than twice their number, and charged in flank and rear, they were at length put into diſorder, and forced to retreat for that night. The next day the fight was renewed again, the Swedes often rallying behind their waggons, where they ſecured themſelves for ſome time; and being at length driven from their waggons, they poſted themſelves in an adjoining village, being about nine thouſand men, as many horſe as foot. Here the Ruſſians offered them good terms, but the Swedes received their propoſals with contempt, and fired on the meſſengers, whereupon the attack was renewed, and a great ſlaughter made on both ſides; but the Swedes having loſt their cannon and ammunition, as well as their baggage, and the enemy bringing up their whole body to renew the fight, the Swedes retired in the night, and getting over the Boriſthenes, LEWENHAUPT marched with that diligence, that he joined his maſter the King of Sweden with ſeven or eight thouſand of his troops, without receiving any farther interruption from the Ruſſians, but the great loſs the Swedes ſuſtained was in their ammunition and proviſions; for LEWENHAUPT had under his convoy, ſix thouſand barrels of powder, a thouſand waggons loaded with arms and musket ball, twenty thouſand ſacks of meal, and a large ſum of money, with other neceſſaries, which fell into the hands of the Muſcovites. And now the Ruſſians began to look upon their troops to be equal to thoſe of the Swedes, and to apprehend that they might venture an engagement with them upon equal terms, which probably had no ſmall influence on the ſucceeding general battle of Pultowa.

The reſt of the winter, 1708, was ſpent in skirmiſhing and beating up quarters on the one ſide and on the other; and though the Swedes pretend they had generally the advantage, yet it muſt be acknowledged, the Ruſſians managed their affairs ſo well, that the communication of the Swedes with Poland was entirely cut off, inſomuch that though General CRASSAN had aſſembled a body of eighteen thouſand Swedes in Pomerania, and King STANISLAUS was advancing with another army to join the King of Sweden, his Majeſty had no manner of intelligence of their motions, which occaſioned the precipitating of his affairs; for as if he had no dependance on thoſe troops, he paſſed the Nieper, and marched farther into the Ukrain, croſſing all the rivers on that ſide, which lye very near together, and ſat down on the ſecond of June, 1709, before the town of Pultowa, ſituate on the river Workſlaw, which falls into the Nieper. The place was ſtrong, and had in it a garriſon of five thouſand men; and the Czar ſoon after advanced within five miles of the Swediſh camp, where he entrenched his army, having ſo poſted himſelf as to cut off all their proviſions, and frequently appeared with part of his army before the Swediſh trenches, ſo that the carrying on the ſiege began to appear impracticable, and to raiſe it being eſteemed diſhonourable, it was generally agreed to give the Muſcovites battle, as they did on the 27th day of June, 1709, the Swedes being entirely defeated, and their King with great difficulty eſcaping to Bender in Turkey, as hath been already related.

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King Augustus reſtored

It is evident that before the battle of Pultowa King AUGUSTUS had formed a deſign of re-aſcending the throne of Poland, and entered into a ſecret correſpondence with the Czar for that purpoſe; for inſtead of retrenching his expences and leſſening his troops, as his circumſtances ſeemed to require, he liſted men through all his dominions, and in the neighbouring ſtates, till he had raiſed an army of thirty thouſand men, of which ſixteen thouſand were horſe, a force much beyond what his own country could maintain in the time of the greateſt proſperity. And in this, the Swediſh writers affirm, he was encouraged by thoſe very powers who were guarantees of the treaty of Alt Ranſtat, whereby King AUGUSTUS had renounced the crown of Poland. Certain it is, that King AUGUSTUS had no ſooner received advice of the defeat at Pultowa, but he prepared for his return into Poland, and openly received the Poliſh nobility, who were come to Dreſden to invite him to take the government upon him again. All things being in a readineſs, he left Saxony the tenth of Auguſt, 1709, and on the twentieth paſſed the Oder and entered Poland, marching directly for Warſaw with a body of eight thouſand horſe, the reſt of the army being ordered to follow. King AUGUSTUS thought fit at this time to publiſh a manifeſto, containing his reaſons for re-aſſuming the crown of Poland, wherein he declares, that the King of Sweden, contrary to his engagements, had carried the war into the Empire, and invaded Saxony. That the Saxon plenipotentiaries appointed to treat with the King of Sweden, and to whom he had given unlimited powers, had betrayed him, agreeing to ſuch things as were not fit to be required of a Sovereign Prince. That he was compelled by force to ratify the treaty, notwithſtanding which the King of Sweden had not performed his part of the agreement, but had violently extorted three and twenty millions of crowns from the inhabitants of Saxony. That his country had been obliged to maintain double the number of Swediſh troops at firſt agreed on, beſides the court of STANISLAUS, and the rebel Poles. That his abdication of the crown of Poland was void of itſelf, not being done with the conſent of the States; and if it had, ſince they invited him to re-aſſume the government, he was at liberty to accept it again.

That



Augustus II Rex.
Pol: Elect Saxon

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That the King of Sweden had put upon him ſeveral unnatural and impoſſible conditions, which alone made the treaty of Alt Ranſtat void: and concludes, inviting the Poles to join his forces, in order to reſtore peace to their country, offering an indemnity to all ſuch as had oppoſed him, upon their making their ſubmiſſion within three months. He promiſed alſo to diſmiſs his Saxon troops ſo ſoon as the war with Sweden ſhould be at an end.

Theſe the Swedes obſerved were but weak pretences againſt a ſolemn treaty. That the force, King AUGUSTUS pretended was put upon him, was no unjuſt force, but the conſequence of a war perfidiouſly begun on his ſide; and that he had at that time a victorious army, which had juſt beaten the Swedes at Kaliſh, beſides forty thouſand Muſcovites to ſupport him, and might have followed the Swedes into Saxony, and put it to the hazard of another battle. A Governor of a town who hath capitulated to ſurrender might as juſtly pretend he was forced by the extremity of a ſiege, and take an occaſion to break the articles upon a view of ſucceſs, as King AUGUSTUS could re-aſſume the crown of Poland after ſuch a ſolemn engagement to the contrary, as the treaty of Ranſtat. In ſhort, that he had no arguments of any weight to excuſe his conduct; but a favourable conjuncture offered, and he thought himſelf in a condition to effect it, being likely to meet with no farther oppoſition on the ſide of Sweden. But to proceed; at the time of King AUGUSTUS's entring Poland, STANISLAUS and the Swediſh General CRASSAN were encamped near Kaliſh, with about eighteen thouſand men; and apprehending they ſhould in a ſhort time be ſurrounded by the Saxons and Muſcovites, they choſe to make a retreat through the King of Pruſſia's dominions into the Swediſh Pomerania, rather than hazard the being cut off from their country when there was no proſpect of reſtoring their affairs in Poland. And thus ended the war in that kingdom, moſt of the adherents of King STANISLAUS coming over to King AUGUSTUS, and congratulating him on his reſtoration. And now it might have been expected that both King and kingdom ſhould have enjoyed ſome little reſt; but notwithſtanding the Poles had no foreign enemies to contend with, and were at preſent united under one King, they ſtill ſuffered all the miſeries of war from the Ruſſian troops, which were quartered in their country at diſcretion, on pretence of making head againſt their common enemy the Swede. The diet which was aſſembled the following year 1710, therefore refuſed to enter upon any buſineſs till the Muſcovites had evacuated their country. They repreſented that the publick had been haraſſed for twelve years, and plundered by foreign troops; that the country wanted time to breathe after ſo many calamities; that the Swedes were reduced to ſo low an ebb, they were under no apprehenſions from them, and needed no foreign aſſiſtance; at leaſt the Poles and Saxons were ſufficient for the defenſe of Poland; and they were apprehenſive that the Czar, by quartering his troops ſtill in Poland, had ſome deſign againſt the liberties of their country. But no repreſentations could prevail with the Czar to withdraw his forces out of Poland, where he ſubſiſted them without any charge. And we find the Poles complaining year after year of the ravages committed by the Ruſſians in their quarters and marches; for the war with the Swede in Pomerania furniſhed them with a ſufficient pretence to march through the north parts of Poland, and quarter their troops there, as the war with the Turks did for their marching through and quartering in Podolia, and the ſouthern parts of Poland; and this they did till the year 1714, when the continuance of the Saxon troops in Poland, and the King's reſidence in Saxony, furniſhed the Poles with new matter for complaints. The Primate hereupon wrote to his Poliſh Majeſty, then at Dreſden, repreſenting the neceſſity of his ſpeedy return into the kingdom for holding a general diet for pacifying the troubles occaſioned by his Majeſty's abſence, and the diſorders committed by the Saxon troops, who having not been regularly paid, exacted great ſums from the Poles by way of contribution. To which the King anſwered, that he would return as ſoon as his health would permit him, but was adviſed by his phyſicians to viſit the baths in the Empire. He aſſured him alſo, that as ſoon as the peace between the republick and the Grand Seignior ſhould be concluded, and there was no reaſon to apprehend an invaſion from the Turks, he would diſmiſs his Saxon troops, but till then his care of the republick did not permit him to ſend them away, eſpecially conſidering the ill condition the Poliſh army was in. But though this a little pacified the Poliſh grandees for the preſent, a peace being ſoon after concluded with Turkey, the ſeveral palatinates renewed their inſtances for the evacuation of the Saxon troops. They wrote to the Primate, repreſenting the danger their liberties were expoſed to, and the vexations and violences committed by thoſe troops, computing the damages the Poles had ſuſtained by their ravages, and the contributions they had raiſed, to amount to twenty five millions of florins (between two and three millions of pounds ſterling); intreating the Primate that he would uſe his intereſt with the King to obtain the diſmiſſing of the Saxons, and procure ſatisfaction for what they had unjuſtly exacted of the natives; declaring that if this could not be obtained by repreſentations and other amicable means, they would take up arms to de-

and the Saxons.

Damages ſuſtained by the Saxon troops.

The Poles inſiſt on withdrawing the Ruſſian troops,

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liver their country from the plunder of theſe foreigners. And ſeveral of the palatinates were not long after as good as their word, mounting on horſeback, and falling upon the Saxon troops wherever they met them; particularly they fell upon a regiment of Saxons, called the Queen's, the latter end of the year 1715, as they lay diſperſed in their quarters, and cut them in pieces, whereupon ſeveral other Saxon regiments aſſembled, and came to an engagement with them, wherein the Saxons had the advantage, killing a thouſand of the Poles upon the ſpot. Theſe confederacies and inſurrections of the Poles againſt their Sovereign are not ſtyled rebellions it ſeems here, but noble ſtruggles for their liberties; and whenever the King breaks the pacta conventa, as he does by maintaining foreign troops in the kingdom againſt their conſent, the nobility have a right to confederate and drive ſuch foreigners out of their country by force of arms, where they cannot obtain a redreſs of the grievance by other means.

Other grievances of the Poles.

The manifeſto which the Poles publiſhed at this time recites, that they entered into this confederacy to prevent the ruin of their country, and revenge the injuries done them, that every palatinate groaned under its miſeries, being forced to pay the heavieſt contributions. That the Saxon commiſſaries enriched themſelves with the many millions they had extorted out of the temporal and ſpiritual eſtates of the republick, which ſhould have ſubſiſted the crown army. That the damages ſuſtained by the nobility, and the encroachments on their liberties were laughed at, and their rights trampled under foot by the miniſtry: and every collector of the taxes was permitted to ſeize a nobleman's eſtate, and impriſon his perſon, if he did not raiſe the contributions demanded. All which had given ſufficient grounds for this confederacy. But they declared at the ſame time, they ſhould always remain ſteady in their loyalty to their King, and endeavour to ſupport him on the throne. But notwithſtanding their great profeſſions of loyalty, the Poles ſtill continued in arms againſt their Sovereign, and gave General FLEMMING battle on the ninth of December, 1715, though after a ſharp engagement they were entirely defeated by the Saxons.

In the following year, 1716, the Poles publiſhed another manifeſto to be communicated to all foreign Princes, wherein they complain of the Saxons robbing and profaning their churches and altars, impriſoning their Biſhops and Senators, diſpenſing with their laws, and making war and peace without the conſent of the republick. They ſet forth that the palaces of the nobility were plundered, their liberties invaded, and many thouſand ſubjects by innumerable vexations had periſhed with hunger in that plentiful country, or had been forced to render themſelves ſlaves to the Turks. They declare alſo that they have no other deſign in this confederacy, than to obtain their juſt rights, and implore therefore the advice and aſſiſtance of the Princes of Europe to deliver them from theſe grievous oppreſſions. At length, by the mediation of the Czar of Muſcovy, whoſe forces were again upon ſome pretence returned into Poland, the King came to the following agreement with the confederates on the ſecond of November, 1716, viz. That his Majeſty ſhould be allowed to be out of the kingdom three months in the year. That the Saxon Miniſters ſhould not meddle with the affairs of Poland. That the King's Saxon guard ſhould not exceed twelve hundred men, and be maintained at his own charge. That no foreign troops ſhould be brought into the kingdom on any pretence whatever; and that while the King was out of the kingdom, he ſhould not diſpoſe of any place of honour or truſt in Poland.

The Saxon troops ſoon after evacuated Poland, according to the above mentioned treaty, and the Ruſſians were to have done the like, but ſometimes under pretence of protecting the frontiers from the Turks; and at others on account of money due to them from the republick, for the aſſiſtance the Ruſſians had given the Poles againſt Sweden; or on pretence of ſome demands they had on the city of Dantzick, they ſtill quartered their forces all over Poland, and levied what contributions they ſaw fit on the miſerable inhabitants; whereupon the Primate, by the direction of his Poliſh Majeſty and the general Diet, wrote to his Czariſh Majeſty in the year 1719, to deſire a categorical anſwer, whether he would withdraw his troops from their territories, wherein they behaved themſelves with intolerable inſolence, contrary to the law of nations and his Czariſh Majeſty's repeated promiſes to the republick, for they would admit of no delays on any pretence whatſoever. In anſwer to which, the Czar wrote to the King of Poland, that he was informed his General, Count FLEMMING, had by his Majeſty's orders in the name of the republick, propoſed an alliance with the Emperor and other powers againſt Ruſſia, on pretence that his Czariſh Majeſty intended to make a conqueſt of ſome provinces of Poland, and particularly the dutchy of Courland; and the ſame ſuggeſtions had been made by the Poliſh miniſters at the Ottoman Porte. But the Czar aſſured his Poliſh Majeſty he had never given any occaſion for theſe reports, or deſerved ſuch uſage at his hands, as he could not but acknowledge if his Poliſh Majeſty conſidered the good offices he had done him at the time of his election to the crown of Poland, and afterwards, till his re-aſſuming the throne; and the late pacification of the general confederacy againſt

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gainſt his Poliſh Majeſty, was alſo a freſh inſtance of the friendſhip his Czariſh Majeſty entertained for him. That he never intended to withdraw the dutchy of Courland from the protection of the republick, but rather by a treaty with the King of Pruſſia, engaged to maintain a country ſituate between their dominions under the ſovereignty of its own Prince, and the protection of the Kingdom of Poland, and not to permit it to become ſubject to any other power. And as to the diſmembering any other provinces from the kingdom, the Czar ſaid, though he had had many advantageous offers made him on that head, he had always rejected them, nor would ſuffer any other power to take any part of it, much leſs ſhould he ſuffer an hereditary ſucceſſion to be ſet up againſt the conſent of the ſtates. He deſired his Poliſh Majeſty alſo to reflect, that after the battle of Pultowa, every thing was in his power, inſomuch that he might have placed another Prince upon the throne of Poland, if the friendſhip he entertained for his Majeſty had not prevented it. As for his Czariſh Majeſty's continuing his forces in Poland, one reaſon he ſaid was, the Dantzickers refuſing to fit out ſome privateers with him againſt Sweden, according to their agreement; and their furniſhing his enemies with ammunition and proviſion; and the other was to prevent the general diet of Poland's being compelled to nominate a ſucceſſor to the crown, to which his Czariſh Majeſty would never conſent.

His Poliſh Majeſty in his reply to the Czar, declares he never had any intention of ſettling the crown of Poland in his family, and rendering it hereditary; and reflects ſeverely on the Czar for theſe ill-natured inſinuations, whereby he endeavoured to create a miſunderſtanding between him and his ſubjects: adding that he never had done, or would do any thing prejudicial to his Czariſh Majeſty, or contrary to their friendſhip founded upon neighbourhood, and ſtrengthened by alliance, provided his Czariſh Majeſty would on his part fulfil the conditions expreſſed in the conventions between them; namely, reſtore Livonia and Courland, two provinces incorporated with the republick of Poland, to that crown; withdraw his forces out of all the provinces of the kingdom; make ſatisfaction for the injuries he had done the inhabitants; and reſtore what he had extorted from the city of Dantzick, and the other territories of the republick.

The Muſcovite emiſſaries ſo well improved the report of his Poliſh Majeſty's intentions to ſettle the Crown in his family, that nothing could remove the fears of the Poles in this particular, eſpecially after the marriage of the electoral Prince of Saxony with one of the Arch-dutcheſſes: for they concluded that this had been ſtipulated between the Emperor and King AUGUSTUS, on the making that match. Neither the ſolemn aſſurances of the King to the contrary, nor the declaration of the imperial miniſters, nor the repreſentations of the Pope's Nuncio, and ſome other courts, could remove their uneaſineſs; but the diet (which met in the year 1720.) broke up in confuſion, without having ſo much as named a marſhal, or ſpeaker: the members proteſting they would not conſent to the choice of a marſhal, or proceed to any buſineſs, till the Saxon General Count FLEMMING was removed from his employment, and the great Generals of the crown reſtored to their full power, that the Saxons might not be in a condition to impoſe a ſucceſſor upon them.

The tumult of Thorn.

This article of the ſucceſſion to the crown, and the Czar's demands, ſerved the Poles to wrangle about in their diets till the year 1724. when the execution of the proteſtant magiſtrates of Thorn, on account of a tumult there, found them other employment: for all the proteſtant powers in Europe being alarmed at the proceeding, and demanding ſatisfaction for the partiality ſhewn in this matter, the Poles for once became unanimous, and ſeemed determined to defend the equity of that ſentence againſt all the world.

This being an occurrence in which moſt of the Princes and ſtates of Europe intereſted themſelves, cannot be paſſed over without enquiring a little more particularly into it: I ſhall therefore in the firſt place ſee how the jeſuits on the one ſide, and the proteſtants on the other, ſtate the facts; and then ſhew the proceedings that followed in the Poliſh tribunal, with the repreſentations of the ſeveral courts of Europe in behalf of the citizens of Thorn, as briefly as the nature of the thing will admit.

The jeſuits account of the tumult.

The jeſuits relate, that on the 16th of July 1724. being one of the feſtivals of the Bleſſed Virgin; when the hoſt was carried in proceſſion round St. James's church, a mean Lutheran burgher came to gaze at it with his hat on, and uttered ſeveral blaſphemies with an intent to provoke the catholicks, with which a ſtudent of the jeſuits being moved, chaſtized him only by pulling off his hat. The proceſſion was no ſooner over but the Lutherans gathering together in the ſaid church-yard of St. James's, fell upon the aboveſaid ſtudent, beat him, and dragged him covered with blood to the guard houſe, where he was kept till the next day; upon which ſome catholick ſtudents went peaceably to the burgrave of the city, deſiring him to releaſe the priſoner, and he ſhould appear when required; but they were anſwered, let thoſe who committed him releaſe him. Then they went to the preſident of the city, who giving them a frivolous anſwer, they applied to the burgher who carried the ſtudent

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dent to the guard to have him ſet at liberty, engaging for his appearance; but inſtead of complying with them, the ſaid burgher procured another of the ſtudents to be taken into cuſtody, without the leaſt offence given; whereupon the ſtudents ſolicited the Preſident to have their companion releaſed who was laſt committed; but his domeſticks turned them out of doors, with opprobious language. The catholicks being no longer able to bear this treatment, ſeized upon a Lutheran ſtudent, by way of reprizal, and brought him to the college of the jeſuits: hereupon the mob roſe, not ſo much by the connivance, as at the inſtigation of the magiſtrates; the gates being deſignedly ſhut that day ſooner than uſual: and they proceeded afterwards to break open the college gates, encouraged by the city guards; and ruſhing furiouſly into the ſchools, broke and overturned whatever they found in their way; forced open the chapel and oratories, where they demoliſhed the altars, broke down and hewed in pieces the ſacred images, eſpecially that of the holy Virgin; dragging to the publick ſquare before the ſchools, the ſtatues of the bleſſed Virgin, St. XAVERIUS, CASIMIR, and others, where they burnt them openly, crying out, 'Now, now 'woman, ſave thy ſelf, ſince the Papiſts boaſt ſo 'much of the help thou affordeſt them:' and then ſcoffingly cried out, 'Vivat JESUS, MA-'RIA, JOSEPH.' And not contented with having thus inſulted the greateſt ſaints, they returned a ſecond time to the college; where, having forced the gates again, they beat and abuſed thoſe of the holy order which came in their way, moſt of whom hid themſelves under the roof, for fear of their lives, while the mob were buſy in breaking open their cells, and carrying away their goods; which done, they forced open the chapel doors, and cut to pieces the remaining images of the ſaints, with two crucifixes, one of which was ſplit with an axe, and the other ſtabbed with ſwords and ſhattered with fire arms. Then they went to find out the ſervants of GOD (the jeſuits), in order to put them to death: but the Commandant of the city, whoſe aſſiſtance was till then implored in vain, being informed in what danger the fathers were, thought fit to appeaſe the tumult at midnight, by forcing theſe impious wretches out of the college; or all the jeſuits, as well as the catholicks, in that heretick city, would probably have loſt their lives. How they braved afterwards the King and ſenate's authority, and almoſt renewed the ſedition, when the crown troops were ſent againſt them, is ſufficiently known. Thus far the jeſuits.

The Proteſtants account of the tumult.

The Proteſtants of Thorn give a very different relation of theſe facts: They ſay, that on the ſixteenth of July, 1724, the ordinary proceſſion being arrived at St. James's church-yard, (which church had been taken from the Lutherans, contrary to the treaty of Oliva) a great number of citizens children came to ſee the proceſſion paſs, with their hats under their arms, according to cuſtom; but a ſtudent of the jeſuits college, not ſatisfied with that mark of reſpect, required them to kneel down, giving them ill language, and ſome blows. About two hours after the proceſſion, the ſame ſtudent, with ſeveral of his companions, came again and inſulted ſeveral other young people, without the leaſt provocation on their part; but in the end this troubleſome young man was ſeized by the ſoldiers of the garriſon, and brought to the guard, after he had wounded ſeveral citizens with ſtones. Next day the ſtudents aſſembled again, and meeting a citizen they had abuſed the day before, they would oblige him to get their comrade ſet at liberty; but the man had the good fortune to get out of their hands, and fled to his own houſe, whither they purſued him with their ſwords in their hands. In the mean time the Preſident of the city had given orders for ſetting the ſtudent at liberty, at the requeſt of the Rector of the jeſuits college: but another ſtudent being carried to the guard room, his comrades would oblige him to ſet him at liberty alſo, which he refuſed to do till he had ſpoken with the Rector: whereupon the outragious ſtudents ran furiouſly to the guard-room to reſcue their comrade; but being repulſed, they ſought to revenge themſelves upon a townſman, whom they purſued with their ſwords in their hands to the burgrave's houſe, where he took ſhelter. After this they attacked a Lutheran ſtudent, who was at the door of his lodgings in his night-gown, whom they dragged by the hair as far as their own college, threw him into the canal, and beat him ſeverely: then they ſallied out with ſabres in their hands, and wounded ſeveral people, who came to the ſtudent's aſſiſtance; but the Preſident having ſent the town guard thither, they were obliged to betake themſelves to their college: the Preſident at the ſame time reclaimed the Lutheran ſtudent; but the Rector would not let him go till the ſtudent of his college was ſet at liberty firſt: while this exchange was making, ſome of the militia of the town were ordered to poſt themſelves before the jeſuits college, to protect them from the enraged populace; but when the ſtudents fired upon them, and threw ſtones from within, it was not poſſible to reſtrain the people, who forced open the gate, and were doing what they could to revenge themſelves on the ſtudents: but in that very inſtant the town clerk, who had got the Lutheran ſtudent ſet at liberty, came and obliged them to retire. It was then thought that the riot was over, but the guards which were poſted before the college had ſcarce marched off when the ſtudents from within fired

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again, and threw ſtones at the people; who thereupon forced open the gate again, plundered the college, and committed great diſorders, till a detachment of the garriſon and trained bands came to the jeſuits aſſiſtance, and diſperſed the people.

These are the ſeveral relations which each ſide were pleaſed to publiſh of the tumult: wherein there ſeems to be many circumſtances omitted, and others magnified. If the trial itſelf had been tranſmitted to us we might have been able to have paſſed a better judgment on that matter; but this neither ſide thought fit to publiſh. The Proteſtants complain much of the corruption and incompetency of the witneſſes, and partiality of the judges, and their being denied an opportunity of making their defenſe, which it's probable they had a great deal of reaſon for, in a Popiſh government, where the people were worked up to the higheſt degree of fury, by the malicious inſinuations of the jeſuits. But however that matter was, the aſſeſſorial tribunal of Warſaw paſſed ſentence upon the priſoners, which was afterwards confirmed by the general diet, to this effect, viz.

Sentence against the Proteſtants of Thorn.

I. The Preſident and Vice-Preſident of Thorn, not having endeavoured to appeaſe the tumult, as they were obliged by their offices, ſhall have their heads ſevered from their bodies, and their eſtates confiſcated, and employed in defraying the expences the town hath been at on occaſion of the tumult.

II. GERRARD THOMAS, burgrave, and ZIMERMAN, vice-burgrave, who ought to have appeaſed the tumult, are declared infamous, rendred incapable of any place of truſt, and to ſuffer impriſonment.

III. HARDER MOAB, and thirteen other rioters, (ſpecified in the ſentence) ſhall have their heads ſevered from their bodies; having been the aggreſſors in aſſaulting the jeſuits college.

IV. KERWITZ, SCHULTZ, and other rioters, who profaned and burnt the ſacred images of the bleſſed Virgin, &c. ſhall have their right hands cut off, and afterwards be quartered and burnt.

V. GREFFORD and SILBERT, two officers of the garriſon of Thorn, ſhall be fined and impriſoned, for not having prevented the firing on the jeſuits college.

VI. All the reſt of the rioters, who have violated the eccleſiaſtical immunities, ſpecified in the ſentence; ſhall be impriſoned, and pay a fine to be imployed in erecting a ſtone column, with the ſtatue of the bleſſed Virgin on the top of it, in the place where her image was burnt, for a perpetual memorial. Which decree was publiſhed at Thorn, on the twentieth of November, 1724, to the great terror of the Proteſtant inhabitants.

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As ſoon as the King of Pruſſia was acquainted with the ſevere ſentence paſſed againſt the Proteſtants of Thorn; he immediately interpoſed his good offices in their behalf, and wrote the King of Poland the following letter, viz.

'WE cannot forbear acquainting your Majeſty how deeply we have been afflicted by the ſevere ſentence lately publiſhed againſt the inhabitants of Thorn, on account of the unhappy tumult ariſen there. Nothing indeed could more move our compaſſion, than to ſee theſe poor people of our communion proceeded againſt, not only with fire and ſword, under pretence of avenging GOD's honour; but alſo with taking away their church and ſchool, and overturning the conſtitution of that city, in order to compleat the oppreſſion of the Proteſtant inhabitants. Had the city of Thorn been guilty of an open and avowed rebellion againſt your Majeſty, and even of the higheſt crimes, what harder decree than this could have been pronounced againſt them? But as the whole matter in queſtion turns upon inflicting puniſhments for a tumult raiſed by the populace, againſt ſome wretched jeſuits; though the ſame tumult was maliciouſly occaſioned and fomented by the jeſuits themſelves; your Majeſty cannot but judge, according to your great wiſdom, that the ſevere puniſhment decreed bears no manner of proportion with the exceſs committed; and it is againſt all reaſon, that for the miſcarriages of a few people ſo many innocent men ſhould ſuffer, and a whole town be ruined. Nay, all the reaſonable world will naturally conclude, as it is too manifeſt by numberleſs circumſtances, that ſuch a terrible ſentence, far from being founded on an impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, entirely proceeded from a venomous hatred on account of their religion, inflamed by all the artifices and falſe ſuggeſtions of the jeſuits; and that they gladly laid hold of this opportunity, to take away the lives of the poor diſſenters at Thorn, and deprive them of their rights and privileges. Your Majeſty's juſtice and propenſion to protect innocence oppreſſed, being ſo well known, we hope you will never permit the execution of ſo bloody a ſentence; by which the glory of your Majeſty's reign would be for ever tarniſhed. We therefore moſt earneſtly deſire your Majeſty to put a ſtop to that execution; and to have the whole affair anew and thoroughly examined by an impartial commiſſion, compoſed of juſt and moderate members of both religions: to permit the impeached to plead and defend their innocence; and if any be found guilty, to ſhew mercy rather than the ſtricteſt juſtice. To protect and maintain the city in her privileges and liber-

'ties;

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'ties; but above all, to prevent the effusion of 'so much Christian blood, which cannot be spilt 'without the greatest cruelty. Your Majesty 'will not take it amiss we concern ourselves for 'that city, since we are bound in conscience to 'do it, in an affair which affects those of the 'same communion with us, especially since we 'are entitled by the peace of Oliva, to interest 'ourselves in the preservation of its liberties, as 'well as those of the other cities of Polish Prus-'sia: and we are satisfied that the other powers 'concerned in the peace of Oliva, and particu-'larly the guarantees, cannot with indifference 'see the said treaty of peace thus infringed and 'invalidated by such an execution. On the other 'hand, your Majesty may be assured, you will 'highly oblige us, as well as all other Protestant 'powers in Europe, by taking under your pro-'tection this poor city, almost reduced to despair, 'and preserving it from the ruin it is threatned 'with, which may be attended with dangerous 'consequences. Dated at Berlin the 28th of No-'vember, 1724.'

The Poles execute the sentence against the Protestants of Thorn.

The Poles finding foreign Princes began to interest themselves in behalf of the people of Thorn, resolved to execute the sentence before any farther application could be made in their behalf; and accordingly hastened down Prince LUBOMIZKI to Thorn, with a detachment of the crown troops, consisting of two or three thousand men, to secure those unhappy condemned men. This General having posted guards at all the avenues, sent an hundred and fifty dragoons into the city, who apprehended the persons mentioned in the decree; after which he entered the city at the head of eight hundred men, and immediately ordered a scaffold to be erected. The next morning, being the seventh of December, at five o'clock, the President ROSNER was conducted from his own house to the inner court of the town-house, and beheaded there by the light of flambeaux. At eight o'clock the infantry were posted at the four avenues to the market-place, in the middle whereof the scaffold was erected, and an hour after, five others of the prisoners were beheaded, having their right hands first cut off; and soon after four others were beheaded on the same scaffold, and their bodies afterwards burnt under the gallows. The rest of the prisoners, among whom were the Vice-President CZARNICH, obtained mercy. All the ten persons that suffered were of the Lutheran religion, and were offered their lives, on condition of turning Catholicks; but chose to die rather than renounce their faith. On the 9th the commissioners proceeded to the other parts of the sentence; and the Lutherans had the mortification to see the fine church of St. Mary's taken from them and given to the Roman Catholicks, and the government of the city entirely changed.

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The Protestant powers

The King of Prussia having received advice of this execution, wrote to all the Protestant powers, and to the Czar of Muscovy, to join with him in seeing the treaty of Oliva observed; and the Protestants of Thorn, and other parts of Poland, restored to their rights; with whom they unanimously concurred, and agreed, that if the Poles would not do them justice by fair means, they would have recourse to arms, and compel them to it. And upon the Poles continuing deaf to all representations on this head; the quota of troops which every Prince should send, to form the army which was to invade that kingdom, was said to have been agreed on; even the King of France, though a Catholic Prince, was ready, we were told, to have entered into this confederacy, in order to obtain justice for the Polish Protestants. But none of the Ministers of the Protestant powers expressed more zeal, or run greater hazards on this occasion, than the British Minister, the Honourable Mr. FINCH: he applied himself to the diet of the Empire, to the court of Saxony at Dresden, and afterwards followed the King of Poland to the diet at Warsaw, presenting memorial after memorial on this occasion; till the Poles were enraged to that degree as to threaten his life. However, after much blustering and threatning on both sides, upon the Emperor's entring into an alliance with Spain, Russia, and some other powers, the poor Protestants of Thorn were entirely dropped; the other powers of Europe being taken up in forming an alliance in opposition to that of Vienna, called the Hanover treaty. The allies of Hanover insisted on suppressing the East-India company lately erected at Ostend: and the parties to the Vienna treaty demanded, that Britain should deliver up Gibraltar and Port Mahone to the Spaniards. But of this hereafter, when I come to treat of the present state of the German Empire.

The rebellion of Tho[illegible] dropped by the treaty of Vienna and Hanover

I proceed now to enquire into the constitution of the Polish government: and as to the legislative authority, it seems to be lodged in the King, the senate, and the deputies, or representatives of the nobility and gentry; between whom I find no other distinction than what their wealth, or posts in the government makes. Upon some great occasions, as the election of a King, the whole body of the nobility and gentry are summoned to meet on horseback in the open field, who assume a power of altering the government, or putting such new conditions and limitations (called the pacta conventa) on the Prince to be elected as they see fit; but then they must be unanimous, for if one single gentleman opposes the rest, and protests against the election, it is void. It very seldom

The nobility [illegible] Polish government

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seldom happens indeed that any single nobleman, or party of men amongst them, ventures to oppose the rest, unless they are sure of being well supported and seconded, for the majority make no scruple of drawing their sabres, and cutting those in pieces who are so impertinent as to oppose their choice; by which means a tacit consent, at least, of the whole body is usually obtained; or if the parties are pretty near equal, they fight it out, till one is obliged to yield and submit to the other; and so a general consent is forced at last. The party for the present King AUGUSTUS, and those in the interest of the Prince of Conti disputed the matter near two years, before King AUGUSTUS was established in the throne, during which time the kingdom was in the utmost confusion, each party plundering and harassing the friends of the other, as in a civil war.

But to be a little more particular in treating of the election of the Kings of Poland. Upon a demise of the crown, the regal authority devolves upon the Primate of the kingdom, the Archbishop of Gnesna, till a successor is chosen. This prelate issues out circular letters to every palatinate, to acquaint them with the vacancy of the throne, and summons a general assembly of the nobility to meet at Warsaw, for the election of a new King at the time therein prefixed. The nobility assemble on this occasion in a large plain, half a league from Warsaw, near the village of Vola, where a boarded room is erected for the senators, the rest of the nobility sitting on horseback in the open field. Before the election, the senators and several of the nobility go in procession to the great church of St. John's, at Warsaw, to implore the direction of heaven in their choice, after which they return to the place erected for a senate, and a marshal or speaker of that body being chosen, he takes an oath duly to discharge his office, particularly that he will receive no bribe, or keep any correspondence with the competitors. Then the senators and nobility take an oath on their knees, that they will preserve a strict union among themselves, and acknowledge no King who is not elected by their unanimous consent, and who shall not swear to preserve inviolably the rights and privileges of the republick; and that those who act otherwise shall be deemed enemies of their country. They likewise reciprocally promise, not to give their voices for any candidate, or treat with their agents or ambassadors, till all their grievances, relating either to the kingdom or great dutchy of Lithuania, be first considered and redressed; repealing all acts of state of former Kings which they apprehend to intrench upon their liberties. They erect also a new court called Katpur, which is to take care of the defense of the kingdom, and the due administration of the laws during the interregnum. Orders are also issued that no person appear with fire arms at the election, and the crown Generals are sworn to defend the frontiers, and suppress insurrections; but not to approach within a certain distance of the place of election, that there may be no force put upon them. But all this precaution to prevent tumults and other enormities seems to be of very little use, especially the article against receiving bribes from the candidates, for it is evident to all the world, that the leading men enrich themselves by the gifts they receive from the candidates on these occasions. But to proceed. The first and principal business of this great assembly is to depute a certain number of senators and other noblemen, to consider of the misconduct and encroachments of their former Princes, and to insert such articles in the pacta conventa as may remedy those abuses, and restrain the successor from committing the like excesses. They give audience also to the ambassadors of such Princes as pretend to the crown, and to those who recommend any candidate to their choice; and among these, the Pope's nuncio is always first admitted to his audience, and after him the Emperor's Ambassador; but they seem to have a particular aversion to any Prince of the house of Austria, lest the Emperor should attempt to render their crown hereditary, or perhaps unite them to his other dominions, making them a province, as he has Hungary and Bohemia. All preliminaries being settled, and the audiences of the Ambassadors over, the Primate demands three times if their grievances and exorbitancies are redressed, which being answered in the affirmative, the hymn veni creator is sung, to implore the assistance of the holy Spirit in their choice: after which the senators and nobility range themselves in order under their respective Palatines, the Archbishop of Gnesna only keeping his seat, and the first senator of every palatinate takes their votes, which are written on a roll, and transmitted to the marshal of the nobility. If there be a majority for any one candidate, they labour to bring over the rest of the electors to him, for unless they are unanimous, the election is illegal. However, the strongest usually carry it, and oblige the rest to submit, as has been observed already. And the election seems to be as often determined by the view, when they are ranged under their respective standards, as by the poll.

When the new King is elected, his Ambassador is immediately obliged to sign the pacta conventa if he be a foreigner; and if a native, he does it in person; and then the King is proclaimed: after which the senators and nobility resort to St. John's church in Warsaw, where the new Sovereign, or his minister, swears to observe the pacta conventa, Te Deum is sung, the artillery fired,

fired, and the day concludes with illuminations, and other demonſtrations of joy ſuitable to the occaſion.

The pacta conventa.

The principal articles of the pacta conventa are, 1. That the King ſhall not endeavour to make the crown hereditary, but preſerve the freedom of elections. 2. That he ſhall not coin money, but leave it to the republick. 3. That he ſhall not make war or peace, levy ſoldiers, or introduce foreign troops without the conſent of the republick. 4. That all officers ſhall be native Poles or Lithuanians. 5. That within ſix weeks after any charge or office ſhall become vacant, it ſhall be beſtowed on ſome worthy Poliſh gentleman. 6. That he ſhall not confer more offices, benefices, or dignities on one man, than the laws of Poland admit of. 7. That he ſhall not marry without the conſent of the republick (if he be unmarried, or happen to become a widower). 8. That he ſhall regulate the number of horſe and foot neceſſary for the defenſe of the kingdom with the ſenate, and take care that good diſcipline be preſerved. 9. That he ſhall not diminiſh the treaſure of the crown, or borrow money without the conſent of the diet. 10. That he ſhall introduce no foreigner into his council, or beſtow any offices, dignities, or governments on ſtrangers. And 11. That he ſhall be of the Roman Catholick communion, and maintain and defend their religion. To which are uſually added ſome other occaſional articles, as to advance a conſiderable ſum of money, or perform ſome particular ſervices for the advantage of the republick. After the King is ſworn to the pacta conventa, the Chancellor preſents him with the decree of his election engroſſed in parchment, ſigned by the ſenators and nobility.

The coronation.

The coronation was antiently performed at the city of Gneſna, but of late always at Cracow, the day being appointed by the King elect, which is uſually haſtened, becauſe he is not inveſted with the regal authority till that ceremony is over. Two days before the coronation, the King enters the city of Cracow in great ſtate, attended by the ſenate and nobility, who paſs under the triumphal arches erected on that occaſion. The day following the obſequies of the deceaſed King are celebrated, where the new King marches on foot, and is followed by the officers of the crown and nobility, with the ſtandards of every palatinate; the crown, ſcepter, globe, ſword, and other regalia being carried before the corps, which being interred in the church of St. Staniſlaus, the marſhals break their ſtaves, and all other officers are diſcharged. The day after the coronation is performed by the Primate, the Archbiſhop of Gneſna, or in his abſence by the Biſhop of Cracow; but this does not ſeem very material, for King AUGUSTUS was crowned by the Biſhop of Cujavia. The King being richly habited by the marſhal of the kingdom, is attended from the caſtle to the cathedral by the ſenators, foreign ambaſſadors and nobility, where the Archbiſhop makes a ſpeech to him, exhorting him to continue ſtedfaſt in the Roman communion, and exerciſe all princely virtues. Then the Archbiſhop demands of his Majeſty, 'If he will 'maintain the holy Catholick faith, protect the 'church and its miniſters, and rule the kingdom 'committed to him by GOD, according to equi-'ty and juſtice.' To which the King anſwers, I will. Then kneeling and laying his hand again upon the Goſpels, he again ſwears to perform the pacta conventa; after which he is anointed, and being clothed in other robes by the two marſhals of the kingdom and the great dutchy, he is conducted to the throne raiſed in the middle of the church, where having heard maſs, he returns to the altar, and receives the ſacrament, and the Archbiſhop delivers him a drawn ſword, ſaying, 'Receive this ſword, and defend our holy church 'againſt all unbelievers.' Then the King kneels again, and the Archbiſhop puts the crown upon his head, which is born up by the Biſhops of Cracow and Cujavia, while the Primate repeats certain prayers proper for the occaſion: after which the Primate puts the ſcepter in his right hand and the globe in his left. Then the King riſing up, the ſword is given to the ſword-bearer of the kingdom to carry before him, and he returns to the throne again, wherein he is placed by the Archbiſhop, ſaying, 'Sit and maintain the place 'given you by GOD.' And the King being thus ſeated, the Archbiſhop and his aſſiſtants retire to the altar, and ſing Te Deum; after which the people cry aloud Vivat Rex, and the great guns proclaim that the ceremony is completed; the remainder of the day being ſpent in feaſting and rejoicing, as in other kingdoms.

The day after the coronation the King rides in ſtate from the caſtle through the city to the town-houſe, attended by the ſenators, the great treaſurer throwing medals of gold and ſilver among the people as they march. His Majeſty being placed on a throne, and the ſenators ſeated a little below it on the right and left, the magiſtrates of the city pay their homage, and take an oath of fealty to their new King. Soon after the diet of the coronation meets, where the Primate reſigns his authority of inter-rex, and all the members of the ſenate and diet take the oath of allegiance to the new Monarch, who gives new ſeals to the Chancellors, and iſſues a proclamation to all the magiſtrates of the kingdom and great dutchy, to cauſe his coronation and the confirmation of the people's liberties to be publiſhed in their reſpective cities and diſtricts, authorizing the ſeveral courts of juſtice (who never act during the inter-regnum) to proceed in the uſual manner.

The Queen of Poland cannot be crowned unleſs ſhe be a Roman Catholick: inſtances whereof we have in Queen HELENA, the wife of King ALEXANDER, who was of the Greek communion; and in the preſent Queen, who is a Proteſtant; and for theſe reaſons were not either of them crowned.

I proceed next to treat of the arms, titles and prerogatives of the Kings of Poland. As to the character of the preſent King of Poland, it may be collected from the hiſtory of his reign of which I have already given an abſtract.

The arms of the crown of Poland are quarterly. In the firſt and fourth gules, an eagle argent, crowned and armed Or, for Poland. In the ſecond and third gules, a cavalier armed cap-a-pee argent; in the dexter a naked ſword of the ſame; in the ſiniſter a ſhield azure, charged with a double beard croſs Or, mounted on a courſer of the ſecond, barbed of the third, and neild of the fourth, for Lithuania. For the creſt a crown heightned with eight flurets, and cloſed with four demi-circles, ending in a monde Or. The motto Habent ſua ſidera Reges.

His Majeſty's titles are, King of Poland, great Duke of Lithuania, Duke of Ruſſia, Pruſſia, Maſſovia, Samogitia, Kiovia, Volhynia, Podolia, Podlachia, Livonia, Smolensko, Severia, and Czernikovia.

This Prince has the diſpoſal of all eccleſiaſtical benefices and preferments, and of all ſecular offices and employments in his dominions, whether military or civil; and there are, beſides, many royal demeſns or eſtates, which are in the gift of the crown. No Prince in Europe, it is ſaid, hath more conſiderable employments to oblige his ſubjects with, of which ſome mercenary Princes have made great advantage, by expoſing all offices to ſale. But the King cannot nominate his children to any office or preferment, eccleſiaſtical or temporal, nor can he purchaſe lands for them in any part of the kingdom by the conſtitution of Poland. And as the King can prefer no foreigner, ſo neither can he advance any merchant, tradeſman, or husbandman, or indeed any perſon under the degree of a Poliſh gentleman. Nor can any perſon be preferred in a province, who hath not lands in the ſame province; for example, a gentleman of Lithuania ſeldom or never is preferred to any place in Poland, or the palatinates depending on it; or a Pole, on the contrary, preferred to any poſt in Lithuania. But what is of the greateſt diſadvantage to the King, and indeed to the republick, is, that wherever a gentleman is preferred to any poſt, he can never be deprived of it without the unanimous conſent of the diet, let his conduct be never ſo deſtructive. It is of the laſt conſequence therefore that the King perfectly underſtands the capacity and temper of the perſon he prefers; for as he is in for life, if he be either a weak or ungrateful man, the King may have abundant reaſon to lament his choice. It is obſerved, that the republick is generally very ill ſerved on this account: their treaſurers neglect to give a juſt account of the publick revenues; and their Generals and Governors of towns and provinces are much more concerned to advance their private affairs, than to promote the intereſt of the nation. However, the expectation the nobility have of being preferred, or advanced by the King, occaſions their paying him a moſt profound reſpect. He is ſerved by the greateſt ſenators at table; and his ſubjects never ſit, or cover their heads before him, except in the diet, and then this privilege is allowed only to ſenators; for the deputies, or repreſentatives of the nobility ſtand behind them with their furred caps in their hands. The King can call, prorogue, or diſſolve the diet at pleaſure. But he cannot ſend, or receive Ambaſſadors, or make peace or war, without the conſent of the diet, or at leaſt of the ſenate.

The King's revenue.

His Majeſty's ſtated revenue is about an hundred and forty thouſand pounds a year, which is uſually ſettled upon him ſoon after the coronation; which, with his paternal eſtate, and the money he raiſes by conferring offices, enable him to keep a very ſplendid court in that plentiful country; for he has no civil liſt, or forces to pay; theſe being provided for by the republick. The Queen conſort alſo has a revenue aſſigned her by the republick after the death, or marriage of the dowager Queen; but till then her court is maintained at the King's charge.

His children.

The republick hath alſo generally provided for the King's children, by granting them penſions after his deceaſe; though they are not ſuffered to enjoy any poſt in the government, leſt they ſhould endeavour to advance themſelves to the throne without the conſent of the republick. The Poles, till the laſt century, had ſuch a regard to the Royal Family, that they ſcarce ever elected a King out of it for eight hundred years together. The King's eldeſt ſon is ſtyled the Prince of Poland, and the reſt barely Princes, as Prince ALEXANDER, and Prince CONSTANTINE. The King's eldeſt daughter is called the Princeſs of Poland, and the younger daughters Princeſſes: but upon the election of a new King, his children take theſe titles, and thoſe of the deceaſed are called by the names of their families or eſtates, as we find the SOBIESKI's at this day, Prince JAMES SOBIESKI, Prince ALEXANDER SOBIESKI, &c. after the name of their father.

The council and ſenate.

After the King and Royal Family, I come naturally to ſpeak of the King's council and ſenate. And it may be obſerved from the pacta conventa, that none but natives can be admitted of his Majeſty's council: all ſenators who are about the

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court have a right to attend the council-table, and there are never leſs than four, who actually ſit there, it is ſaid; but whether the King cannot appoint other noble Poles, who are not members of the ſenate to be of his council, does not ſeem very clear from thoſe who have given an account of the Poliſh court.

The ſenate of Poland, in conjunction with the King, have the whole executive power lodged in them, and take upon them alſo in the intervals of the diet to make acts of ſtate, which have the force of laws, till repealed by the diet. They alſo ſend and receive Ambaſſadors, make alliances, declare war and peace; tho' the diet, or aſſembly of the States frequently proteſt againſt the ſenate's aſſuming theſe powers; and the King engages at his acceſſion not to make war or peace, &c. without the conſent of the republick. But their diets are ſo tumultuous, and frequently break up in that confuſion, without concluding any thing, that if the ſenate did not take upon them to treat with foreign Princes, it would be difficult to make any alliances or confederacies with that nation; and they would be expoſed to the inſults of every invader for want of the diet's coming to a timely reſolution for their defenſe. And here, as in ſome other kingdoms, the rights and privileges of the ſeveral houſes, which compoſe the legiſlature, do not ſeem to be well ſettled.

Members of the ſenate.

The ſenate conſiſts of the Biſhops, the Palatines, the Caſtellans, and ten great officers of the crown and dutchy, and amount to about an hundred and fifty. They are ſenators of courſe, by virtue of the offices and preferments they poſſeſs, which are all in the King's gift; but he cannot create a ſenator who is not of one of the claſſes above-mentioned. The reader will obſerve, that the Palatines are Governors of the palatinates, or provinces; and the Caſtellans Lieutenant Governors, and commanders of their reſpective diſtricts; and the Lieutenant, or Caſtellan, has his commiſſion directly from the King, as well as the Palatine. The ſtaroſtas are Governors of towns and caſtles, or of ſome ſmall diſtricts within each palatinate, of whom there is but one in the whole kingdom that is a ſenator, which is the ſtaroſta, or Governor of Samogitia.

Eccleſiaſtical ſenators.

The eccleſiaſtical ſenators are the two Archbiſhops of Gneſna and Leopol, and their ſuffragans, amounting to fourteen Thoſe ſubject to the Archbiſhop of Gneſna are the Biſhops of Cracow, Cujavia, Poſen, Plosko, Vilna, Varmia, Samogitia and Culm. Thoſe ſubject to the Archbiſhop of Leopol, are the Biſhops of Chelm, Caminiec, Luceoria, Premiſſia and Kiovia.

The Archbiſhop of Gneſna is the firſt ſenator of Poland, and Primate of the kingdom; a title conferred on the Biſhop of that ſee by the council of Conſtance; and ſtyles himſelf alſo, the Pope's legate born, by virtue of a decree of the council of Lateran. He receives appeals from the other Biſhops courts, and from that of the Archbiſhop of Leopol. His power is almoſt equal to the King's; and he has a golden croſs carried before him. When he waits on the King, the great Chamberlain receives him at the ſtair's foot, and the King comes out of his chamber into the anti-chamber to meet him. And during a vacancy of the throne he is *inter-rex*, as has been ſhewn already, having the revenues of the crown, and a power of ſummoning and diſſolving the diet at pleaſure; and he only can proclaim and crown the new King regularly; and though the preſent King was crowned by another Biſhop, he would never acknowledge King AUGUSTUS, till his right to perform this ceremony was allowed. Every Biſhop almoſt hath its ſuffragan, to whom he allows a ſmall penſion to perform the eccleſiaſtical function; looking upon himſelf to be obliged, by virtue of his office, to attend the ſenate and affairs of ſtate.

Lay ſenators.

The lay ſenators amount to an hundred and twenty eight, viz. thirty two Palatines, eighty five Caſtellans, ten crown officers, and one ſtaroſta. The firſt lay ſenator is the Caſtellan of Cracow, who takes place of the Palatine on account of ſome memorable ſervice the Caſtellan of Cracow did the crown in a battle, where the Palatine run away. The reader will obſerve from the above ſaid account, that the Caſtellans, or Lieutenants of the Palatines, are many more than the Palatines; but the reaſon of this is, that there are often ſeveral Caſtellans, or Lieutenants, in one Palatine: one being Lieutenant of one part of the palatinate, and another of another part; but it is a neceſſary qualification of a Caſtellan, that he have lands or tenements in the territories whereof he is Caſtellan. They are generally ſaluted by the title of illuſtriſſimi.

Great officers of ſtate.

The ten great officers, who are ſenators by their places, are, 1. The Great Marſhal, or Great Steward of Poland. 2. The Great Marſhal, or Great Steward of Lithuania. 3. The Great Chancellor of the kingdom. 4. The Great Chancellor of the dutchy. 5. The Vice Chancellor of the kingdom. 6. The Vice Chancellor of the dutchy. 7. The Great Treaſurer of the crown. 8. The Great Treaſurer of the dutchy. 9. The Little Marſhal, or Court Marſhal of the kingdom. 10. The Little Marſhal, or Court Marſhal of the dutchy. The five offices of Lithuania having the ſame authority with thoſe of the kingdom, only thoſe of Poland take place of the officers of the ſame rank in the dutchy.

The Great Marſhal.

The office of Great Marſhal, or Steward of Poland, is to prepare every thing for the aſſembly of the general diet, to aſſign the ſeveral members their ſtations, and exclude ſuch as have no right to come thither, and to regulate the price of every thing that is ſold. He may alſo puniſh capitally the

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the authors of any ſedition, impoſe ſilence in the diet, or admoniſh a member if he exceeds the bounds of decency in his ſpeeches. He alſo promulges the acts of the ſenate, and executes their decrees. His duty alſo is to carry a ſtaff erected before the King wherever he goes, to ſee that the officers of the court perform their offices, over whom he has an abſolute juriſdiction in criminal caſes. The Marſhal alſo introduces Ambaſſadors, and is aſſiſted by the Court Marſhal, or Little Marſhal, who acts as his deputy in his abſence; and in the abſence of both of them, the Marſhals of Lithuania ſupply their places. But when the King reſides in Lithuania, or the diet is held there, the officers of that dutchy have the preference, and are upon duty, as the officers of Poland are when the court reſides in that kingdom.

The Chancellor and Vice Chancellor are the next great officers of ſtate. They have each of them a ſeal, and their authority is much the ſame, only the Vice Chancellor gives place to the Chancellor, and acts in ſubordination to him, or in his abſence. The Chancellor takes cognizance of all civil and criminal affairs, but has ſeveral of the ſenators and grandees joined with him in commiſſion where the matter is of importance, as we find in the affair of THORN. And this is called the aſſeſſorial tribunal, from the number of aſſociates or aſſeſſors poſſibly, who act in conjunction with the Chancellor. The Chancellors alſo ſeal all royal grants and mandates, anſwer the ſpeeches of foreign miniſters, and propoſe all matters to be debated in the ſenate. They receive all appeals made to the King, and in this court their laws and acts of ſtate are recorded.

The Great Treaſurer hath the keeping of the publick treaſure and revenues, which are paid him by four general collectors, who regiſter their payments, giving one copy thereof to the King, and another to the treaſurer. He hath alſo the keeping of the regalia and royal furniture, and preſides in the office of the mint. He pays alſo the civil liſt, and the forces of the crown, and is not accountable to the King, or any other perſon, except to commiſſioners appointed by the diet for that purpoſe; and by bribing theſe he frequently gets his accounts paſſed when he has notoriouſly defrauded the publick.

The next great officer is the Court Marſhal, or Little Marſhal, whoſe office is the ſame as that of the Great Marſhal, except that the Court Marſhal acts only in the abſence of the Great Marſhal, or in ſubordination to him. Theſe are the only officers of ſtate who have a place in the ſenate; and the reader will obſerve, that the officers of the dutchy of Lithuania, have the ſame employments as thoſe of the kingdom, when the court reſides in Lithuania and ſupply the places of the officers of the kingdom in their abſence. Theſe ten ſtand on each ſide the throne in the ſenate, the officers of the kingdom taking place of thoſe of the dutchy of the ſame rank.

Members of the grand diet.

The grand diet of Poland conſiſts of the King, the ſenate, and the deputies, or repreſentatives of the gentry of every palatinate, and is ſummoned by the King; or during an inter-regnum, by the Primate, and ought by their conſtitution, it is ſaid, to aſſemble once in three years, and their ſeſſion to continue ſix weeks and no longer: but I find their diets have been often diſcontinued for more than three years; and at other times have been aſſembled ſeveral times within the compaſs of three years, when the exigencies of the ſtate required it. But there are ſcarce any inſtances of their ſeſſion being extended beyond the ſpace of ſix weeks; for many of the members coming ſeveral hundreds of miles with their families and great trains of ſervants, and bringing proviſions with them in waggons to ſerve them but ſix weeks, if the ſeſſion ſhould continue longer, they would find it very difficult to ſubſiſt afterwards. And as the kingdom of Poland, and the great dutchy of Lithuania, are two united nations, this aſſembly of the ſtates is to be held every third ſeſſion in Lithuania, and the other two in Poland. Thoſe in the dutchy are uſually held at Grodno, and thoſe in Poland at Warſaw.

The manner of aſſembling the diet.

When the King intends to hold a diet, he iſſues circular letters to the palatinates of the reſpective provinces, appointing the time and place of their meeting. He ſends them alſo the heads of the articles intended to be debated in the diet, having before conſulted the ſenate for that purpoſe; and the ſummons bears date ſix weeks before the intended ſeſſion. The Palatine, or his deputy, on receipt of the King's letters of ſummons, communicates the ſubſtance of them to all the Caſtellans, ſtaroſtas, and other gentlemen of the palatinate, requiring them to meet in the palatinate at a day prefixed, to deliberate on the matters propoſed in the King's letters, and to elect deputies to repreſent them in the enſuing general diet. And all gentlemen, however reduced, who have three acres of land left worth forty ſhillings a year, have a vote in theſe leſſer diets; but the deciſions here are by plurality of voices, and they need not be unanimous, as in the great diet. The inferior, or to ſpeak more properly, the indigent gentry at theſe leſſer diets, are uſually led by the Lord of the village or diſtrict where they reſide, and ſeldom examine themſelves the matters in debate, or the qualifications of their repreſentatives; and though every one has an equal right to be elected, the choice generally falls on ſome popular wealthy nobleman, who has diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his hoſpitality; but he muſt not be a ſenator. Every palatinate has two or three repreſentatives, but they

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they rely chiefly on one, who is choſen for his abilities and experience in affairs of ſtate, the others are uſually young noblemen who can make a figure at the general diet, to the honour of thoſe they repreſent. Inſtructions are drawn up for them by the members of the petty diet, from which they have not the liberty to vary. Theſe deputies or repreſentatives of the gentry were firſt introduced to ſit in the general diet by King CASIMIR the third when there was occaſion to raiſe great taxes, on account of a long war the republick had been engaged in with the Teutonick order, it being apprehended that the taxes would be more equally levy'd, and more readily ſubmitted to, by admitting repreſentatives from every palatinate into the legiſlature.

The deputies, or repreſentatives, of the gentry being aſſembled, their firſt buſineſs is the chooſing a marſhal, or ſpeaker; but till they can agree on one, the ſpeaker of the laſt diet acts as ſuch: and there frequently ariſes ſuch debates, and even tumults, on this occaſion, that the whole ſix weeks, the time limited for their ſeſſion, is elapſed before a ſpeaker is choſen, and conſequently no buſineſs is entered upon; for all new laws and acts have their beginning in the lower houſe. The ſpeaker is choſen out of the members of Upper and Lower Poland and the dutchy of Lithuania, alternately. So ſoon as he is elected he attends the King, with the reſt of the deputies, in the chamber of the ſenate, or upper houſe, where the great Chancellor, in the King's name, again propoſes all the matters to be debated in the diet; after which the deputies retire to their own houſes, but have frequent conferences with the ſenate.

While the lower houſe is preparing bills, the ſenate is employed in trying criminal cauſes at the beginning of the ſeſſion; but when the deputies have agreed on the bills propoſed, they reſort with their ſpeaker to the upper houſe, where they ſtand behind the ſenators, with their caps in their hands. And not only the conſent of every member of the whole diet is neceſſary to conſtitute a law, but if they all agree to nineteen bills, and refuſe the twentieth, none of them, it is ſaid, can have the force of a law. The matters chiefly treated of in theſe general diets are, the election or marriage of their King, the making alliances with foreign Princes, declaring war or peace, impoſing taxes, raiſing forces, and the like, and in determining civil and criminal cauſes, the laſt appeal being to the general diet.

In the general diet alſo foreigners are naturalized, and peaſants and tradeſmen advanced to the degree of gentlemen, who have money to purchaſe that honour; but ſtill perſons thus ennobled are not capable of enjoying any conſiderable poſt till the third generation. To theſe diets reſort great numbers of people, who have no other buſineſs than to ſee and be ſeen: all noblemen eſpecially that can make a figure meet here, with their wives and families; inſomuch that it is computed, in whatever town the diet ſits, there are no leſs than thirty or forty thouſand people more than there uſed to be at other times; proviſions, however, are generally very reaſonable, the country being exceeding plentiful, and moſt of the great men bringing their proviſions with them. Foreigners obſerve that the great buſineſs of drinking is much more purſued by the Poles, at theſe aſſemblies, than the buſineſs of the ſtate; eſpecially while their Hungarian wines hold out, for which they ſeem to have a more than ordinary guſt. The great men on theſe occaſions are ſome of them attended by ſix or eight hundred guards and ſervants, who, having but a poor ſubſiſtence, are pretty much given to pilfering, which makes it very unſafe being abroad in an evening. The members of the diet wear no diſtinguiſhing habit, but ſit in their uſual clothes, with their ſabres girt on. The King ſits on a throne, a little raiſed, at the upper end of the ſenate houſe, on the right hand whereof ſtand the five great officers of Poland, who are ſenators, and on the left thoſe of Lithuania. The Biſhops ſit a little lower on the right and left, neareſt to the throne; the Archbiſhop of Gneſna at the head of thoſe on the right, and the Archbiſhop of Leopol at the head of thoſe on the left: and next the Biſhops ſit the lay-ſenators in their order, behind whom ſtand the deputies, or repreſentatives, of the palatinates, with their caps off. Every member of the diet having liberty of ſpeech, they are frequently very abuſive to each other, and ſometimes affront the King to his face, calling him perjured, or unjuſt, and proceed even to threaten his Majeſty and his children; which uſually proceeds from their coming drunk into the diet. And ſome of theſe overheated gentlemen will talk nonſenſe by the hour together, for which there is no other remedy but patience; for if any perſon ſhould pretend to interrupt them, they would proteſt againſt their proceedings, and diſſolve the diet. From theſe circumſtances one would think it impoſſible that this aſſembly ſhould ever come to a reſolution in any point whatever; and indeed they very often break up without concluding any thing, and the ſenate are forced to tranſact thoſe affairs which, according to their conſtitution, ought only to be treated of in the diet; of which loud complaints, however, are made in every aſſembly of the ſtates.

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Of the nobility and gentry of Poland.

There is no distinction in Poland between nobility and gentry, as has been observed already; nor are there any degrees of nobility, as in other countries: neither the King nor the republick confer any titles of honour, as Marquis, Viscount, Baron, Knight, &c. nor is there any difference made between them, but what their offices or employments, or the greatness of their estates, create. A noble Pole despises the highest titles which are conferred by foreign Princes: some indeed have been made Princes of the Empire, which procures them respect abroad, but gives them no precedence in Poland; and they are rather hated and despised by their gentry for assuming such titles. But still it is observable, that there are some gentlemen in Poland and Lithuania that have principalities and dutchies annexed to their estates, which their ancestors have enjoyed time out of mind, and from whence they obtain the titles of Prince and Duke, as Prince SAPHIEA, Duke RADZIVIL, &c.

Every Polish gentleman is a petty Sovereign in his own lands, his tenants, or subjects, as they call them, being his vassals, and under the jurisdiction of such officers or stewards as he is pleased to appoint; and it is but in some few cases that the superior courts take notice of any offences committed within their districts, as where the Lord kills or ravishes any of his vassals, or the like; for if the Lord kill a tenant he is liable to a fine, and if he ravish a tenant's wife or daughter, the family are enfranchised by that means, and he loses their service.

Some of these Polish gentlemen are exceeding powerful, their lands extending three or fourscore, and others of them an hundred miles in length; and some of them are hereditary Sovereigns of cities, where the King has no jurisdiction. Prince LUBOMIRSKI, it is said, possessed 4000 cities, towns, and villages, if there be not a mistake of a figure, of which he was absolute lord; but if it was 400, he must be superior to many German and Italian Princes. And many of these petty Sovereigns can raise armies of eight or ten thousand men each. Most of these have their horse and foot guards, which mount the guard before their houses, and march out with them when they go abroad, like those of other Princes. And though they ought to be subject to the superior tribunals in Poland, and indeed apply to them for justice sometimes, yet, where the cause goes against them, they frequently have recourse to arms, and the strongest sword carries it at last. They engage often six or seven thousand men of a side, and burn and plunder each other's towns and territories, till friends mediate a peace between them, or one side is forced to submit; nor does the King or the state concern themselves in the quarrel.

Among other privileges of the Polish gentry, it is reckoned one, that they cannot be apprehended for any crime, even for murder, till they have been first convicted in the superior tribunals; nor can they be executed without the King's consent. Another privilege is, that they are exempt from quartering soldiers, and by the constitution ought to pay no taxes but what are laid by the diet; though the King and senate, *in the exigencies of* the government, have sometimes assumed this power. A Polish gentleman degrades himself and loses his privileges, by using any trade or merchandize, or by being a magistrate in any city that is not privileged, as Cracow and Vilna are.

The condition of the common people.

I shall conclude this chapter with enquiring into the condition of the common people, husbandmen, mechanicks, &c. who are much the greater part of the nation, and these are usually styled slaves by those who have written of the state of Poland; from whence some are apt to resemble them to our negroes and slaves in the Indies, or to such as are made captives by the Turk; but they are really farmers and tenants to the crown, the clergy, or the gentry, holding by a base tenure, as our villains and cottagers formerly did in England. Some of them hold their farms on condition of manuring and dunging their Lord's lands, or doing other services; others deliver a certain proportion of the profits of their land to their Lords annually, as a rent; and perhaps some actually pay their rents in money, but there is very little of this stirring amongst them. And, notwithstanding we may look upon these people to be in a very miserable condition, I find it generally agreed that they live in great plenty. Their landlords leave them enough to maintain their families, and they are seldom reduced to that distress as our poor husbandmen and cottagers often are. It is true, they depend very much upon their landlords; and every Lord of a village or district has his courts, where their officers administer justice to the tenants who hold of him, as it was formerly in England: but as it is the Lord's interest that his tenants be not oppressed and ruined, the proceedings, possibly, may be as equitable here as in other courts: nay, I find it not an uncommon thing for these plebeians to get estates under their Lords, and procure themselves to be advanced to the degree of gentry by the diet. And if any of them receive a generous education, and become clergymen, they are as free as any other subjects of Poland: so, where a person has raised himself in the army by his merit, the diet seldom refuse to admit him of the order of gentry. Neither citizens nor husbandmen are allowed to purchase lands of inheritance, except that in cities a tradesman may purchase a house,

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house, and a little portion of land, for his convenience: and in Prussia the citizens are allowed to purchase lands and tenements of any value whatever. The same privileges have the inhabitants of the cities of Cracow, Vilna, and Leopol; but I do not find the citizens, or common people, in any other part of Poland, have this liberty.

CHAP. VI.

Treats of the forces, fortified towns, and the revenues of the kingdom of Poland.

THE forces which the kingdom of Poland and dutchy of Lithuania might muster, upon issuing the pospolite ruszenie, or summons for all the gentry to appear in arms, on horseback, would, according to computation, amount to an hundred and fifty thousand horse at least, besides foot; but we have seen no such armies in Poland during the last age, notwithstanding this general summons has been often issued, the Poles at this day seem very little to regard it; insomuch, that in the greatest exigencies of the state their armies have seldom exceeded forty thousand men, and in time of peace scarce amount to half that number, and these dispersed in their respective palatinates, that an enemy may over-run half the country before they are assembled. They have

Two great Generals.

two Grand Generals, one for the kingdom, and the other for the dutchy, both of them appointed by the King, and have their commissions for life. These Generals are chosen usually out of the greatest Senators: but the office of General alone does not entitle a person to sit in the Senate. They have no dependance on each other, but when they meet the Lithuanian gives place to the Polander; and where they are both engaged in a general battle, the Poles take the right and the Lithuanians the left. When the King is in the army he has the absolute command of it; but in his absence the Generals have equal authority; and are not to be controuled, or receive their orders from him, but march and quarter their troops wherever they see fit. The Lieu-

Lieutenant Generals.

tenant Generals act in the absence, or in subordination to the Generals, and on their deaths usually succeed them. The other great officers in the army are the standard bearer, the master of the artillery, the commanders upon the frontiers against the Tartars, &c. and the colonel of the King's guards, who has the sole command of that body while the King remains in the field, but is afterwards subject to the General's. The

Starostas.

starostas are Governors of cities and castles: and the Burgraves their Lieutenant Governors, and commanders of the soldiery in their respective districts.

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Burgraves.

The Polish army consists chiefly of horse. That body called the Hussars amounts to about fifteen hundred: they are armed cap-a-pee, (enclosed in armour from head to foot.) Their weapons are pistols, lances and sabres. Another body, called Tovarzysz, have no other armour but a breast-plate, helmet and gorget; their weapons being carabines, bows and arrows, and sabres; both these bodies are picked men; and adorn their heads with the feathers of ostriches, cranes, turkeys, &c. covering their armour with the skins of tygers, bears, or leopards, and look very terrible in the field. There is another body of horse, amounting to seven thousand men, which also wear armour, and are called by the Poles, pancerzincy koragwy, which differ something in their dress from the former; but may wear feathers if they please. These are all separate and independent troops, and are not incorporated into any regiments. The fourth kind of horse, which are the most numerous, are without armour, having bows and arrows and sabres for their weapons; and wear a short cloak, or mantle over their clothes; but neither these, nor any other troops wear any certain colour, or livery, as the regiments of other nations do; being all Polish gentlemen. They have most of them exchanged their lances and bows and arrows for fire-arms of late.

Polish foot.

The Polish foot are very contemptible, and serve rather for pioneers, and other drudgeries in the army, than to encounter the enemy.

Cossacks.

The Cossacks formerly served them in the place of infantry. A body of these, of thirty or forty thousand men under their Hetman or General, used to join the Poles in their expeditions against the Turks; for which they lay very conveniently upon the frontiers. These serve on horseback, but fight either on foot or horse-back, as there is occasion. And if the Poles find they

Germans.

shall have occasion for infantry to carry on a siege, or the like, they hire a body of Germans, or other foreigners: but during the present reign, King AUGUSTUS has constantly supplied them with foot from Saxony, or Russia; which, how necessary soever, gave the Poles great uneasiness till they procured them to be sent home.

Poles not obliged to march out of their country.

The national troops, which are composed of the gentry, are not obliged to march beyond their own frontiers, or to remain above six weeks in the field at a time, which has often occasioned the miscarriage of the most hopeful enterprizes. When they have gained a victory they are not to be kept in the field to make any advantage of it; but usually lose in the latter part of the

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year what they have gained in the beginning: ſometimes indeed their Kings have prevailed on them to march out of their own country, and remain in the field, like the troops of other nations; as when they raiſed the ſiege of Vienna: and no forces have behaved better than the Poles upon ſome occaſions. But military diſcipline being now much improved in moſt of the neighbouring nations; and the Poles continuing to fight their own way, in great diſorder, and ſeldom obeying the commands of their officers, we find in the late wars that the Germans, Swedes, and even the Muſcovites, have been much ſuperior to them. Indeed they had the ſame advantage as the Ruſſians of improving in military diſcipline, by the long wars they were engaged in; but two things have prevented their making thoſe advantages their neighbours did. One whereof is their averſion to be inſtructed by foreigners; and the other, that their King chooſes much rather to rely on his Saxon than his Poliſh troops. He never deſires the Poles ſhould be inſtructed in the art of war; for let them be as mutinous as they pleaſe, he knows that by introducing twenty or thirty thouſand of his Saxon troops, he can at any time reduce thoſe undiſciplined gentlemen to obedience. He very well remembers what an influence the Saxon forces had upon his election, and in maintaining him on the throne; and will never depend upon the loyalty of a people who have upon many occaſions ſhewn their averſion to his government. The leſs they underſtand of the art of war the ſecurer he ſits upon his throne; and therefore will never endeavour to make them better ſoldiers than they are. The perſonal valour of the men, and the goodneſs of their horſes ſeems generally allowed, they want nothing but order to make them formidable; for no kingdom can raiſe a greater body of horſe, nor is any country more proper for cavalry than Poland; notwithſtanding which, their troops are not eſteemed at this day, for want of diſcipline. Their being raiſed alſo in ſo many independent palatinates is another great misfortune; for the troops of one palatinate perhaps will march when they are commanded, and thoſe of another will not; and then they will leave the field again whenever they ſee fit. It is very ſeldom alſo, but there are private quarrels amongſt them, and one part of the country is in arms againſt another: nor is it in the power of the government to ſuppreſs theſe diſorders. So that Poland has ever been found an eaſy conqueſt; but then when neceſſity has obliged them to unite in their common defenſe, they have driven out their enemies, and freed their country from foreign troops with as much eaſe as they ſuffered themſelves to be conquered.

I ſhould have remembred, that the King's guards are regular troops, and compoſed of Germans, and other foreigners; and were during great part of this reign commanded by the Saxon General; but the Poles inſiſting that they ſhould receive their orders from the crown General, his Majeſty was at length obliged to ſubmit to their importunity in this particular.

The King's guards.

Inſtead of admiring that the Poliſh armies ſo frequently quit the field and loſe the advantages they might otherwiſe make, it is rather ſtrange that they keep the field at all, if we conſider that they are not paid above once in half a year; and have no magazines erected to ſupply the army: not ſo much as victuallers or ſutlers following the camp, from whom the ſoldiers may furniſh themſelves with proviſions; but the officers and ſoldiers are forced to provide carriages and ſervants to carry their food and baggage; and when their eatables are ſpent, there is a neceſſity of their retiring home, unleſs they plunder the country they happen to march through, which they make but little ſcruple of doing: and what makes this grievance the greater, is the multitude of ſervants which attend every little body of troops, who muſt be provided for, as well as their maſters, by the poor peaſants, on whoſe lands they happen to come.

The difficulties the Poles lye under in the field.

As there are not many fortified towns in Poland, they do not much trouble themſelves about a train of artillery, and have ſcarce an engineer in the country. When they have occaſion for great guns they are brought from ſome neighbouring city, and they are obliged to German engineers to manage them. The only fortification they have on the ſide of Turkey is Caminiec; and this does not ſeem capable of enduring a long ſiege: the true reaſon it remained ſo long in the poſſeſſion of the Turks I preſume was the unskilfulneſs of the Poles to manage a ſiege, and their want of a good body of foot to carry on their approaches. As to the city of Cracow, which is called a ſtrong place, and may be ſo if compared with ſome other Poliſh towns, I do not find it was able to maintain a week's ſiege in all the wars between the Swedes and King AUGUSTUS; but it was ſurprized and carried by the one party or the other in a day or two's time if there was not an army to cover it. Some of the beſt towns they have are in Pruſſia, among which I reckon Elbing; but when the King of Pruſſia ſat down before it with ten thouſand men, they thought proper to ſurrender without ſtriking a ſtroke, rather than ſtand on their defenſe, which they would not have done if the place had been deemed tenable. As for Dantzick, this is an independent city, and regularly fortified after the modern way, and might poſſibly ſuſtain a ſiege; but they have generally choſen to buy their peace

The ſtrong towns.

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when they have been insulted by any potent neighbour. The Poles are so far from looking on it as any disadvantage to be thus destitute of fortified towns, that they impute the preservation of their country and liberties chiefly to the want of them. It is true, they have been subject to the incursions of their enemies, and one part of the kingdom or other has been frequently over-run by their neighbours; but they have been forced to retire as suddenly as they advanced, meeting with no fortresses where they might fix themselves; and in fact, none of their enemies, how prosperous soever, have been able to maintain their ground in this country for many hundreds of years past; but the Poles yet remain an unconquered people. They apprehend also, that had their Princes been possessed of many strong towns, in which they might have placed numerous garrisons to bridle the country, they should not have maintained their liberties as they have done to this day; and they choose rather to let their frontiers lye open and exposed to every invader, than hazard the being reduced to a slavish subjection, either by a foreign or domestick force.

CHAP. VII.

Treats of their courts of justice, civil and ecclesiastical; and of the religion of the Poles.

Courts of justice.

IT has been observed already, that the inferior people in Poland are vassals to the Lords of whom they hold their lands. These Lords have their several courts, of which they make their stewards and officers judges, who seem to be governed in their decisions rather by custom than written laws. The next superior courts are those of the Staroста's, or governors of cities and castles, which usually have large districts belonging to them: some of these governments belong to the King, and others to the clergy, or nobility; and here the Staroста, or his deputy, administers justice; but from these courts there lyes an appeal to the supreme court of each palatinate, of which the chamberlain of the palatinate, as he is called, and the prime nobility and clergy associated with him, are judges. Their courts of justice in cities are composed of their respective magistrates. Those of Dantzick, one of the most considerable of them, I have already given a particular account of. But besides all these, there are three supreme courts, the judges whereof are chosen out of the clergy and nobility, which receive appeals from inferior courts, but there lyes no appeal from them, except to the King and diet. These are held two of them in Poland, and the other in Lithuania: those for Poland assemble alternately, at Lublin and Petricow; and that for Lithuania at Wilna, Minski, or Novogrodeck. As to the court of the great chancellor, or assessorial tribunal, and the tribunals of the great marshal and other officers of the King's court, I have had occasion to mention them already; and therefore proceed to enquire into their ecclesiastical courts. And here I find every Diocesan has his chancellor and *inferior* judges, from whom there lyes an appeal to their Archbishop, and from thence to the see of Rome. And the civil magistrates are obliged to assist in the execution of such sentences as are given in the ecclesiastical courts. The Pope's nuncio, who resides constantly in Poland, also hath his court here, by means whereof the Pope draws considerable sums annually from that people.

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The established religion in Poland, as may be easily gathered from hence, is that of the Roman Catholick; and few people possibly are more zealous or bigotted in their way, which I take to proceed from that constant opposition, and the provocations they meet with from the Lutherans and Calvinists amongst them, and in their neighbourhood. In Prussia particularly a majority of the inhabitants are Lutherans, which according to the treaty of Oliva, made between Sweden, Poland, &c. were to be tolerated and protected in the exercise of their religion, as well as the Catholicks. But the rest of Poland being an over-match for Prussia, they have frequently been tempted to encroach upon the poor Lutherans, and use them very hardly, as appears in the instance of Thorn. The Catholicks of Poland were heretofore so zealous in their way, that they would not inter-marry with Christians of a different persuasion, or contract alliances with them; an instance whereof is given us in the person of ULADISLAUS V. who refused the crown of Bohemia, because the Hussites prevailed in that kingdom: and in the reign of JOHN CASIMIR, the Swedes were expelled Poland on account of their being Lutherans. At this day they will not admit any Greek or Protestant Christian to sit in the senate or diet, or in the courts of judicature; and oblige the King in the pacta conventa, to exclude all that are not of the established religion from offices, except in some cities of Prussia, where the Protestants obtained, or were confirmed in the privilege of being advanced to the magistracy, by the treaty of Oliva.

Neither the regular nor secular clergy of Poland are to be admired for their morals; though the people, as in all other Popish countries, give them abundance of respect, and in most of their courts of judicature some of the judges are clergymen. Pluralities are allowed of here, and the clergy make no scruple of living at a distance from their cures. The laity on the other hand

in

P. in general are devout, and generous in their benefactions to their churches and the altars of the ſaints, but are not very compaſſionate towards the diſtreſſed and poor, ſuffering frequently their own ſlaves and menial ſervants to periſh for want of neceſſaries, and behaving themſelves towards theſe unhappy wretches, as if they were really of another ſpecies.

Socinianiſm ſeems to have made a great progreſs in this kingdom during the laſt century, and there have been acts of ſtate in ſeveral reigns, particularly in the laſt, for the extirpation of all people of that perſuaſion, notwithſtanding which, they tolerate even Mahometiſm itſelf, there not being leſs than thirty thouſand Tartars in Lithuania, who are allowed the exerciſe of that religion. The Armenians, and others of the Greek Church alſo, on the frontiers of Muſcovy, and in Podolia, have their biſhops, abbots, and prieſts of their perſuaſion, and the free exerciſe of their religion: and as for the Jews, few countries are better ſtocked with them. Some have computed that there are not leſs than a million of that people diſperſed in Poland, where they meet with great indulgence from the government. But I muſt not forget here that the eſtabliſhed religion of the dutchy of Courland, as well as in ſome Pruſſian cities, is Lutheraniſm, though there are ſome Roman Catholicks and Calviniſts intermixed amongſt them.

CHAP. VIII.

Treats of the language and learning of the Poles; of their phyſicians, diſeaſes, marriages and funerals; and of the diſtribution of their eſtates among their children.

THE language of the Poles is the Sclavonian, but there are ſo many different dialects of it ſpoken in the ſeveral provinces of this kingdom, that one part of the people ſcarce underſtand the other: they all agree however in multiplying conſonants, and if they did not ſound more vowels when they ſpeak than are contained in the words they write, it would be impoſſible to utter them. The Latin is almoſt as univerſally ſpoken as the Sclavonian, there being a ſchool in every village for the teaching it, and the girls learning it in the nunneries. Their terms of art are chiefly German; and indeed there are whole towns and villages in Pruſſia which are of German extract, and ſtill ſpeak the German or High-Dutch tongue: the Armenian, Ruſſian, and Tartarian languages are alſo ſpoken upon their frontiers, and the Jews have introduced the Hebrew in ſome places; but with all theſe languages it is obſerved, that their learning is but ſuperficial. As to their divines, their learning, it is ſaid, conſiſts in adapting Ariſtotle's logick and metaphyſicks to their ſchool divinity; and they value themſelves more on being verſed in the ſignification of logical terms, than in the nature of the things they reaſon about. They enquire but little into church hiſtory, or the practice of the primitive times; but ſeem to have an implicit faith, and to be entirely governed by the deciſions of the church of Rome, nor will they ſuffer any perſon to enquire into the reaſonableneſs of their tenets.

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Learning. Divinity.

There are few native Poles that ſtudy phyſick, the phyſicians are commonly Germans, French, or Italians: an illiterate quack of this kingdom, Doctor CONNOR mentions however, who lived in a wood about ſix miles from Warſaw, undertook to cure the venereal diſeaſe in ſeven or eight days by bathing and ſweating: in the water the bath was made of he boiled ſeveral ſorts of plants which the man made a ſecret of; but the Doctor ſays, as well as he could diſcover, the chief of them were the helleboreaſter and the capillus veneris, or maiden-hair. That he bathed his patients in a hot decoction of theſe herbs four days together, and made them drink of it while they were in the bath frequently; that for four days afterwards he laid them over the tub to receive the hot ſteams, covering them with blankets, and making them drink of the decoction as before. And thus by ſweating, bathing, and drinking, he was aſſured he had done many wonderful cures in venereal caſes; and for the whole cure demanded but two rix-dollars, which is leſs than ten ſhillings Engliſh. They ſeldom uſe ſalivation in this country, though venereal diſtempers are very common.

Phyſick and diſeaſes.

The diſeaſe peculiar to the Poles is that called the plica, in which the hair of the head is matted together, and grows ſo long that it ſometimes reaches down to the middle, covering their backs, but generally it hangs in twiſted ropes: others have their hair only matted cloſe to their heads without growing to any length, and the hair will be thus entangled and matted together in one night's time, though never ſo much care be taken to prevent it. If the hair be cut off it occaſions a dimneſs in the ſight, and ſometimes a total blindneſs; it alſo occaſions pains in the head and limbs, and puſtules to come out all over the body; though foreigners who have been infected with this diſeaſe relate, that they have cut off their hair without any inconveniency attending it. The Biſhop of Poſen acquainted Doctor CONNOR, that he was afflicted with this diſtemper in his youth, and that cutting off his hair unknown to his friends, he felt a thouſand racking pains, which left him as his hair grew again, but then the diſtemper returned. He obſerved alſo,

The plica peculiar to Poland.

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that on the cutting of his hair he could ſenſibly perceive a volatile matter paſs in great abundance through the ducts of his hair, which twiſted and contracted the locks; and that when he put a cap on his head it occaſioned an intolerable pain and heat, which he ſuppoſed proceeded from the preſſure by which the humours were repelled and forced back upon the head. As to other diſeaſes, it ſeems, the Poles are very little troubled with; the ſcurvy or malignant fevers, and pluriſies are ſeldom of ſuch ill conſequence in Poland as in other countries.

Marriages and funerals.

I find nothing extraordinary in the marriage ceremonies, or burials of the Poles to require a particular deſcription of them; only in general it is obſerved, that they are very pompous and expenſive on both theſe occaſions, as the reſt of the nations of Europe are; and that all the company make preſents to the bride at a wedding, which frequently amounts to a conſiderable portion. By the laws of Poland the eſtate of the father is equally divided among his children, except any of them go into a monaſtery, and then their parts are divided among the reſt; and the younger children here, as in other popiſh countries, are encouraged by their parents to take the vow upon them, that their eſtates may be preſerved entire to the eldeſt ſon; which would otherwiſe dwindle away to nothing, where there happens to be a numerous iſſue.

CHAP. IX.

Treats of the condition and intereſt of the Poles in relation to other nations; and gives ſome farther account of the Coſſacks.

Ruſſia the moſt dangerous neighbour to Poland.

THE moſt dangerous neighbours which Poland hath at preſent, are the Muſcovites, a populous and hardy nation, whoſe forces are as well diſciplined as any troops in Europe, and ſo much the more to be dreaded by Poland as they lye contiguous to that kingdom for many hundred miles; nor can any Prince in Europe, except the Turk, or the Pruſſian, eaſily make a diverſion in favour of Poland if it ſhould be attacked by the Ruſſians, unleſs the Swede on the ſide of Finland; but that kingdom is in ſo low a condition at preſent, that Poland cannot expect muſt aſſiſtance from thence.

Until the reign of the late Czar PETER, the Ruſſian forces were held in the utmoſt contempt both by the Swedes and Poles; but having been new modelled and diſciplined by that Prince, and engaged in a long war with Sweden, which gained them experience, they are now become the moſt formidable power of the north. The Poles indeed, take them as an undiſciplined militia, may be the beſt of that kind in Europe; but they want two principal things which make an army terrible, namely, union and order, which renders them unable to make head againſt any neighbour which ſhall invade their frontiers: whereas were thoſe vaſt bodies of horſe, which this country can raiſe, well-diſciplined and united, no Prince in Europe would be able to make an impreſſion upon them. However, in the condition they are, as the Turk has reaſon to be apprehenſive of the growing greatneſs of Ruſſia as well as the Pole, he will certainly come in to the aſſiſtance of this kingdom if ever it ſhould be invaded by the Muſcovite: nor will it be the intereſt of Pruſſia to ſee the Muſcovite aggrandized by the addition of any of the Poliſh provinces to that empire, leſt it ſhould be their fortune to be devoured next. At preſent, indeed, there is a very good underſtanding between the courts of Pruſſia and Muſcovy, the Pruſſians ſupplying the Muſcovites with their woollen cloth, and other manufactures: but the Pruſſian cannot certainly, in any good policy, ſuffer the Czar to approach too near his frontiers, by making himſelf maſter of Courland, or any other of the northern provinces of Poland, which the Ruſſian miniſtry lately ſeemed to be aiming at by their endeavouring to impoſe a Prince of their own nation upon that dutchy.

The Ruſſians alſo, it is obſervable, in order to keep Poland in that weak defenſeleſs condition it is at preſent, have for ſome years oppoſed with all their might the project of King AUGUSTUS, to make that crown hereditary; for ſhould the Poles be once united under an hereditary Monarch, they would be much more able to reſiſt the encroachments of the Muſcovites, and put a ſtop to their conqueſts, than while the crown remains elective, and every palatinate is a kind of independent ſtate. And as the Grand Seignior cannot, in good policy, tamely ſtand by and ſee the Czar make himſelf maſter of Poland, ſo neither will the Ruſſians, or the Germans, ſuffer the Turks to extend their conqueſts farther on the ſide of Poland, and ſtrengthen their empire by the addition of ſo fruitful a country, which would let them alſo into the heart of Chriſtendom. It being the intereſt therefore of all nations contiguous to Poland, that this people ſhould remain in the ſtate they are, they do not ſeem to be in much danger of an invaſion from abroad, or of any alteration in their conſtitution at home. Moſt of the powers of Europe look upon this country as a good barrier between Turkey and Chriſtendom, as well as between that growing empire of Ruſſia and the reſt of Europe, and no doubt will endeavour therefore to ſupport Poland both againſt the one and the other; though none of their neighbours poſſibly

deſire

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...far- ...account ...the Cof- ...cks.

desire to see them in a condition to carry on an offensive war.

I shall conclude the state of Poland with some farther account of the Zaporowski Cossacks, who inhabit the western shores of the Nieper, or Boristhenes near the cataracts, who are looked upon as subjects of this kingdom, as those on the east side the river are of Russia; but to say the truth, they put themselves under the protection of the one or the other, and sometimes of the Turk, according as they meet with good or ill usage.

These Cossacks were not heard of till the beginning of the sixteenth century; and as they are generally of the Greek communion, are supposed to derive their original from some oppressed people in the Turkish or Russian dominions, who fled to those inaccessible rocks which lye towards the mouth of the river Boristhenes, for shelter from their oppressors. These being encreased to some thousands, infested the Black Sea, making descents in Natolia, Romania, and other parts of Turkey; and sometimes advanced almost to the gates of Constantinople, to the great terror of the inhabitants. Their boats with which they perform these expeditions are of a particular make, built without a keel, upon bundles of willow, to prevent their splitting when they are driven against the rocks in the river. These boats are ten or twelve foot wide, and about sixty in length, with twelve or fifteen oars of a side, with which they will outrow the swiftest Turkish galley; and though these are open vessels, they will not sink when filled with water, being born up by bundles of willows, or reeds, fastned to them. An hundred of these vessels manned with sixty or eighty men each, with two firelocks a-piece, take their opportunity usually in autumn to run down the Boristhenes from the rocks and cataracts abovementioned; of which the Turks generally have notice, and lye at the mouth of the river with their gallies, in order to intercept their passage; but the Cossacks hiding themselves in the reeds, which grow for three or four leagues together in the mouth of the Boristhenes, where the gallies cannot come, slip by them most commonly in a dark night: and it is in vain to pursue these nimble vessels when they are once passed. All that the Commander of the Turkish gallies can do, is to give notice to the ports upon the coasts of the Black Sea that the Cossacks are out, that they may be upon their guard; it being uncertain where they will make their descent. Within eight and forty hours they reach the coast of Anatolia, surprizing and ravaging their towns and villages, even Sinope and Trepisonde are sometimes plundered by them. They seldom go far up into the country, or stay long in one place, but are gone before any forces can assemble to oppose them, retiring with their booty to the mouth of the Boristhenes again; and they contrive it so as to steal by the gallies again in the night; or they suffer pretty much by their great guns, not one half of them sometimes escaping home.

It was but a small tract of ground that the Cossacks first possessed, but now their country on both sides the Boristhenes extends an hundred leagues in length, and forty in breadth; and on the Polish side of the Nieper is exceeding fruitful. This country was entirely deserted before the Cossacks possessed themselves of it, lying between Turkey, Russia, and Poland; where the perpetual ravages of the Tartars made it unsafe for any people to inhabit.

STEPHEN BOTTORI King of Poland first taught them the art of war, and made use of them in his wars against the Turks: they served also for some time as a barrier against the incursions of the Tartars; but being ill used by the Poles, they joined with the Tartars and Russians; and afterwards became enemies to Poland, ravaging the country in a terrible manner. They were governed by their Hetman, or General, whom they elected in the field in a tumultuous manner, and would take the liberty of deposing him when they saw fit. While the Grand Seignior was master of Caminiec and the Ukrain, (viz.) from the year 1677. to 1699. the Cossacks on the west side of the Nieper were subject to Turkey; but by the peace concluded at Carlowitz, it was agreed they should return to the obedience of Poland, under the dominion of which republick they remain at present. It appears that their troops are not altogether so good as those of Poland; but the Poles make much the same use of the Cossacks as the Turks do of the Tartars, namely, to harass an enemy's frontiers, or pursue their flying troops.

The End of the FIRST VOLUME.

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